

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA,
NOVEMBER 13 TO 25, INCLUSIVE,

1911

THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1911

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION

OF LABOR

1912

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DELEGATES

TO THE

THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Asbestos Workers' International Association, Heat, Frost, General Insulators and.....	1	8	Andrew J. Kennedy, 3522 Paulina st., Chicago, Ill.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.....	2	69	Henry Koch, 72 Graham ave., Paterson, N. J.
		69	Chris Kerker, 1922 Washington ave., Bronx, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	4	72	Frank X. Noschang, Box 397, Albany, N. Y.
		71	W. E. Klapetzky, Box 43, Los Angeles, Cal.
		71	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		71	Ed. Anderson, 176 N. Union ave., Pueblo, Colo.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	34	James W. Kline, 570-585 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
		33	Willis R. Golden, 213 Means st., Atlanta, Ga.
		33	Thomas Flanagan, 2227 Brainard st., New Orleans, La.
Bollermakers and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of.....	4	50	Joseph A. Franklin, Law Building, Kansas City, Kans.
		50	James B. Casey, Law Building, Kansas City, Kans.
		50	Louis Weyand, 6201 Fir ave., N. W., Cleveland, Ohio.
		49	Joseph Flynn, 120 N. Chester st., Little Rock, Ark.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	1	79	A. P. Sovey, 204 N. Third st., St. Louis, Mo.
		66	John F. Tobin, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	66	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		65	Michael J. Hallinan, 46 Calmer st., Brockton, Mass.
		65	John C. Schaffer, 207 Penn st., Rochester, N. Y.
		65	Royal Dano, 28 Grove st., Brockton, Mass.
		90	Joseph Froebstle, Station E, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of United.....	5	90	Louis Kemper, Station E, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	Ed F. Ward, 1117 Columbus ave., Boston, Mass.
		90	A. J. Kugler, 71 Warner ave., Jersey City, N. J.
		90	John Sullivan, 25 Third ave., New York, N. Y.
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers Alliance, International.....	1	34	Frank Butterworth, Room 409, 160 N. Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers International Association of.....	3	34	Frank M. Ryan, 422 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		33	J. T. Butler, 116 E. North st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		33	William Clark, 229 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Carpenters and Joiners, United Brotherhood of.....	7	278 278 278 278 278 278 278	Wm. D. Huber, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind. Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind. Wm. B. Macfarlane, 337 Potomac ave., Buffalo, N. Y. Carl Young, 335 South Center ave., Aurora, Ill. Thomas F. Flynn, 1225 S. Harding st., Chicago, Ill. Wm. J. Kelly, Union Labor Temple, Washington and Webster aves., Pittsburg, Pa. A. M. Swartz, 1410 Sandusky st., N. S. Pittsburg, Pa.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of.....	2	39 39	William F. Gilmore, 606 B st. N. E., Washington, D. C. J. W. Wilkinson, Labor Hall, Homer st., Vancouver, B. C., Can.
Carriage and Wagon Workers, International.....	1	20	James R. Crozier, 15 Spring st., Dorchester, Mass.
Car Workers, International Association of.....	2	23 23	P. F. Richardson, 1209, 538 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill. J. E. Humphrey, 1209, 538 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of.....	3	30 30 30	O. A. Tveitmo, Metropolis Bank Building, San Francisco, Cal. Frank C. Gengenback, 646 W. Sixty-seventh st., Chicago, Ill. M. E. Goellnitz, Second ave., Woodside, Long Island, N. Y.
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	4	109 109 109 109	Samuel Gompers, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C. Thomas F. Tracy, 708 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C. J. Mahlon Barnes, 2010 Osgood st., Chicago, Ill. John T. Smith, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	3	50 50 50	H. J. Conway, lock drawer 248, La Fayette, Ind. Chas. E. Pfeil, Oshkosh, Wis. Wm. Christman, 1163 Wheeling ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....	1	22	Max Zuckerman, 228 E. Seventh st., New York, N. Y.
Commercial Telegraphers' Union.....	1	10	Percy Thomas, Rooms 90, 91, 50 Broadway, N. Y.
Coopers' International Union.....	2	22 21	Andrew C. Hughes, 1012 Boylston st., Newton Highlands, Mass. Frank A. Scoby, 2801 N. Third st., Minneapolis, Minn.
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	4	49 47 47 47	F. J. McNulty, Pierick Building, Springfield, Ill. P. W. Collins, Pierick Building, Springfield, Ill. Stephen J. Fay, 4123 Greshaw st., Chicago, Ill. J. W. Yount, care of P. W. Collins, Pierick Building, Springfield, Ill.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	21	Frank Feeney, 2336 S. Fifteenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Engineers, International Union of Steam.....	4	40 40 40 40	Matt Comerford, Temple Bar Building, Brooklyn, N. Y. James G. Hannahan, 6303 Harvard ave., Chicago, Ill. John J. Glass, 12-14 E. Eagle st., Buffalo, N. Y. John L. McNamara, 7832 South Green st., Chicago, Ill.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary	3	27	Timothy Healy, 158 E. Twenty-seventh st., New York, N. Y.
		27	Wm. J. Brennan, 125 James st., Newark, N. J.
		26	M. J. Friel, 331 La Salle st., Room 413, Chicago, Ill.
Fitters and Helpers, International Association of Steam and Hot Water	2	28	J. T. Kinsella, 357 W. Sixty-third st., Room 204-205, Chicago, Ill.
Freight Handlers, Brotherhood of Railroad	1	28	John Mangan, 7700 Lowe ave., Chicago, Ill.
		40	Fred Smith, 532 Rice st., St. Paul, Minn.
		105	T. A. Rickert, Room 418, 331 S. La Salle st., Chicago, Ill.
		105	B. A. Larger, 116 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
Garment Workers, United	5	105	Harry Meyer, 857 Tinton ave., Bronx, N. Y.
		105	S. L. Landers, 16 Sherman ave., Hamilton, Ont., Can.
		105	Victor Altman, 11 N. Ashland ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		134	Abraham Rosenberg, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.
		134	Alexander Block, 7 W. Twenty-first street, New York, N. Y.
Garment Workers, International Ladies	6	134	Harry Kleinman, 79 E. Tenth st., New York, N. Y.
		133	S. Polakoff, 49 E. Nineteenth st., New York, N. Y.
		133	Harry Dubinsky, care of John A. Dyche, 32 Union Square, New York City.
		34	D. A. Hayes, 930-932 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association	3	33	Michael B. Cain, 558 Sycamore st., Columbus, Ohio.
		33	Walter S. Pierce, Westport, Baltimore County, Md.
Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated	1	12	David Ring, care of William Figolah, 418 N. Clark st., Chicago, Ill.
Glove Workers' Union, International	1	9	Agnes Nestor, 506 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		45	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy Mass.
Granite Cutters, International Association	3	45	Paul Bianchi, care Granite Cutters' Office, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
		45	William W. Russell, care Granite Cutters' Office, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
		29	Martin Lawlor, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.
Hatters, United, of North America ..	3	28	John A. Moffitt, 24 Lincoln Place, Orange, N. J.
		28	H. C. Shalvoy, Danbury, Conn.
Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union, International	3	43	D. D'Alessandro, Box 597, Albany, N. Y.
		42	Joseph B. Etchison, 501 Indiana ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		42	Joseph D'Andrea, 524 S. Halsted st., Chicago, Ill.
Horseshoers, International Union of Journeymen	2	25	Hubert S. Marshall, 405 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		24	Roady Keneshan, State Capitol Building, Denver, Colo.
		86	Edward Flore, 71 Clinton st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		86	Jere L. Sullivan, Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League	5	86	Thomas S. Farrell, 1856 E. Sixth st., Cleveland, Ohio.
		86	George Miller, 3204 Lucas ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		86	Otto Pattberg, 24 Hooker st., Glendale, Long Island, N. Y.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amalgamated Association.....	2	23	John Williams, House Building, Pittsburg, Pa.
		22	Richard D. Selway, 621 Linden ave., Steubenville, Ohio.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	2	25	Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		25	John T. Taggart, 320 Highland ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union.....	1	26	James F. Brock, General Delivery, San Francisco, Cal.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of.....	1	26	W. E. Bryan, 209-210 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Leather Workers' Union of America Amalgamated.....	1	6	John Roach, 326 Bank st., Newark, N. J.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association	1	21	Frank Gehring, 309 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Lithographic Pressfeeders, International Protective Association of	1	9	William A. Coakley, 43 Centre st., New York, N. Y.
		63	T. V. O'Connor, 1004 Mutual Life Building Buffalo, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	4	63	M. W. Kelleher, 43 Maple st., Ashtabula, Ohio.
		62	Martin Cole, 1522 E. Seventh st., Duluth, Minn.
		62	P. F. A. Vaccarelli, 401 E. One Hundred and Sixteenth st., New York, N. Y.
		135	James O'Connell, McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
Machinists, International Association of.....	5	134	C. W. Fry, 39 Merchants Building, Chicago, Ill.
		134	J. J. Keegan, 2333 Central ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		134	P. W. Buckley, 453 Eighth st., Oakland, Cal.
		131	J. J. Handley, Board of Public Works, Milwaukee, Wis.
Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of.....	3	34	A. B. Lowe, 3800 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
		33	T. J. O'Donnell, Hernando, Miss.
		33	T. H. Gerrey, R. F. D. No. 2, Box 5, Walnut Cove, N. C.
Marble Workers, International Association of.....	1	28	Walter V. Price, 715 Eagle ave., New York, N. Y.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Amalgamated.....	1	31	Homer D. Call, Cortland and Brighton aves., Syracuse, N. Y.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International.....	2	50	T. M. Daly, Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		50	Thomas Rumsey, Cor. Jackson and Huron sts., Toledo, Ohio.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	43	M. O'Sullivan, 41 Madison ave., Crafton, Pa.
		43	Joseph Bobb, 713 Amsterdam ave., New York, N. Y.
		43	John J. Hynes, 325 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		43	Thomas Walsh, care of John E. Bray, 325 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		358	John Mitchell, 3 Claremont ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
		358	Frank J. Hayes, 1120 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Mine Workers, United.....	7	358	T. L. Lewis, Bridgeport, Ohio.
		358	John H. Walker, 508 Farmers' National Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		358	E. S. McCullough, Monongahela City, Pa.
		357	Duncan McDonald, 505 Farmers' National Bank Building, Springfield Ill.
		357	W. B. Wilson, Blossburg, Pa.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Miners, Western Federation of.....	4	<div>129</div> <div>128</div> <div>128</div> <div>128</div>	<div>Charles H. Moyer, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.</div> <div>Joseph D. Cannon, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.</div> <div>J. C. Williams, Grass Valley, Cal.</div> <div>C. E. Mahoney, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.</div>
Molders' Union, International	5	<div>100</div> <div>100</div> <div>100</div> <div>100</div> <div>100</div>	<div>Joseph F. Valentine, Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.</div> <div>John P. Frey, Box 690, Cincinnati, Ohio.</div> <div>R. H. Curran, 107 Hobart st., Rochester, N. Y.</div> <div>P. F. Duffy, 263 Pearl st., Brooklyn, N. Y.</div> <div>John Murtaugh, R. F. D. No. 47, Chula Vista, Cal.</div>
Musicians, American Federation of..	4	<div>125</div> <div>125</div> <div>125</div>	<div>Joseph N. Weber, 25 St. Nicholas ave., New York, N. Y.</div> <div>Owen Miller, 3535 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.</div> <div>David A. Carey, 95 Markham st., Toronto, Ont., Can.</div>
Painters, Decorators, and Paper-hangers, Brotherhood of	6	<div>113</div> <div>113</div> <div>113</div> <div>113</div> <div>112</div> <div>112</div>	<div>Geo. F. Hedrick, Drawer 99, La Fayette, Ind.</div> <div>J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, La Fayette, Ind.</div> <div>Daniel J. Evans, 6439 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.</div> <div>E. Frank Moorhouse, 212 Columbus ave., Hoffman House, Boston, Mass.</div> <div>Jacob Tazelaar, 3 E. Seventeenth st., New York, N. Y.</div> <div>Samuel Kelly, 287 E. Eighteenth st., Covington, Ky.</div>
Papermakers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	24	J. T. Carey, Rooms 4-6 Bensen Building, Albany, N. Y.
Patternmakers' League.....	2	<div>28</div> <div>28</div>	<div>James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.</div> <div>James L. Gernon, 411 Albemarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.</div>
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	15	Edward I. Hannah, 240 E. Fifty-seventh st., New York, N. Y.
Paving Cutters' Union.....	1	32	John Sheret, Lock Box 116, Albion, N. Y.
Photo-Engravers' Union, International.....	1	37	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
Plasterers' International Association, Operative.....	3	<div>49</div> <div>49</div> <div>49</div>	<div>John Donlin, 817 Loomis st., Chicago, Ill.</div> <div>Edward J. McGivern, 1414 Blue Hill ave., Boston, Mass.</div> <div>James Ward, 13 Middletown st., Toronto, Can.</div>
Plate Printers' Union, International Steel and Copper.....	1	13	Wm. D. Clark, 220 Eighth st. S. E., Washington, D. C.
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters' Helpers, United Association of.....	4	<div>60</div> <div>59</div> <div>59</div> <div>59</div>	<div>John R. Alpine, 411 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.</div> <div>William J. Tracy, 26 N. Thirteenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.</div> <div>Patrick J. Murphy, 140 W. Sixty-first st., New York, N. Y.</div> <div>James F. Malley, 411 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.</div>
Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.....	1	15	Oscar F. Nelson, Room 843, 219 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	2	<div>30</div> <div>29</div>	<div>Edward Menge, Box 6 E. Liverpool, Ohio.</div> <div>George H. Cartledge, 1250 Brunswick ave., Trenton, N. J.</div>
Printing Pressmen's Union, International.....	3	<div>64</div> <div>63</div> <div>63</div>	<div>George L. Berry, Rogersville, Tenn.</div> <div>S. B. Marks, Rogersville, Tenn.</div> <div>Edward C. Johnston, Rogersville, Tenn.</div>

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	28	John H. Malin, P. O. Drawer K, Fort Edward, N. Y.
Quarry Workers' International Union.....	1	35	Fred W. Sultor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
		63	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		63	G. E. Soyster, 804 Security Building, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of.....	4	62	J. F. Miller, 2916 Huntington ave., Baltimore, Md.
		62	T. J. Gallagher, 4 Longwood ave., New York, N. Y.
		68	M. F. Ryan, 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		67	G. F. Mounts, 2509 Denver ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Carmen, Brotherhood of....	4	67	Geo. A. Nolte, 2142 Talbott ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		67	John J. Gallagher, 56 Prescott st., Readville, Mass.
		131	W. D. Mahon, 603 Hodges Building, Detroit, Mich.
Railway Employes, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	3	131	Wm. Taber, 138 N. La Salle st., Room 55, Chicago, Ill.
		131	Ben Commons, 1011 Poland st., New Orleans, La.
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	1	1	T. R. Lilly, care of F. E. Kingsley, Baldwin Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		80	Patrick Flynn, 91 Stewart st., San Francisco, Cal.
Seamen's Union, International.....	2	80	Andrew Furuseth, 41 East st., San Francisco, Cal.
Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International.....	1	5	J. M. Gavlak, 3643 W. Forty-seventh st., Cleveland, Ohio.
		33	John J. Barry, 75 Albany st., Boston, Mass.
Stage Employes' International Alliance, Theatrical.....	3	33	John Suarez, 16 S. Sixth st., St. Louis, Mo.
		32	Geo. W. Peterson, 615 Race st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, International.....	1	42	Henry S. Bird, care of Geo. W. Williams, Room 29, Globe Building, Boston, Mass.
		29	M. W. Mitchell, Box 2348, Station G, Washington, D. C.
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....	3	29	James A. Short, 413-15 Ouray Building Washington, D. C.
		28	J. W. Bridwell, Box 655, Atlanta, Ga.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	11	J. H. Kaefer, 1210 Jefferson ave. E., Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	1	87	James B. Connors, 538 E. Forty-first st., Chicago, Ill.
		40	E. J. Brals, Bloomington, Ill.
		40	John E. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
Tailors' Union, Journeymen.....	3	40	D. G. Biggs, Box 587, Bloomington, Ill.
		77	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		77	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Teamsters, International Brotherhood of.....	5	76	Wm. A. Neer, 331 S. La Salle st., Chicago, Ill.
		76	Jno. P. McLaughlin, 536 Bryant st., San Francisco, Cal.
		76	Anton J. Hermann, 401 E. Sixteenth st., New York, N. Y.
Textile Workers, United.....	2	50	John Golden, Box 742, Fall River, Mass.
		50	Thomas Morgan, Box 1662, Paterson, N. J.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Tile Layers and Helpers, International, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic.....	1	21	Thomas J. Williams, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	2	J. T. Carolan, 352 Market st., Newark, N. J.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	2	20	A. McAndrew, 50-52 American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.
		20	E. Lewis Evans, 50-52 American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union.....	1	17	Thomas J. Curtis, 178 E. Seventy-eighth st., New York, N. Y.
		104	James M. Lynch, 650 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		104	Frank Morrison, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	5	104	Max S. Hayes, 970 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		103	Hugh Stevenson, 170 McPherson ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
		103	T. W. McCullough, 2028 Maple st., Omaha, Neb.
Upholsterers' International Union.....	1	28	James H. Hatch, 233 First ave., Astoria, N. Y.
White Rats Actors' Union of America.....	3	27	Joe Birnes, 1553 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		27	Will J. Cooke, 1553 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		26	Harry DeVeaux, 8 Union Square, New York City.
Wood Workers' International Union.....	1	31	D. D. Mulcahy, 101 Magnolia st., Detroit, Mich.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	G. E. Mikel, Jenny Lind, Ark.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Andrew J. Gallagher, 316 Fourteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jackson W. Holder, 501 W. Monroe st., Jacksonville, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. A. McKenna, 420 Oak st., Macon, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Groce Lawrence, Herrin, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. J. Pfeleger, 210½ N. Delaware st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joe O'Brien, care of George B. Edgell, 315 Delaware st., Leavenworth, Kans.
Maryland State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Myers, 425 G st., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Durnin, 18 Clinton ave., Holyoke, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph Smith, care of Room 6, Stearn Building, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles W. Wilkerson, Springfield, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 1117 W. Park st., Butte, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank M. Coffey, Lincoln, Neb.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Leary, care of Henry F. Hilfers, 68 S. Orange st., Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John Dowd, 164 W. Eighth st., Oswego, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Graney, 211 K. of C. Building, Youngstown, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ed. H. Ryan, Coalgate, Okla.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles Lavin, care of C. F. Quinn, 23 E. Green st., Nanticoke, Pa.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, 60 Luna st., San Juan, P. R.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Smith, Graysville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. E. Shay, 1213 Avenue "I," Galveston, Tex.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Virginia State Federation of Labor..	1	1	E. W. Blakey, 405 N. Robinson st., Richmond, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	Peter Henretty, Ronald, Wash.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor	1	1	Frank J. Weber, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor	1	1	James Buckley, Drawer 802, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Alton (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	William E. Kelly, 633 E. Eighth st., Alton, Ill.
Atlanta (Ga.) Federation of Trades..	1	1	Jerome Jones, 406 Austell Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Augusta (Ga.) Federation of Trades..	1	1	W. H. Anderson, Augusta, Ga.
Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor..	1	1	Edward Hirsch, Room 27, Franklin Building, Baltimore, Md.
Bellaire (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	E. E. Tharp, 3754 Belmont st., Bellaire, Ohio.
Birmingham (Ala.) Trades Council..	1	1	Frank Heck, Box 248, Birmingham, Ala.
Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union..	1	1	Wm. H. O'Brien, 987 Washington st., Boston, Mass.
Brockton (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Chas. E. Lowell, 75 West Bartlett st., Brockton, Mass.
Brooklyn (N. Y.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Maurice De Young, 193 Schaeffer st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Butte (Mont.) Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	E. R. Torrey, 150 W. Mercury st., Butte, Mont.
Charleroi (Pa.) Monongahela Trades Council..	1	1	John P. Ferry, 823 Crest ave., Charleroi, Pa.
Chattanooga (Tenn.) Central Labor Union..	1	1	John D. Hurley, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor....	1	1	John Carroll, 3911 Indiana ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati (Ohio) Central Labor Council..	1	1	T. J. Conner, 1638 Palm ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor	1	1	Peter Hassenpflue, 3434 W. Forty-fourth st., Cleveland, Ohio.
Columbia (S. C.) Federation of Trades	1	1	Henry J. Hardy, 1429 Cherokee st., Columbia, S. C.
Columbus (Ga.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	John R. Jones, 1028 Seventeenth st., Columbus, Ga.
Denver (Colo.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	H. M. Munn, 3247 Champa st., Denver, Colo.
Detroit (Mich.) Federation of Labor	1	1	Leland W. Smith, 344 Waterman ave., Detroit, Mich.
Fargo (N. Dak.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	John Oliver, Box 704, Fargo, N. Dak.
Fort Edward (N. Y.) Trades Assembly	1	1	Henry Hassard, Room 4, Wing's Exchange, Fort Edward, N. Y.
Frankfort (Ind.) Central Labor Union	1	1	J. F. Evans, care of Coulter House Barber Shop, Frankfort, Ind.
Hammond (Ind.) Lake County Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	B. A. Carter, Hammond, Ind.
Hartford (Conn.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Sol Sonthelmer, 32 Asylum st., Hartford, Conn.
Indianapolis (Ind.) Central Labor Union	1	1	George Haines, 646 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Jacksonville (Fla.) Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	T. W. Cox, 1218 E. Church st., Jacksonville, Fla.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Jersey City (N. J.) Central Labor Union of Hudson County.....	1	1	Edward Harrison Mead, 304 Jackson ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Kalamazoo (Mich.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Charles Schaffer, 1008 N. Pitcher st., Kalamazoo, Mich.
Kensington (Ill.) Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	T. Briggs, 11429 South Park ave., Chicago Ill.
La Fayette (Ind.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. Meta Skemp, 827 N. Eighth st., La Fayette, Ind.
Lead (S. Dak.) Black Hills Trades Assembly.....	1	1	W. E. Scoggan, Lead, S. Dak.
Lincoln (Neb.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George F. Quick, 1121 Pine st., Lincoln, Neb.
Los Angeles (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	James A. Gray, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.
Louisville (Ky.) United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John Schneider, 107 W. Jefferson st., Louisville, Ky.
Macon (Ga.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank Hobbs, 673 Mulberry st., Macon, Ga.
Memphis (Tenn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	T. G. Kennedy, Italian Hall, 136½ S. Second st., Memphis, Tenn.
Miami (Fla.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. B. Abell, Box 734, Miami, Fla.
Milwaukee (Wis.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	William Coleman, 700½ Eleventh st., Milwaukee, Wis.
Mobile (Ala.) Central Trades Council.....	1	1	P. J. Doherty, General Delivery, Mobile, Ala.
Nashville (Tenn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Chas. P. Fahey, 703 Main st., Nashville, Tenn.
Newark (N. J.) Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	Louis A. B. Agethen, 68 South Orange ave., Newark, N. J.
New Orleans (La.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Louis Wendt, 2029 Marais st., New Orleans, La.
Newport (Ky.) Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	John M. Albrecht, 1135 Orchard st., Newport, Ky.
New York (N. Y.) Central Federated Union.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 158 E. Twenty-seventh st., New York City.
Norfolk (Va.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. A. Davis, Box 511, Norfolk, Va.
Omaha (Neb.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jonas R. Wangberg, Box 450, Omaha, Neb.
Philadelphia (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George H. Ullrich, 2267 N. Cleveland ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh (Pa.) Iron City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Edward F. Welsh, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pueblo (Colo.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Melville E. Fuller, Box 462, Pueblo, Colo.
Richmond (Va.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	M. R. Pace, 516 S. Laurel st., Richmond, Va.
Rome (Ga.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John H. Taylor, Rome, Ga.
St. Louis (Mo.) Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Louis P. Philippi, 1330 Sidney st., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul (Minn.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. E. James, 309 Wabasha st., St. Paul, Minn.
San Antonio (Tex.) Trades Council.....	1	1	Fritz Russi, Jr., 1014 Lake View ave., San Antonio, Tex.
San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council.....	1	1	Antone Johannsen, Metropolis Bank Building, care of State Building Trades Council, San Francisco, Cal.
San Juan (Porto Rico) Central Labor Union.....	1		Rafael Alonso, Box 704, San Juan, Porto Rico.

xii DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Savannah (Ga.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	W. W. Ingram, Savannah, Ga.
Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly	1	1	E. W. Leonard, 235 Avenue B, Schenectady, N. Y.
South Chicago (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Arthur W. Smith, 2013 E. Ninety-second st., South Chicago, Ill.
South Framingham (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	J. A. Winchenback, 12 Hayes st., South Framingham, Mass.
Springfield (Ill.) Federation of Labor	1	1	James P. Noonan, Pierik Building, Springfield, Ill.
Springfield (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Daniel Wilby, 2055 Pierce st., Springfield, Mo.
Texarkana (Tex.) Central Labor Council	1	1	Chas. E. White, 2419 State Line avenue, Texarkana, Texas.
Vancouver (B. C.) Trades and Labor Council	1	1	A. W. Wright, care of London Hotel, Vancouver, B. C.
Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Charles T. Smith, 612 F st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Waycross (Ga.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	F. A. Morton, H9 Lee avenue, Waycross, Ga.
Zanesville (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John A. Voll, Zanesville, Ohio.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union No. 12646	1	1	Miss E. C. Morris, 3 Clarendon avenue, Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Bricklayers' Union 10982	1	1	Joaquin A. Becerril, Box 682, San Juan, P. R.
Button Workers' Protective Union 12854	1	8	O. C. Wilson, General Delivery, Muscatine, Iowa.
Elevator Conductors and Starters Union 11959	1	1	James J. McAndrews, 2012 Lawrence ave., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union 7205	1	1	George W. Ford, 718 S. Gay st., Knoxville, Tenn.
Federal Labor Union 12949	1	1	F. C. Belt, Metropolis, Ill.
Federal Labor Union 14045	1	1	Thos. E. Welsh, Paragould, Ark.
Grain Workers' Association No. 11407	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. Fifth st., New York City.
House Shorers, Movers and Sheath Filers' Union No. 7417	1	1	Francis Creamer, 220 E. Forty-seventh st., New York City.
Laborers' Protective Union 8249	1	1	S. R. Forehand, 520 Avenue A, San Antonio, Texas.
Laborers' United No. 12062	5	5	Wm. F. Dwyer, 504 Valencia st., San Francisco, Cal.
Machinists Helpers' Union 11830	1	1	J. L. Donnelly, 6 Ontario Court, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Machinists Helpers' Union 13117	1	1	R. A. Cornette, 1317 Eleventh ave., Huntington, W. Va.
Mineral Water Workers No. 12674	1	1	Samuel Lebowitz.
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union No. 9103	10	10	John R. Dunne, Room 1328 Park Row Building, New York City.
Railroad Laborers and Helpers' Union No. 12535	1	1	G. D. Saum, Goodland, Kans.
Railroad Helpers and Laborers No. 14085	1	1	A. Z. Ham, Somerset, Ky.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers, and Assistants' Union 11307	1	1	Mary Burke East, 424 Law Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers, and Assistants' Union No. 11773.....	1	1	D. F. Manning, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Stenographers and Typists' Association No. 12755.....	1	1	J. Louis Engdahl, 207 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Theater Employes' Union No. 14089...	1	1	C. J. Schaub, 1358 North Campbell ave., Chicago, Ill.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	J. Crinion, 2a Hodson's Court, Corporation st., Manchester, Eng.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1	1	G. H. Roberts, 7 St. Brides st., Ludgate Circus, London, E. C., Eng.
National Women's Trades Union League.....	1	1	William Glockling, 6 Ottawa st., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Women's International Union Label League.....	1	1	Mrs. Raymond Robins, 1437 W. Ohio st., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.....	1	1	Miss Annie Fitzgerald, 421 S. Homan ave., Chicago, Ill.
American Federation of Catholic Societies.....	2	1	Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 1611 Clarendon Bldg., 215 Fourth ave., New York City. Rev. P. E. Dietz, Oberlin, Ohio. Charles I. Denechaud, 803-06 Canal La. Bank Building, New Orleans, La.

Number of Unions.	NAMES.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
90	National and International.....	228	17,104
25	State.....	25	25
67	Central.....	67	67
21	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	21	41
6	Fraternal Organizations.....	8	3
209		349	17,240

List of Fraternal Delegates.

To British Trades Union Congress.	From British Trades Union Congress.
1895 Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire. J. W. Sullivan.	1894 John Burns. David Holmes. Edward Cowey.
1896 Adolph Strasser. Martin Fox.	1895 James Mawdsley. Sam Woods.
1897 Geo. E. McNeill. James Duncan.	1896 John Mallinson. Edward Hartford.
1898 Harry Lloyd. James O'Connell.	1897 J. Havelock Wilson. William Inskip.
1899 Thomas F. Tracy. J. M. Hunter.	1898 William Thorne. James Haslam.
1900 Sidney J. Kent. Daniel J. Keefe.	1899 Alexander Wilkie. John Weir.
1901 Eugene F. O'Rourke. Patrick Dolan.	1900 Pete Curran. Frank Chandler.
1902 Henry Blackmore. Max S. Hayes.	1901 Ben Tillet. M. Arrandale.
1903 Martin Lawlor. W. D. Ryan.	1902 E. Edwards. William Mullin.
1904 D. D. Driscoll. John A. Moffitt.	1903 James O'Grady. William Abraham.
1905 James Wood. Frank K. Foster.	1904 James Wignall. William Mosses.
1906 James Wilson. John T. Dempsey.	1905 David Gilmour. Allen Gee.
1907 W. E. Klapetzky. Andrew Furuseth.	1906 J. N. Bell. David J. Shackleton.
1908 James J. Creamer. John P. Frey.	1907 John Hodge. John Wadsworth.
1909 B. A. Larger. W. B. Wilson.	1908 H. Skinner. A. H. Gill.
1910 T. V. O'Connor. Wm. B. Macfarlane.	1909 J. R. Clynes. W. Brace.
1911 Daniel J. Tobin. George L. Berry.	1910 Ben Turner. G. H. Roberts.
1912 John H. Walker.	1911 J. Crinion.
To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
1898 Thomas I. Kidd. 1899 James H. Sullivan. 1900 W. D. Mahon. 1901 John R. O'Brien. 1902 D. D. Driscoll. 1903 John Coleman. 1904 John H. Richards. 1905 Frank Feeney. 1906 Thomas A. Rickert. 1907 Robert S. Maloney. 1908 Hugh Frayne. 1909 Jerome Jones. 1910 John J. Manning. 1911 Wm. J. Tracy. 1912 John T. Smith.	1898 David A. Carey. 1899 David A. Carey. 1900 David A. Carey. 1901 P. M. Draper. 1902 John H. Kennedy. 1903 James Simpson. 1904 John A. Flett. 1905 William V. Todd. 1906 Samuel L. Landers. 1907 W. R. Trotter. 1908 P. M. Draper. 1909 F. Bancroft. 1910 R. P. Pettipiece. 1911 Wm. Glocking.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1912

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same

industry and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union-label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of the President; third, Report of the Secretary; fourth, Report of the Treasurer; fifth, Resolutions; sixth, Laws; seventh, Organization; eighth, Labels; ninth, Adjustment; tenth, Local or Federated Bodies; eleventh, Education; twelfth, State Organization; thirteenth, Boycotts; fourteenth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances that involve only building trades, and all other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or

propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced in the Convention after the fourth day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to located in one city shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year,

from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than September 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report his acts and doings to the Annual Convention of the Federation.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when

necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish to the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation, and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on September 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the "American Federationist," and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor, exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months, and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank, or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn, each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with within three months their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered

by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$5.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council, the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union, work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only

have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two-thirds of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, ten cents per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article, has been paid in full to September 30 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body, if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their

vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body, or Department, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union, chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction, after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body, under this section, shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated

unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1, shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and in City Central Bodies, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made, of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary, such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, "of which every member shall be regularly notified," to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union. Also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2

and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four (\$4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their action or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike, the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and, further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

SEC. 12. That no Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than fifty (50) cents per month.

SEC. 13. That the Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal labor or local unions, directly affiliated with the A. F. of L., subject to the approval of the president of the A. F. of L. Such members shall not attend meetings of the union or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, such departments subordinate to the A. F. of L. are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the A. F. of L., or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own business.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join must first be, and remain in affiliation to the A. F. of L., and to be entitled to representation in local councils of departments, local bodies shall first be and remain in affiliation to central labor unions chartered by the A. F. of L.

SEC. 3. The fundamental laws of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as, the laws governing the A. F. of L. No department or local council of same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with laws of the A. F. of L., and in the event of change of laws of the latter, departments and local councils are to change their laws to conform thereto.

SEC. 4. Each department to be considered the official method of the A. F. of L. for transacting that portion of its business.

SEC. 5. All departments of the American Federation of Labor shall have their headquarters located in the City of Washington, D. C., and, if possible, in the same building with the Federation Headquarters.

SEC. 6. All departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions, whether annually or less often, during or immediately before or after the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and in the same city where the conventions of the Federation are held.

SEC. 7. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor what

action, if any, has been taken by the Department, either through its Executive Council or through conventions upon any and all matters that have been referred to the Department by the Federation.

SEC. 8. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

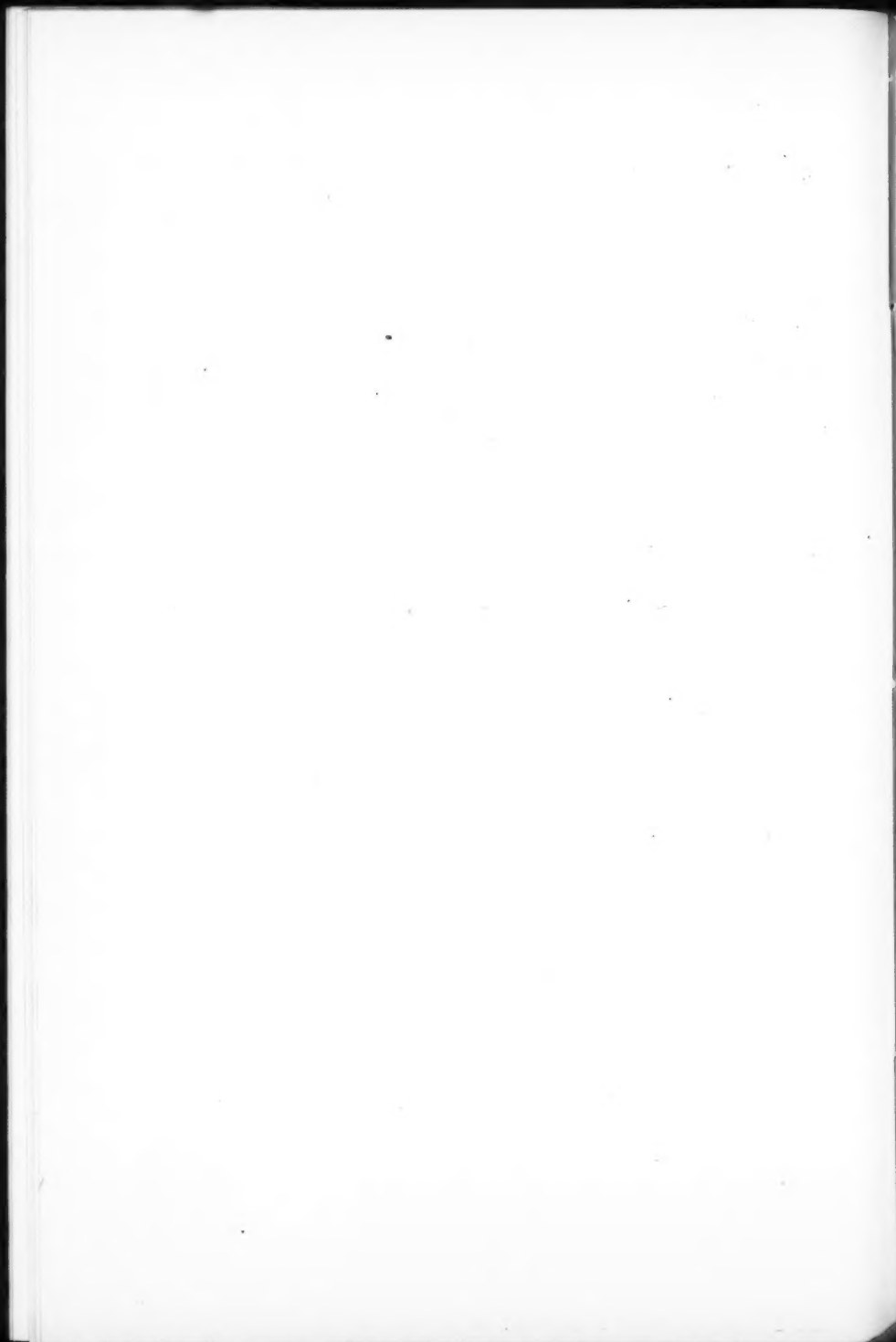
SEC. 9. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present during some period of the Council meeting either the President or Secretary, or both, of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 10. A page of each issue of the "American Federationist" to be available to, and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department.

SEC. 11. National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall also become affiliated with any department in which they may be eligible. This section does not apply to the Union Label Trades Department.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.



THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1911

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day--Monday Morning Session

The Auditorium, Atlanta, Georgia, November 13, 1911.

Pursuant to law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 a. m., by Mr. Louis P. Marquardt, representing the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

Chairman Marquardt: It is my pleasure and distinction to call to order the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. In behalf of the Atlanta Federation of Trades Convention Committee I greet you and extend to you a most hearty and cordial welcome. I now have the pleasure and honor of presenting to you the President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers.

President Gompers in the chair.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Honorable Courtland S. Winn, Mayor of Atlanta. Mayor Winn stated that Governor Hoke Smith was to have been the first speaker of the session, but owing to the fact that the governor could not reach the Convention until later he desired to welcome the Convention to the city. In welcoming the Convention Mayor Winn said in part: It is with a great deal of pleasure that I welcome to Atlanta this distinguished

body of Americans and fraternal delegates. The eyes, not only of the United States, but of Canada and the American colonies are directed toward Atlanta today, and they are watching and listening with deliberation as to the outcome of what this great body will do in its two weeks' session.

I find peculiar pleasure, gentlemen, in welcoming you to Atlanta, because Atlanta has always held in highest esteem the principles of organized labor and the men who represent organized labor in this country. I greet you as men who stand for the uplift and the betterment of humanity. I greet you as men who have followed the illustrious example and precept of that great English King, Alfred the Great, who in the ninth or tenth century first proclaimed to the world that it was proper to institute the eight-hour labor day. I believe King Alfred the Great is the first man of note that history records as being an advocate of the eight-hour work day. He it was who enunciated the principle and belief that mankind ought to work eight hours, that eight hours should be given to recreation and rest and eight hours to the improvement, intellectually and socially, of men. This is not a new fad, but it has come down through the centuries and it has grown and grown until it is not only recognized as a correct principle by American working men, but by conservative, thinking men whether they belong to the creeds and crafts of labor or not.

I greet you as men who have consistently advocated at all times the abolition of child labor. We believe with you that the factory, the mill and the work shop is no place for childhood, but that

the children ought to be taken out of factory environment, out of sweatshops and put into the schools, permitted to use the playgrounds, to breathe God's pure air and enjoy the bright sunshine that the Great Architect of the universe has given, and thus equip and prepare the better for the duties of citizenship that ultimately await them.

I greet you as men and women who are interested in bettering the sanitary conditions and surroundings of the workshop where men and women labor. I greet you, my friends, as men and women who are for the uplift of humanity and mankind the world over, whether they work at the forge, in the shop, in the factory, on the railroad or wherever they may be. The great principles and teachings of organized labor are for the uplift and the betterment of mankind, no matter where or when it is taught to the sons and daughters of men.

All Atlanta feels honored that you have selected this Southern City in which to hold the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. You will find from all our citizens of every class, whether they belong to Union Labor or whether they belong to the professions or commercial life, a warm Southern greeting. You will find extended to you during your stay here that proverbial hospitality for which the South and the Southern people are noted. You are not in an alien city, a city inimical to your teaching. We want you to feel that you are among your friends in Atlanta. We are glad to see among your number so many ladies. We welcome them to the hospitality of this city of the Southland. They bless, they brighten, they beautify, they adorn any occasion to which they lend their presence and their aid.

Gentlemen, not only in behalf of the men and women who hold membership in the union labor organizations in Atlanta, but in behalf of its 200,000 loyal patriotic American citizens, I bid you welcome to this Queen City of the South, and I hope your stay will be as pleasant to you and as profitable to you as it will be pleasant to the people of Atlanta.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Honorable Hoke Smith, Governor of Georgia and United States Senator-elect from Georgia.

In welcoming the Convention on behalf of the State, Governor Smith said in part:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I extend to you a most cordial welcome to our state and I wish to tell you that you are in a state where the great majority of the people honor and respect Union Labor. I believe in the organization of the members of the crafts and the Federation of the organizations. Transportation and industrial business are conducted through the investment of money and the labor of men. Both must unite to bring either to transportation or industrial enterprises success. It is therefore but right that each should

receive a fair proportion of the profit made by their united efforts. If all the men who engage in these enterprises were organized into a corporation, and all of the money scattered among many disorganized holders, the men solidly organized would be more than human if they failed to claim for themselves more than a fair part of the profits. Then it is but reasonable to say that if the money is all organized in Corporations and the men remain disorganized as individuals, the money would claim more for itself than a fair part of the profits. I am attributing to it no more greed than might justly be attributed to the men. Those who handle the money are human, the men themselves are human. Then how can it be expected that the men will receive their fair part of the profits unless they organize their crafts and federate their organizations?

I welcome you to Georgia because you represent the Federation of the Crafts. The highest human service comes from contribution to the development of men. The greatest work any man can do is to promote the progress of his fellow men. Money is necessary, but finally it is useless except where it contributes to the development of the human race. All legislation, all administration should have in view the development of the individual, the broadening of his opportunity by checking that concentration of power above that takes from him an opportunity.

I welcome your organization to Georgia because you are engaged in the effort to broaden this opportunity and to help prepare the individual man better to use his opportunity. If I were a member of a craft I would always carry with me my Union Card, and I would always seek to maintain a good standing in my Union. I have no sympathy with prejudice against Union Labor; it comes from narrowness and lack of comprehension. I am as far as any man from uttering a thought that would seek to stir prejudice or bad feeling between men and money; but I would have those who possess a larger share of the money sympathize with my desire to see the improvement of my fellow citizens.

I believe in Union Labor. I do not expect all of you to be perfect. Nobody ought to expect it. When we become perfect we will all be translated. But I do say that I believe that Union Labor has made just as few mistakes as the men who handle the money. I believe in Union Labor because for more than a quarter of a century I have studied what those who handle Union Labor have been doing and I have seen the fruits of their effort. I know that Union Labor has helped to build the manhood of American citizens.

Your organizations are essential. We long for the upbuilding of our fellow men, for their growth mentally, morally, spiritually and financially. Financial success, at least to a reasonable extent, is almost essential to moral, mental and spiritual growth. How can you expect a man to grow if his family is scarcely

fed and his children scarcely clothed? How can you expect a man to grow if he has no hours of leisure for thought and study? How can you expect him to grow as a citizen if from daylight to dark he must toil, and then after dark see those dear to him almost destitute? I put it broadly as a National proposition, not as a selfish proposition that belongs simply to you. If our country is to be great it must be great in the greatness of the individual citizens of our states. The whole scheme of our Government was based on that theory that here between the oceans, the lakes and the gulf we would set a type of that plan of Government which would develop the greatest number of splendid men and women. What a power the different Unions and your organization is to accomplish this result. You are essential to that work which will give fair pay for a day's efforts. You are making progress, you are making splendid progress, and you will continue to make progress until you accomplish a result which will bring to every man full pay for what he does.

But there are other lines upon which you are doing splendid work. You are building men, you are caring for children, you furnish a powerful influence to see that every child has a chance. You stand against the sweatshop for children, you stand for education of children, you stand for their preparation for the responsibilities, the trials and the pleasures of full grown life. But you can do a great deal more, and you are doing it. Growth should be the aspiration of manhood. Improvement should be the effort even of those who have reached maturity, even of the man who has passed from the days of apprenticeship to the days of Artisan, greater skill in our various lines of work, no matter what they may be, the awakening of aspirations to do better whatever we are called on to do in our line of occupation, as citizens, as home-makers, as fathers and mothers.

I welcome you to Atlanta because you are engaged in the great work of co-operating with your fellow men for the benefit of your fellow men. And I want to say to you that here you have a cordial welcome. Here you are among your friends. We are glad you are with us, and nine-tenths of our people cordially endorse your efforts and will be glad to help you in everything you desire to accomplish.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mr. N. H. Kirkpatrick, President of the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

President Kirkpatrick—Ladies and Gentlemen: I take great pleasure in extending to you in a few words the welcome of organized labor in the City of Atlanta. You have been cordially and ably welcomed to Georgia by our Governor and Senator-elect, who has only recently on this platform been elevated to membership in the Blacksmiths' Union. You have been welcomed to the City of Atlanta by our Honorable Mayor, who is himself a member of the Brick-

layer's Union. I am sure these two gentlemen have voiced the sentiment of organized labor, not only in Atlanta, but throughout the State of Georgia. We sincerely hope and trust that you will be pleased with Atlanta as your Convention City. Our chief aim in the last few months has been to provide for your comfort and pleasure in this convention. We hope you will be made to feel at home. Most of the homes of our cities are occupied by the industrial classes, and not a few of them are owned by members of organized labor. I am instructed to say to you that the latching hangs on the outside for every delegate and visitor to the Convention.

The Local Unions of our city have always adhered consistently and strictly to the principles laid down by the American Federation of Labor. We have at all times entertained the highest regard for and confidence in the executive officers of the labor movement of this country, and as a result we have been rewarded in this section of the South with a Trades Union movement as pure as the air we breathe and as sure of prosperity in the future as is the land in which we live.

We are pleased to have you as our guests. We know the principles for which we stand are as broad as the universe, and it is to you gentlemen who have given your time, your thought and in many instances consecrated your lives to this work, who have made the Trade Union movement up-to-date. Therefore, in behalf of the Atlanta Federation of Trades I take pleasure in saying that we not only extend the hand of welcome, but pledge you our support and confidence in the future as we have given it in the past.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Hon. William Schley Howard.

In welcoming the Convention on behalf of the Fifth Congressional District, Mr. Howard said in part: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: With all the cordiality of my nature I welcome you to the Sunny South, to its Empire State and its Capital City. We are delighted that you have honored us by holding this Convention here. We hope that while you are here you will feel perfectly at home. The principles for which you gentlemen stand and have labored are just and right, and the only thing I cannot understand is that the 18,000,000 men in the United States of America who follow industrial employment are not members of Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Great strides are yet to be taken. Many problems perplexing in their nature will have to be met. My honest opinion is that the rock upon which this nation shall finally stand is the friendly relation and hearty co-operation that must and will exist between Capital and Labor. The first step to be taken in the direction of the accomplishment of this is a complete unbosoming of the secrets of "big business." First there must be a flood of water

squeezed from the organization of large Corporations who predicate the wage scale they pay to their employes, upon dishonest organization.

It is a great pleasure to have been thrown with the chief officer of your magnificent organization and with his co-workers at the National Capital. From what I have seen of them, from what I know of their untiring efforts for the uplift of humanity, permit me to say, Mr. President, that the honors have been most worthily bestowed. It will be my pleasure, and I will deem it a distinguished privilege, to help in my humble way, so long as I shall remain as an official in Washington, in the upbuilding of the principles of organized labor. I do not say this here because I am in your presence. I believe that disorganization can accomplish nothing, and when the trades are thoroughly organized and follow the wise guidance of such men as I see before me we can accomplish things that will redound to the glory of the men and women who toil for their living.

I hope you will be wisely guided in your deliberation here. May what you do and say redound to the glory of the cause of organized labor. May what you recommend be wise in its conclusions, and then in my humble capacity I will assist in carrying out your recommendation.

We greet you. We are in hearty accord with your every sentiment. As our distinguished Governor has welcomed you to Atlanta and our distinguished Mayor has welcomed you to Atlanta, I desire to extend the jurisdiction and welcome you to the Fifth Congressional District of Georgia, which contains practically everything that is good in Georgia.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Hon. C. T. Ladson, Attorney for the Atlanta Federated Trades and the State Federation of Labor.

Mr. Ladson, in addressing the convention, said in part:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I hardly know where I come in in a meeting of this kind. It is quite appropriate that the very able and distinguished Governor of Georgia should extend you a welcome on behalf of the State and that the Mayor, whom we all love, should welcome you to the city, that the local Federated President and the officers of the State Federation of Labor should join in such a welcome, but where the balance of us came in I was not quite clear when I read the program. But now that I am here I am going to say a few words, and at the risk of being somewhat inappropo I am going to discuss from a lawyer's standpoint a vital question which threatens to become more vital with the passing years, as to a change in the law whereby no court shall have the right to imprison a citizen of this country for contempt of court unless that citizen has first been accorded a trial by a jury of his countrymen and has been found guilty by such a jury. I shall incidentally refer to

a great case wherein as defendants your honored chief, Mr. Gompers, the Secretary of your organization, Mr. Morrison and Mr. Mitchell were concerned. I approach the discussion of this subject by reason of those personalities involved, for fear some gentleman on the floor might deem it inappropriate, and I hope I will not offend in that respect. I secured copies of all the records in that case, and when I got through with a study of those records I was almost paralyzed with amazement at the culmination of that alleged trial and the extraordinary sentences imposed upon those three men. I do not believe the American people have fairly grasped the real issues of that memorable case.

Now, gentlemen, it is but a stale platitude that courts must be respected. So they must. It is undeniably true that upon the judiciary of America and of every free land there must rest much of liberty and law and order and everything that spells for the glory of a Republic. There is no man who respects a judge in the abstract more than I do, or more in the concrete, when he measures up to the ideal of a just judge; but I for one as a free man do not believe that any divinity doth hedge a judge about. I for one believe that a judge is the just subject of just criticism. And, more than that, I am not unmindful of the fact that history, particularly English history, shows the sad fact that in many memorable struggles for liberty judges have been made the engines of tyrannical power. If time permitted I should cite innumerable instances of such facts.

Mr. Ladson spoke at length and in detail of the issuing of the injunction in the Buck Stove and Range Company, and the trial and sentencing of President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison for alleged contempt of court.

Following his statement of the details of the case Mr. Ladson said: Now, gentlemen, I do not believe that the founders of the Constitution ever contemplated that its citizens could be sent to jail for twelve months for contempt of a court's order, whether in a civil or a criminal case, without trial by jury. I have studied the Constitution of the United States. Like all lawyers I have studied Magna Charta, the great charter wrung from King John in 1215 on the banks of the Thames by the barons and the yeomanry of England. I have tried to reason out how it has come about that judges under a pretended exercise of law could ever dare to sentence a citizen for twelve months as a common felon in a common jail without a verdict and judgment of his peers. The Constitution of the United States says "the trial of all crimes except in cases of impeachment shall be by jury." It further says, "excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." And it further says, "in suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars the right of trial by jury shall be preserved."

If in a civil case where more than \$20 is involved the Constitution of the United States says that the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, how much more should it be reserved in a case such as I have cited. I say if the framers and makers of the Constitution were so jealous of the rights of trial by jury as to provide that in cases where more than \$20 is involved a citizen shall have the right of trial by jury, surely they never dreamed that judges would assume to sentence men into common jails for alleged contempt of court.

I would not have you gentlemen believe that I lack in respect for the courts, but it is the duty of American free men and lovers of human liberty to resist tyranny wherever it shows its head. They have not put Messrs. Gompers, Morrison and Mitchell in jail yet, and I hope they will not. I am sure neither one of them wants to play role of martyr, but I am equally sure neither one of them would blanch in the face of a sentence under such a decree. And I am equally sure that if ever such a thing happens, or a similar thing happens in this country, the public conscience will be at last aroused to judicial tyranny and there will never be a repetition of it.

Mr. Ladd spoke at some length of famous English trials in which juries had freed men whom judges desired to have sentenced, and in concluding his address said: In all the history of the American judiciary there has been, to the glory of the American federal judiciary, but one case of impeachment in one hundred and twenty-five or one hundred and thirty years. The point I wish to make is that there must never be grounds for another; that public sentiment must hold judges, whether State or Federal, up to a true sense of justice. And I say this as a member of the profession from which judges are recruited, I say this with a pride in the profession, that there has never been a struggle for human liberty anywhere under the sun that the lawyers have not been foremost in the phalanx championing human liberty. I have a pride in my profession, I have a pride in our judiciary, but I am not blinded to the fact that wherever great power is vested the temptation for tyranny springs in the human breast. And I do not want the belief to become current in America that anybody, be he judge or president or what not, is free from criticism, or is above justice.

I thank you and I thank the Atlanta Federation of Trades for according me a position on this program.

President Gompers—It affords me pleasure to present to this Convention a gentleman who perhaps is as well known to the delegates who have attended the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor for years as any other generally regular attendant. He is perhaps more responsible than any other one delegate for bringing this Convention to Atlanta. We know him well and favorably. He

speaks better for himself than any one can speak for him. He will make himself better understood than I can present him to you—our genial, eloquent, faithful friend, Jerome Jones.

In addressing the Convention Mr. Jones said in part:

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: The question has again been asked on the floor and really I have been somewhat embarrassed in the last three or four days by just such questions—"How about the roses and the sunshine?" We did say something in St. Louis about roses and sunshine, and if age has not dimmed your vision or stubborn youth will not allow you to see, you can view them every minute in the day in Atlanta, the roses on the faces of our womanhood and the sunshine in the faces and hearts of all our people. You are going to get sunshine. I have no doubt it will be warm in the Convention, and we will make it warm for you outside of the Convention. We told you of flowers and sunshine when we asked you to come here. This sort of weather is foreign to us, and if some of you gentlemen brought it along with you, while we dislike it, as a stranger we will bid it welcome.

Now, Mr. President and Delegates, it would be impossible, utterly impossible, for me to express to you the pleasure that the people of Atlanta and Georgia feel at your coming. It is in no perfunctory way we welcome you. These people have heard of you for years. They know what you have done, they know the figure you have cut and the impetus that you have given to a movement in the State of Georgia that has done more for the advancement of Georgia than any other known human agency. Every smile upon the face of a child taken from the factory and placed in the school room, every bit of happiness that comes to the woman that has been emancipated from drudgery and toil, every bit of sunshine that has been thrown into the homes of the workers of the South has come through efforts of the American Federation of Labor. All the laws on our statute books favorable to labor and all the laws that have been unfavorable to labor that failed of passage are due to the magnificent efforts of this body.

Every citizen of Atlanta and of Georgia and of the South bids you welcome. Don't you think for one minute that they do not know you and your reputation; don't you think for one minute that they do not fully realize what you have done for the toilers of the South, and don't you think for one minute that they are unappreciative of the services you have rendered. Every class of citizen appreciates your visit and bids you welcome. The unorganized people and the organized people have looked forward to this Convention knowing well what it would mean to all the people of the country. We know what you people do, we know that your legislation makes for a higher manhood, a lovelier womanhood and a sweeter childhood. We want it

said when this Convention adjourns that legislation has been enacted for the advancement of labor organizations and the workers of the country, legislation that will hereafter be the law of the land, that it was enacted in Atlanta and in the State of Georgia. We know it and we feel it in every pulsation of our hearts, and it is not too much to say, Mr. President, that we really and truly believe here that when the first meeting of the American Federation of Labor convened then it was that the first American Congress was in session, and when the preamble and constitution of the American Federation of Labor was written it was the first genuine and real declaration of independence to the American people.

Gentlemen, make yourselves at home. If you see anything you want, take it. Charge it to the Governor. We all expect to shake hands with you. These people are a people that want to take a fellow by the hand—and for the ladies, well, they take them by both hands. We want you to enjoy yourselves. We won't let you have a dull time. We despise it. We want you to have a rattling good time and we know you are going to have it. The happiest minute of my life is just now when I can look my old friends in the face and welcome them to Atlanta. May your visit here be one of such pleasure that when you go home you will heave a heavy sigh and say "this is a departure of regret."

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Hon. James L. Mason, City Attorney of Atlanta.

Mr. Mason said in part:

Mr. President and Friends: The Governor has welcomed you to the State, the distinguished Congressman to the District, the Mayor to the City, and Mr. Jones to himself. There is nothing left for me to do, they have covered it all, but as an Atlantian I am very glad to occupy a place on the stage, to take part in these proceedings and to say to you gentlemen that we people who are giving you a thorough welcome in words mean it in fact, and that these men who are stating that they are your friends are telling the real, downright truth, not simply talking for effect. When the Senator first started The Atlanta Journal he turned off every scab in it and put in Union men. And he is a leading member of the Blacksmiths' Union as he said, but he ought to have been in the Printers' Union. And the Mayor, whose heart is as ruby as his hair is red, is a member of the Bricklayers' Union, and when he says he is your friend he is simply repeating what all Atlanta knows. And when Bill Schley Howard steps before you and says he is your friend, he is. He is a leading member of the Farmers' Union and raises more pumpkins and cane in DeKalb County than any one in it. And when the City Attorney attempts to speak he speaks as a full-fledged member of that great and glorious Union, equalled by few and excelled by none, the International Association of Machinists. When they admit-

ted me they were in some doubt as to the class of work to put me to, but Mike Reilly and Henry Garrett held a consultation and decided that by reason of my long acquaintance with those particular machines they would put me in charge of the hot air furnace and gas engines. So we are all good laboring men and we prove our faith by our works running not back through the past few minutes, but through years and years.

My friends, as one who in part sits aside and looks upon this great movement, I only wish it were mine to see its full fruition. There can be no doubt that organized labor and those institutions working with it are engaged in the one great epochal work of the day. In the middle ages it was the members of the great craft of the cities who first began to wrest power from the throne and who threw up the first breastworks against brutal power and licensed outrage. Today the baron who was then in his castle is removed, but we have equally great power reaching out in many directions, and it is to organized institutions we must look to wrest power again from concentration and diffuse it among the people. You are going to succeed because of the fact that you are organized. The great mass of the people fail because they are not organized. The old bundle of sticks story is as true now as it was in the days when Aesop first told it, and these great concentrations on the other side have but one thing to fear in America, and that is organized labor. And, gentlemen, it is up to you to work it out. Now, we do not expect any revolution. There is not going to be any revolution. This thing is going to be a quiet proposition in the next century. I still have confidence in the hearts of the people, and it does seem to me, as a man on the outside looking in, that if this organization and that other great organization come together they can settle all these questions very shortly.

President Gompers, in responding to the addresses of welcome said in part:

Governor Smith, Mayor Winn, representatives of the city government and civic activities, representatives of organized labor, fellow delegates and friends: I think we have all of us been greatly impressed, not only with the addresses which have been delivered to us, but, better than all, by the spirit back of them. For your cordial welcome to Atlanta and to the State of Georgia I want you to believe me, gentlemen, that I feel confident I but bespeak, and faintly bespeak, the great appreciation which the delegates to this Convention would have me express. For myself let me say that they have made a great impression upon my mind and they have left their impress upon my being, and I am sure I am within the limits of truth when I say they will have a great influence upon the judgment and upon the actions, not only of this Convention, but of the great rank and file of the working people and the people of the country generally.

I ought not to let this opportunity pass with a mere formal expression of appreciation and gratitude. As you gentlemen have addressed this Convention some thoughts have come to me and I feel the time is opportune for their expression. All through this country, all through this continent, all through Europe, all through Australasia, even to the Far East, there is a manifest discontent and unrest among the people for a better conception of justice and right which must prevail. The American Federation of Labor is but the heir, is but the continued effort of the masses of the people from time immemorial, to take up the cause of the common people, to struggle for right, for justice, to relieve the masses from burdens unnecessarily imposed and tyranny unjustly and unnecessarily exercised. That unrest finds its expression in different forms in different countries. In England and on the continent of Europe within the recent past, within the past six months there has been an uprising of those who occupy the lowest stratum in the entire human family. When the almost stagnated dumb giant of labor simply stepped from that position it occupied and folded its arms kingdoms and crowns and empires, commerce and industry stood still and at the mercy of the weakling labor. In our border country of Mexico a great transition has occurred in the recent past. In China there is now going on a struggle undreamed of five years ago for the overthrow of a tyranny and a dynasty and a system of Government and society obsolete in every other portion of the globe. It is a great upheaval that has for its demand a constitution which in its essentials shall vouchsafe liberty and guarantee a greater degree of right and justice.

Look where you will all over the world and the same unrest and discontent is seen, and yet in our country where we endeavor to so crystallize the discontent and unrest that it shall be constructive in character, upon lines and principles as we understand it among English speaking people of the world, our efforts are attempted to be outlawed by that part of the judiciary which invades the powers of the law-making and the executive departments of our country.

Just one word in connection with the presentation of the law upon this subject. If any man of labor is guilty of violating a law, if it be criminal, lodge an information or an indictment against him and try him by a jury of his countrymen. But I deny the right of a judge to issue an injunction forbidding me to do anything which the constitution guarantees me that I have a right to do. It is not so much a question of a trial by jury as the assumption of power and the assumption of jurisdiction. Let a judge assume jurisdiction and if it is undisputed it becomes a precedent upon which judges thereafter regard that jurisdiction as theirs. Our protest is against the assumption of jurisdiction. There are no property rights in men and no injunction should be issued unless there are property rights involved.

Although I speak as a layman, I have had my fur rubbed up the wrong way on this proposition so often that I feel I am speaking with a certain amount of authority.

No matter what the outcome of this trial may be, what matters it? John Mitchell, Frank Morrison and I do not want to go to jail, but if it must come about, then all we can say is that other as good, perhaps better men than we, have gone to jail in the cause of right, in the cause of humanity. And perhaps that may occur with others hereafter, but come what may I feel that the remark made to me last Friday in the City of Washington by a former member of Congress is true. He said: "Mr. Gompers, the American Federation of Labor is the only consistent and persistent and militant organized body of the people of the country which now stands for the rights of and for justice for the people of the country."

This American Labor movement, like the Labor movement of the civilized world, is going on. We will grow. We will grow with the good will of those who wish us well, we will grow in spite of the most bitter and relentless opposition. This Labor movement is here, not to stay, but to keep on going. It is the movement of living men and women with red blood in their veins, who have come to understand what is meant by the Declaration of Independence, who propose to translate the language of the Declaration of Independence to the every day rule of life among the people of our country.

In concluding his address, President Gompers said: In behalf of the American Federation of Labor permit me to extend a fraternal greeting to the delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, Brother Crinlon and Brother Roberts, to the delegate from the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, Brother Glockling, to you gentlemen who have honored us by your presence and addresses this morning, and to you delegates I want to express my appreciation.

I now declare this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor duly open and ready for the transaction of business.

Delegate Jerome Jones, on behalf of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Printers' Union of Atlanta, presented to President Gompers a handsome bunch of chrysanthemums.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 13, 1911.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials beg

leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 346 delegates representing 89 International and National Unions, 25 State Branches, 67 Central Bodies, 20 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 8 fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Bakery and Confectionery Workers', International Union of—Henry Koch, Chris Kerker, A. A. Myrup, 138 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, W. E. Klappetzky, Jacob Fischer, Ed. Anderson, 285 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, Willis R. Golden, Thomas Flanagan, 100 votes.

Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—Joseph A. Franklin, James B. Casey, Louis Weyand, Joseph Flynn, 199 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—A. P. Sovey, 79 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John F. Tobin, Charles L. Baine, Michael J. Hallinan, John C. Schaffer, Royal Dano, 327 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United—Joseph Proebstle, Louis Kemper, Ed. F. Ward, A. J. Kugler, John Sullivan, 450 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Butterworth, 34 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of—Frank M. Ryan, J. T. Butler, William Clark, 100 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners, of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Wm. B. Macfarlane, Carl Young, Thomas Flynn, Wm. J. Kelly, A. M. Swartz, 1,946 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of—William F. Gilmore, J. W. Wilkinson, 78 votes.

Carriage and Wagon Workers, International—James R. Crozier, 20 votes.

Car Workers, International Association of—P. F. Richardson, J. R. Humphrey, 46 votes.

Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of—O. A. Tveitmo, Frank C. Gengenback, M. E. Goellnitz, 90 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union Samuel Gompers, Thomas F. Tracy, J. Mahlon Barnes, John T. Smith, 436 votes.

Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail—H. J. Conway, Charles E. Pfeil, Wm. Christman, 150 votes.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United—Max Zuckerman, 22 votes.

Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America—Percy Thomas, 10 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Andrew C. Hughes, Frank A. Scoby, 43 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, P. W. Collins, Stephen J. Fay, J. W. Yount, 189 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 21 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam—Matt Comerford, James G. Hanahan, John J. Glass, John L. McNamara, 160 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, Wm. J. Brennan, M. J. Friel, 80 votes.

Fitters and Helpers of America, International Association of Steam and Hot Water—J. T. Kinsella, John Mangan, 56 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Harry Meyer, S. L. Landers, Victor Altman, 525 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—D. A. Hayes, Michael B. Cain, Walter S. Pierce, 100 votes.

Glass workers, Amalgamated—David Ring, 12 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America—James Duncan, Paul Bianchi, William W. Russell, 135 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, John A. Moffitt, H. C. Shalvoy, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers and Building Laborers of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, Joseph B. Etchison, Joseph D'Andrea, 127 votes.

Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Roady Kenenhan, 49 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, George Miller, Otto Pattberg, 430 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—John Williams, Richard D. Selway, 45 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, John T. Taggart, 50 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, 26 votes.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods—United Brotherhood of—W. E. Bryan, 26 votes.

Leather Workers' Union of America, Amalgamated—John Roach, 6 votes.

Lithographers, International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Frank Gehring, 21 votes.

Lithographic Press Feeders of United States and Canada, International Protective Association of—Wm. A. Coakley, 9 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher, Martin Cole, F. P. A. Vaccarelli, 250 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—James O'Connell, C. W. Fry, J. J.

Keegan, P. W. Buckley, J. J. Handley, 671 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of—A. B. Lowe, T. J. O'Donnell, T. H. Gerrey, 100 votes.

Marble Workers, International Association of—Walter V. Price, 28 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Homer D. Call, 31 votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers, International Union of North America—T. M. Daly, Thomas Rumsey, 100 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance Amalgamated Sheet—M. O'Sullivan, Jos. Bobb, John J. Hynes, Thomas Walsh, 172 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, T. L. Lewis, John H. Walker, E. S. McCullough, Duncan McDonald, W. B. Wilson, 2,504 votes.

Miners, Western Federation of—Charles H. Moyer, Joseph D. Cannon, J. C. Williams, C. E. Mahoney, 513 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, R. H. Curran, P. F. Duffy, John Murtaugh, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, David A. Carey, Joseph F. Winkler, 500 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Daniel J. Evans, E. Frank Moorhouse, Jacob Tazelaar, Samuel Kelley, 676 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey, 24 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, James L. Geron, 56 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 15 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—John Sheret, 32 votes.

Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International—Matthew Woll, 37 votes.

Piano and Organ Workers, Union of America, International—Charles Dold, 40 votes.

Plate Printers Union of North America, International Steel and Copper—Wm. D. Clark, 13 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—John Donlin, Edward J. McGivern, James Ward, 147 votes.

Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, William Tracey, Patrick Murphy, James F. Malley, 237 votes.

Postoffice Clerks, National Federation of—Oscar F. Nelson, 15 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, George Cartlidge, 59 votes.

Printing Pressmen's Union, International—George L. Berry, S. B. Marks, Edward Johnson, 190 votes.

Quarry Workers, International Union of North America—Fred W. Sutor, 35 votes.

Railroad Telegraphers, Order of—H. B. Perham, C. A. Mulhall, J. F. Miller, T. J. Gallagher, 250 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Wm. Taber, Ben Commons, 393 votes.

Saw Smiths' National Union—T. R. Lilly, 1 vote.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Patrick Flynn, 160 votes.

Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International—J. M. Gaviak, 5 votes.

Stage Employees' International Alliance, Theatrical—John J. Barry, John Suarez, Geo. W. Peterson, 98 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freel, 42 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeyment—M. W. Mitchell, James A. Short, J. W. Bridwell, 86 votes.

Stovemounters' International Union.—J. H. Kaefer, 11 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—James B. Connors, 87 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeyment—E. J. Brais, John B. Lennon, D. G. Biggs, 120 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, Wm. A. Neer, John P. McLaughlin, Anton J. Hermann, 332 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, Thomas Morgan, 100 votes.

Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic—Thomas J. Williams, 21 votes.

Tip Printers' International, Brotherhood of—T. J. Carolan, 2 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans, 40 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thomas J. Curtis, 17 votes.

Typographical Union, International—James M. Lynch, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson, T. W. McCullough, 518 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, 28 votes.

White Rats Actors' Union of America—Joe Birnes, Will J. Cooke, Harry De Veaux, 80 votes.

Wood Workers' International Union of America, Amalgamated—D. D. Mulcahy, 31 votes.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—G. E. Mikel, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Andrew J. Gallagher, 1 vote.

- Florida State Federation of Labor—Jackson W. Holder, 1 vote.
- Georgia State Federation of Labor—W. A. McKenna, 1 vote.
- Illinois State Federation of Labor—Groe Lawrence, 1 vote.
- Indiana State Federation of Labor—Wm. J. Pfleger, 1 vote.
- Kansas State Federation of Labor—Joe O'Brien, 1 vote.
- Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor—Geo. Myers, 1 vote.
- Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Durnin, 1 vote.
- Michigan State Federation of Labor—Joseph Smith, 1 vote.
- Missouri State Federation of Labor—Charles W. Wilkerson, 1 vote.
- Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.
- Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Frank M. Coffey, 1 vote.
- New Jersey State Federation of Labor—George Leary, 1 vote.
- New York State Federation of Labor—John Dowd, 1 vote.
- Ohio State Federation of Labor—John J. Graney, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Ed H. Ryan, 1 vote.
- Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Charles Lavin, 1 vote.
- Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.
- Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Smith, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor—M. E. Shay, 1 vote.
- Virginia State Federation of Labor—E. W. Blakey, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor—Peter Henretty, 1 vote.
- Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.
- Wyoming State Federation of Labor—James Buckley, 1 vote.
- Alton, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—William E. Kelly, 1 vote.
- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Jerome Jones, 1 vote.
- Augusta, Ga., Federation of Trades—W. H. Anderson, 1 vote.
- Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—Edward Hirsch, 1 vote.
- Bellaire, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Assembly—E. E. Tharp, 1 vote.
- Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Frank Heck, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Wm. H. O'Brien, 1 vote.
- Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—Chas. E. Lowell, 1 vote.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Maurice De Young, 1 vote.
- Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council—E. R. Torrey, 1 vote.
- Charleroi, Pa., Monogahela Trades Council of Charleroi—John P. Ferry, 1 vote.
- Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union—John D. Hurley, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—John Carroll, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Thomas J. Conner, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Peter Hassenpflue, 1 vote.
- Columbia, S. C., Federation of Trades—Henry J. Hardy, 1 vote.
- Columbus, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—John R. Jones, 1 vote.
- Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—H. M. Munn, 1 vote.
- Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—Leland W. Smith, 1 vote.
- Fargo, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—John Oliver, 1 vote.
- Fort Edward, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Henry Hassard, 1 vote.
- Frankfort, Ind., Central Labor Union—J. F. Evans, 1 vote.
- Hammond, Ind., Lake County Trades and Labor Council—B. A. Carter, 1 vote.
- Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union—Sol. Sontheimer, 1 vote.
- Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—George Haines, 1 vote.
- Jacksonville, Fla., Trades and Labor Council—T. W. Cox, 1 vote.
- Jersey City, N. J., Central Labor Union of Hudson County—Edward Harrison Mead, 1 vote.
- Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Charles Schaffer, 1 vote.
- Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—T. Briggs, 1 vote.
- LaFayette, Ind., Central Labor Union—Meta Skemp, 1 vote.
- Lead, S. D., Black Hills Trades Assembly—W. E. Scoggin, 1 vote.
- Lincoln, Neb., Central Labor Union—George F. Quick, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Cal., Central Labor Council—James A. Gray, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—John Schneider, 1 vote.
- Macon, Ga., Central Labor Union—Frank Hobbs, 1 vote.
- Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—T. G. Kennedy, 1 vote.
- Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—W. B. Abel, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—William Coleman, 1 vote.
- Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—P. J. Doherty, 1 vote.
- Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Chas. P. Fahey, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Louis A. B. Agethen, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Louis Wendt, 1 vote.
- Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor As-

sembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—John M. Albrecht, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union—James P. Holland, 1 vote.

Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—William A. Davis, 1 vote.

Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union—Jonas R. Wangberg, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—George H. Ullrich, 1 vote.

Pittsburg, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council—Edward F. Welsh, 1 vote.

Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Melville E. Fuller, 1 vote.

Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—M. R. Pace, 1 vote.

Rome, Ga., Central Labor Union—John H. Taylor, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—Louis F. Philippi, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—C. E. James, 1 vote.

San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council—C. F. Russi, Jr., 1 vote.

San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—Antone Johannsen, 1 vote.

San Juan, Porto Rico, Central Labor Union—Rafael Alonzo, 1 vote.

Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. W. Ingram, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—E. W. Leonard, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Arthur W. Smith, 1 vote.

South Framingham, Mass., Central Labor Union—J. A. Winchenback, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—James P. Noonan, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Daniel Wilby, 1 vote.

Texarkana, Texas, Central Labor Council—Charles E. White, 1 vote.

Vancouver, B. C., Trades and Labor Council—A. W. Wright, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Charles T. Smith, 1 vote.

Waycross, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—F. A. Morton, 1 vote.

Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—John A. Voll, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646—E. C. Morris, 1 vote.

Bricklayers' Union No. 10982—Joaquin A. Becerril, 1 vote.

Button Workers' Protective Union No. 12854—O. C. Wilson, 8 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959—James J. McAndrews, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 7295—George W. Ford, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12949—F. C. Belt, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 14045—Thomas E. Welsh, 1 vote.

Grain Workers' Association No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

House Shores, Movers and Sheath Pilers', United, No. 7417—Francis Creamer, 1 vote.

Laborers' Protective Union No. 8249—S. R. Forehand, 1 vote.

Laborers', United No. 12992—William H. Dwyer, 5 votes.

Machinists Helpers' Union No. 11830—J. L. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Machinists' Helpers' Union No. 13117—R. A. Cornette, 1 vote.

Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union No. 9463—John R. Dunne, 10 votes.

Railroad Laborers and Helpers' Union No. 12535—G. D. Saum, 1 vote.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers No. 14085—A. Z. Ham, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597—Mary B. East, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773—D. F. Manning, 1 vote.

Stenographers and Typists' Association No. 12755—J. Louis Engdahl, 1 vote.

Theatre Employees' Union No. 14089—C. J. Schaub, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—J. Crinon, G. H. Roberts, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Wm. Glockling, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Mrs. Raymond Robins.

Woman's International Union Label League—Annie Fitzgerald.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ—Rev. Chas. S. Macfarland.

American Federation of Catholic Societies—Rev. P. E. Dietz, Chas. I. Denechaud.

We have received a protest from the International Association of Car Workers

against the seating of the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, on the grounds that a charter was issued to the latter organization in violation of the constitution of the A. F. of L. On this protest we beg leave to report that inas-

much as the St. Louis Convention seated the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, we can see

no reason why this protest should be entertained at this time, and therefore recommend the seating of the delegates representing the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, namely, M. F. Ryan, G. F. Mounts, George A. Nolte and John J. Gallagher, with 269 votes.

We have credentials from the Ladies Garment Workers' International Union, but the organization is indebted for per capita tax for July, August and September, 1911, and under the constitution of

the A. F. of L. their delegates cannot be seated until same is liquidated.

We have a credential from Thomas J. McNamara as delegate from the Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers International Association, which is protested by Andrew J. Kennedy, the President of the organization, on the grounds that he is the only duly accredited delegate, having been elected by their regular Convention which met in August, 1910. The Committee requests that the contestants appear for a hearing, at eight o'clock this evening at Room 102, New Kimball Hotel.

We have received the following protest:

Atlanta, Ga., November 13th, 1911.
To the Credential Committee of the A. F. of L. Convention.
Brothers:—

We, the undersigned delegates to this convention, hereby make protest to the seating the delegates of the Electrical Workers representing the McNulty Faction (so-called) for the very potent reasons, to-wit:

That they do not represent the majority of Organized Electrical Workers of the United States and Canada.

That they are a menace to the peace of the Labor Movement as a whole.

Also, that they have defied the mandates of the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convention adopted a plan and was carried in conjunction with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to amalgamate the forces of the Electrical Workers.

Mr. McNulty and his associates have refused to abide by the rulings of the A. F. of L. and to seat them would mean a continuance of our industrial disturbances.

Fraternally submitted,

E. J. BRAIS,

Delegate Journeymen Tailors' Union.

A. ROSENBERG,

L. G. W. Union.

In view of the fact that the delegates from the Electrical Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have been seated at several previous conventions since their internal dispute first arose, we would recommend that the protest be not entertained, and the delegates representing the Electrical Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, be seated.

D. A. CAREY, Chairman,

S. L. LANDERS,

E. FRANK MOORHOUSE,
Secretary.

President Gompers—You have heard the report of the Committee on Credentials. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.)—I move you that the report of the committee be received and that the delegates reported by them as entitled to seats be seated. (Seconded.)

Vice-President O'Connell—I think it would be well to accept that portion of the report which provides for seating the delegates to whose seating there has been no question. Then the balance of the report can be discussed. I move to amend the motion to that effect. (Seconded.)

Delegate Richardson—I move as an amendment to the amendment that delegates against whom no protests have been entered shall be seated in this Convention, in accordance with the recommendation of the committee, and where protests have been entered that they shall remain open for individual discussion as to the merits or demerits of the protest.

Vice-President O'Connell—That is exactly my motion.

Delegate Richardson—With that understanding I will withdraw my amendment. I want the protests to stand for discussion.

Delegate Brais—I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment in regard to the part of the report dealing with the Electrical Workers' credentials. Inasmuch as the Executive Council has handled this for three annual conventions and it has not as yet been settled, and as there are a large number of organized workers who wish to be represented, I desire to offer an amendment.

President Gompers—The amendment of Vice-President O'Connell is that the delegates reported by the committee against whose seating no protests are offered, shall be seated. The amendment accomplishes the purpose you have in view.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.)—Is there a representative from the San Francisco Labor Council?

Secretary Moorhouse—Yes, Anton Johanssen. He has not as yet arrived.

Delegate Tobin—I move that action on his credential be postponed until he arrives. (Seconded and carried.)

The amendment offered by Vice-President O'Connell was carried, and the original motion was adopted as amended.

At 1 o'clock, on motion of Vice-President Hayes, a recess was taken to 2:30 p. m.

First Day---Monday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m. Monday, November 13th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Koch, Golden (Willis R.), Flanagan (Thomas), Schaffer (John C.), Butterworth, Humphrey, Conway, Pfeil, Thomas, Hughes (Andrew C.), Scoby, Glass, D'Andrea, Flore, Williams (John), Roach, Coakley, Price, Hayes (Frank J.), Lewis, Wal-er, McCullough, Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Weber, (Jos. N.), Malin, Mulhall, Gallagher (John J.), Taber, Commons, Gavlak, Connors (James B.), Morgan, McKenna, Lawrence, Coffey, Dowd, Blakey, Kelley (Williams E.), Anderson (W. H.), O'Brien (William H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Schaffer (Charles), Scoggan, Quick, Gray, Schneider (John), Hobbis, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Morton, Becerril, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Dwyer, Donnelly, Saum, Engdahl, Schaub.

President Gompers—In accordance with the rules, the chair appoints, subject to confirmation by this Convention, W. G. Gredig, Typographical Union No. 48, Atlanta, as Assistant Secretary; T. N. Scales, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, Sergeant-at-Arms, and A. M. Copeland, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms or Messenger. Is there objection to these appointees? Hearing none, they will act.

Secretary Morrison read the report of the Committee on Credentials in regard to the protests of the International Association of Car Workers against the seating of the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, as follows:

We have received a protest from the International Association of Car Workers against the seating of the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, on the grounds that a charter was granted the latter organization in violation of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. On this protest we beg leave to report that inasmuch as the St. Louis Convention seated the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, we can see no reason why this protest should be entertained at this time, and therefore recommend the seating of the delegates rep-

resenting the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, namely, M. F. Ryan, G. F. Mounts, George A. Nolte and John J. Gallagher, with 269 votes.

Delegate Carey—I move the adoption of the report of the Committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Richardson—I would like to have the protest read.

Secretary Morrison read the following protest:

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 8, 1911.
To the Committee on Credentials of the the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.
Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The undersigned, in behalf of the International Association of Car Workers, begs leave to call your attention to the fact that under date of August 9, 1910, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued a charter of affiliation to the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, in violation of the Constitutional rights of this Association, and in violation of Article IX., Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which reads, in part, as follows:

"Section 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated Unions, without the written consent of such Unions."

In this connection, I wish to call your attention to the fact that the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America is an organization, the membership of which is engaged in occupations and trades within the admitted and recognized jurisdiction of this Association, and that by the issuance of a charter of affiliation to that organization, it was an unlawful invasion of our Constitutional rights, and as that organization is now, and has been a dual organization to this Association, its jurisdiction not only trespasses upon, but completely covers the jurisdiction of this Association.

For your information, I might state that the Toronto Convention in violation of the Constitutional rights of the International Association of Car Workers, adopted the recommendation of the Adjustment Committee relative to the proposed amalgamation of these two organizations, which is, as follows:

"Committee recommends that a conference of the Executive Officers of the Association of Car Workers and Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, together with the President of the A. F. of L. or member of the Executive Council be held in the City of Washington, D. C., at the earliest possible date to arrange terms of amalgamation of the Car Workers and Railway Carmen organizations.

"Failure to agree upon terms of amalgamation the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. shall outline the terms of amalgamation and issue a charter to the Amalgamated organizations."

The Executive Council issued the charter in open, ruthless violation of Section 11, of the Constitution above quoted, as well as in open, ruthless violation of the action of the Toronto Convention, unlawful though it was, and issued this charter to the Brotherhood Railway Carmen without a semblance of authority, except assumed autocratic power, that same power so frequently exercised in the issuance of injunctions by the judiciary denying and depriving the men of labor of their Constitutional Rights under the written law.

The I. A. of C. W., since its affiliation with the A. F. of L., has conformed to the principles of that body and has striven as ceaselessly as conditions would permit, to in every manner work for, defend and uphold these principles. In times of strike, or trouble, involving the membership of other affiliated organizations, we have given them our moral support and such financial support as the treasuries of our Grand and Subordinate Lodges would allow.

We would further call your attention that as long as an affiliated organization conforms to the laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor, its rights and franchise cannot be lawfully placed in jeopardy, or in any way interfered with or infringed upon, much less given away. If an affiliated organization may be denied and deprived of its guaranteed and ordained constitutional rights, and its franchise sold like the seats in Wall Street Stock Exchange are sold to the highest bidder, to satisfy the wishes of the members of the Executive Council, then the rights of no organization are secure.

It is our understanding that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor is the highest authority of that body and it is not within the province of any one or all of its officers to in any way alter, amend or annul any part of it for any reason whatsoever, nor is it within the province of even the Convention itself to amend any part of it, unless such amendment applies equally to all organizations or persons, no more than it is the right of a legislative body to pass a law applying only to one citizen.

After a careful review of the whole situation, it seems to us that the only basis for the action of the Executive Council can be that the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen has a larger membership than this Association; that the terms sought to be imposed upon this Association to amalgamate with the

Brotherhood Railway Carmen were such as did affect the financial liability of the members of this Association, requiring them to become a part of an organization heavily in debt and legally obligating themselves for such indebtedness.

We are in no position to deny that the Brotherhood Railway Carmen has a larger membership than this Association, as in our opinion a decision in a matter involving the rights of an affiliated organization must be left to something other than the mere strength of members.

This question is one involving right or wrong. The action of the Executive Council in this case shows clearly that the non-affiliated organization was given more consideration than the affiliated organization and the former was benefited at the expense of the latter.

The policy of throwing down organizations that have tended to build up the American Federation of Labor and recognize organizations that have tended to tear down and disrupt, is not in our opinion one that will commend itself to members of the Labor Movement of this country.

I, therefore, hereby enter protest against the seating of the delegates who may represent the Brotherhood Railway Carmen in the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convenes in Atlanta, Ga., on the thirteenth of this month.

I ask your Committee to give this protest your most liberal consideration to the end that absolute justice may be accorded to a small organization as well as a large one, and that no injustice or wrongs may be imposed upon this Association because its membership may not be as large as the membership of some affiliated organization.

We not only ask, but we demand equality before the law and before the Executive Council, that same equality which other organizations affiliated with the Federation demand and enjoy, of which the Executive Council has unlawfully denied and deprived the International Association of Car Workers by methods below the dignity of men holding such offices.

It is to be hoped that your recommendation on the premises and the action of the Convention thereon will show that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor is still the highest authority of that body and that the Executive Council is subordinate to and not above it.

Fraternal submission,

P. F. RICHARDSON,

President.

President Gompers—Has delegate Richardson anything to add to the statement that has been read?

Delegate Richardson—I would like to speak on the motion, but first I want to raise a point of order. The Executive Council has issued a charter of affiliation to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America in open violation of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., and in vio-

lation of the ordained and guaranteed charter and constitutional rights of the International Association of Car Workers. My point of order is that under such circumstances the delegates representing the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America are not entitled to seats in this Convention.

President Gompers—The chair decides the point of order not well taken. The Toronto Convention adopted the recommendations of the Executive Council directing that conferences be held for the amalgamation of both organizations, and that a charter would be issued to the amalgamated body. The conferences were held, and to the satisfaction of the Executive Council. The failure to amalgamate the two organizations rested upon the representatives of the organization to which Delegate Richardson belongs. Thereupon a charter was issued to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. The matter was reported fully to the St. Louis Convention last year, and that Convention by an overwhelming vote sustained the position taken by the Executive Council in the issuance of the charter. Therefore, and for many other reasons it is not necessary to state at this time, the point of order is not well taken.

The matter was further discussed briefly by Delegate Richardson.

Vice-President O'Connell—I rise to a point of order. The chair has decided that the delegates from the organization whose credentials have been contested are entitled to seats in this Convention. Further discussion is out of order. The further action of the organization feeling offended is against the Executive Council.

President Gompers—The chair rules that point not well taken. The motion is in order; delegates may vote in favor or against it, exactly as the delegates may vote for or against the credentials of any delegate from any organization.

Treasurer Lennon—I arise to a point of order. The document read by Secretary Morrison is in no way a protest against the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, but is a protest against the action of the Executive Council. I therefore contend that the delegates are seated under the original vote.

President Gompers—The chair prefers that the Convention shall determine. The question is upon the motion to adopt the report of the Committee, which recom-

mends the seating of the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried by a vote of 177 in the affirmative to 3 in the negative.

Secretary Morrison re-read the report of the Committee on Credentials, stating that the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union was in arrears for per capita tax for July, August and September, and read the following telegram: "Frank Morrison, American Federation of Labor Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"Am mailing check to cover full amount of per capita."

The telegram was signed by John A. Dyche, Secretary of the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union.

Delegate Carey, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, stated that under the circumstances the Committee recommended the seating of delegates from the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union, with 668 votes. On motion the recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

Secretary Morrison—The Committee requests that the Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers' International Association appear before the Committee this evening.

Secretary Morrison re-read the following protest against the seating of the delegates representing the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the report of the Committee thereon:

"We, the undersigned delegates to this Convention, hereby make protest to the seating of the delegates of the Electrical Workers representing the McNulty faction (so-called) for the very potent reason, to-wit:

"That they do not represent the majority of the organized Electrical Workers of the United States and Canada.

"That they are a menace to the peace of the Labor movement as a whole.

"Also that they have defied the mandates of the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which Convention adopted a plan, and was carried out in conjunction with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., to amalgamate the forces of the Electrical Workers.

"Mr. McNulty and his associates have refused to abide by the rulings of the A. F. of L., and to seat them would mean a continuance of our industrial disturbances.

Fraternally submitted,

E. J. BRAIS.

Delegate Journeymen Tailors' Union.

A. ROSENBERG.

Ladies' Garment Workers' Union."

The report of the Committee on Credentials on the above protest is as follows:

"In view of the fact that the delegates

from the Electrical Workers are affiliated with the A. F. of L. have been seated at several previous Conventions since their internal dispute first arose, we would recommend that the protest be not entertained, and the Electrical Workers affiliated with the A. F. of L. be seated."

Delegate D. A. Carey—I move the adoption of the recommendation of the Committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Brals—I move as an amendment that this part of the report of the Committee be deferred until the Executive Council makes a report on the floor of this Convention.

Vice-President O'Connell—I rise to a point of order on the motion. There is no protest setting forth that the delegates of the Electrical Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are indebted for per capita tax, or other financial reasons that would debar them from representation in this Convention, nor having violated the fundamental laws of this organization to cause their credentials to be protested by any affiliated organization. If there is some alleged grievance to be presented there is a proper place for it. Therefore the question of contending the right of the delegates to be seated in this Convention is in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L. and not in order.

President Gompers—The grounds upon which the protest is based, to deny the delegates from the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers representation in this convention by delegates, goes farther than their right to representation. It strikes at their affiliation to the American Federation of Labor. They cannot be denied those rights upon an assumption of guilt, at least until after they have had a fair trial. The grounds of the protest are therefore declared out of order. The point of order as raised by Delegate O'Connell is sustained. The question recurs upon the adoption of the report of the Committee. The chair will call for a vote by show of hands.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee, which recommended the seating of the delegates of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was carried by a vote of 175 in the affirmative to 14 in the negative.

Delegate D. A. Carey—I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials as a whole. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duncan presided during the reading of the report of President Gompers.

At the conclusion of the reading Vice-President Duncan stated that printed copies of the reports of the President, Secretary and Treasurer would be distributed to the delegates before adjournment, and that the report of the President would be referred to the Committee on President's Report when appointed. (See pages 21 to 80 inclusive.)

President Gompers—I wish to speak of a correction the Secretary of the Building Trades Department wishes me to make in the part of my report dealing with the Building Trades Department. I ask that the letter of Secretary Spencer be made part of the records in order to show the correction.

Vice-President Duncan—If there are no objections the document will take its place in the proceedings as a correction. Hearing none, it will be included in the report.

Following is the communication from Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department:

Washington, D. C., Nov. 9, 1911.
Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother—
In the data which I furnished you for that portion of your report covering the subject of the Building Trades Department, two clerical errors were unfortunately made.

In the fourth paragraph of the quoted matter, the following statement is made: "Indeed in numberless instances there has been a ready acquisition in the declared policies, decisions and awards of the Department in the past year, etc., etc." The word "acquisition" is a clerical error and should be substituted by the word "acquiescence", so that the sentence will read:

"Indeed in numberless instances there has been a ready acquiescence in the declared policies, decisions and awards of the Department in the past year, etc., etc."

The other clerical error is contained in the statement setting forth the agreements entered into by a number of affiliated trades. The report shows an agreement to have been entered into between the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, when it should read that the Department rendered a decision in the matter of controversy between these two Organizations.

If it is impossible to correct the statement in the report which you have already printed when the same goes into

permanent form, I ask that this letter be incorporated in the permanent proceedings of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, so as to avoid any dispute upon these subjects.

Fraternally yours,

WM. SPENCER,
Secretary-Treasurer Building Trades
Department.

Secretary Morrison read a summary of his report. (See pages 81 to 103 inclusive.)

President Gompers—I have had the pleasure of reading the Secretary's report, which he showed me after its completion. I was very much interested in the summary and analysis of that report. To me the analysis appears of such an important character to direct the attention of the readers to the essential facts of the report that I move it be made part of the printed proceedings and as an addenda to the report of the Secretary. (Seconded and carried.)

Summary of Secretary Morrison's Report Read to the Convention.

To the Officers, and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow-Unionists: I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1910, and ending September 30, 1911.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I report at the close of this fiscal year \$189,579.56 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand, \$133,752.34 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal Labor Unions, and can be used to pay benefits only in the case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$55,797.22, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$15,155.29 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$40,641.93, is divided as follows: In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, and the receipts from the appeals issued for the same purpose, i. e., to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, \$22,433.15. In the fund created by the three-cent assessment for the Hatters' strike, \$226.45. In the fund created by the two-cent assessment levied to take an appeal from the decision rendered against the United Hatters in favor of Leeve & Company, \$17,909.48. In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, for the purpose of placing organizers in Los Angeles and other cities, \$72.85.

The total receipts from all sources are \$182,188.65; the total expenses are \$175,524.08; leaving a balance of receipts over expenditures of \$6,664.60.

On page 81 of the printed report you will find a statement giving the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1911. On page 82 the expenses are detailed under their respective heads.

On pages 86 and 87 is furnished a table showing the voting strength of the affiliated organizations from the years 1903 to and including 1911, which will indicate the growth of membership.

Charters—Reports from the Secretaries of 85 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 2,345 charters have been issued during the past year, and 1,358 surrendered—1,129 of the charters surrendered were locals of the National and International Union, and 229 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

Gain in Membership—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 63 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 117,596.

Strikes—Reports from 74 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 1,359 strikes, in which there were 170,526 involved. Of that number 104,655 were benefited, and 16,179 not benefited. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$4,709,550.69. Adding to that amount \$173,302.06, donations made by local unions to other unions, we have a grand total of \$4,882,852.75 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

Statistics covering the subjects will be found in the printed report on pages 83, 84 and 90.

On page 81 of the printed report is furnished a table showing the amount of benefits paid by the International organizations during the past year.

American Federationist.

The receipts on account of the American Federationist for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911, are \$18,213.98, which is \$2,699.58 less than the expenses. Notwithstanding that fact, the receipts from the American Federationist for the past eight years has come with \$935.05 of paying expenses. To offset that amount there are \$3,433.15 unpaid bills due the Federation for advertisements that have been published prior to September 30, 1911.

Itemized report will be found on page 58 of printed report.

Organizing Expenses.

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1911, the American Federation of Labor expended \$46,962.05 for organizing expenses.

On page 99 of the printed report is a statement giving the names of the respective organizers who were under salary permanently and by special appointment, showing the amount paid each and the districts in which they were employed.

Membership.

A resume of the growth of the American Federation of Labor, numerically,

during the past thirty-one years, cannot but encourage the trade unionists to redouble their efforts to educate, organize, and federate the wage-earners of the world. The growth of the American Federation of Labor from 1881 to 1893 was gradual. During that time it increased from 50,000 to 275,000, and remained about that number up to 1899. In 1899 it reached very nearly 350,000; in 1900 it passed the 500,000 mark; in 1901, 750,000; in 1902 it passed the million mark, and in 1903 very nearly reached the million and a half point, and in 1904 shot up above the million and a half, reaching a membership of 1,676,200. Thus the growth of the American Federation of Labor from 1899 up to and including 1904 was phenomenal. This marked increase in membership could not occur other than by organizations being formed rapidly within a short period, and as a natural consequence it must be expected that in adjusting the membership of the unions the membership must decrease somewhat from the high-water mark which it reached while the organization wave held sway.

There was a decrease in the membership in 1905 and in 1906 from the high-water mark of 1904. This decrease was almost entirely caused by internal strife which led to secession and a number of ill-advised and unsuccessful strikes of a few international organizations.

During 1907 and 1908 the membership climbed up over 1,500,000 and receded again to a little below the 1,500,000 mark, when the tide again changed, and in 1910 it passed the 1,500,000 mark, and this year the increase in the membership of the international organizations and the addition of the 51,300 which came with the affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners, forced the average paid-up and reported membership of the international organizations to 1,756,735, which is an increase of 199,723 over the membership of last year, and 85,635 members over the high-water mark of 1904.

That the membership of the International Unions is steadily on the increase is indicated by the fact that the paid-up and reported membership of the directly affiliated local unions and international organizations for the month of September of this year is 1,768,614, which indicates that notwithstanding the hostile forces that are working against the labor unions that the coming year will show an increase over the membership reported upon this year.

The table on page 101 will show that the membership of the Federation has increased from 264,825 in 1897 to 1,761,835 in 1911.

A chart has been arranged and appears on page 102 of printed report showing the growth in membership.

On page 103 will be found the list of the union labels that are now used by affiliated international bodies, which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

In conclusion, I desire to express through the delegates present, my appre-

ciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duncan—The report will be referred to the Committee on Secretary's Report when appointed.

President Gompers read the following communication:

"Los Angeles, California, Nov. 12, 1911.
"Samuel Gompers, Atlanta, Ga.

"Sincere fraternal greetings to the officials and delegates to the Atlanta, Ga., Convention of the American Federation of Labor. May your deliberations redound to continued advancement of the great labor movement. Permit us to sincerely thank the Federation officials and through them the representatives of affiliated organizations and departments for their untiring efforts in our behalf.

"J. J. and J. B. McNAMARA."

President Gompers—If there are no objections the telegram will be made part of the records of this convention. There appearing no objection, that course will be pursued.

Delegate Wilson (J.)—I move that the President of this organization be authorized to send a message to J. J. and J. B. McNamara, expressing to them the belief of the delegates of this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in their innocence of the crime with which they have been charged, and pledge them our continued moral and financial support. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

Treasurer Lennon read his annual report. (See pages 103 and 104.)

Vice-President Duncan—The report will be referred to the Committee on Treasurer's Report when appointed.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Boston, Mass., Nov. 13, 1911.
"Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Auditorium, Atlanta, Ga.

"May the deliberation of your convention deepen the conviction of your delegates in the strength and justice of our cause and may your message awaken hope in the hearts of the unorganized workers of our land.

"SARA A. CONBOY, Vice-Pres.,
"Boston Womens Trade Union League."

"New York, November 13, 1911.
"Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"Accept our heartiest congratulations on the Thirty-first Annual Convention,

wishing it to be a harmonious and progressive meeting.

"SUSPENDER MAKERS' UNION,
9560, New York."

The telegrams were made part of the proceedings of the Convention.

Appointment of Committees.

The following announcement of the appointment of committees was read by Secretary Morrison:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—T. A. Rickert, J. T. Carey, Jerome Jones, John Sullivan, Wm. H. O'Brien, Peter Hassenpflug, Geo. H. Ullrich, Wm. J. Pfeiffer, D. G. Biggs, T. J. Carolan, J. W. Bridwell, M. M. Donoghue, John J. Granev, Wm. A. Davis and Royal Gano.

Committee on President's Report—W. B. Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, Frank Duffy, Thomas F. Tracy, Geo. L. Berry, Owen Miller, James Wilson, Roady Kenenhan, J. J. Keegan, Wm. D. Clark, T. V. O'Connor, Hugh Stevenson, Chas. L. Baine, J. T. Butler and Homer D. Call.

Committee on Secretary's Report—A. B. Lowe, Martin Lawlor, E. Lewis Evans, Chas. T. Smith, John A. Dyche, H. J. Conway, John Williams, R. H. Curran, James L. Gernon, Thomas L. Hughes, Harry DeVeaux, James R. Crozier, Hubert S. Marshall, Walter V. Price and Thos. Rumsey.

Committee on Treasurer's Report—Jas. W. Kline, J. C. Skemp, Joseph F. Winkler, Chas. Lavin, Carl Young, John J. Glass, Alexander Block, Wm. F. Gilmore, David Ring, James F. Brock, John J. Hynes, Peter Henretty, John R. Donka, M. R. Pace and J. W. Holder.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, John P. Frey, B. A. Larger, D. D. Mulcahy, John T. Smith, Thos. Flynn, Edward J. McGivern, Jos. N. Weber, M. F. Ryan, W. D. Mahon, A. P. Sovey, Edward F. Ward, Sol. Sontheimer, Chas. P. Fahey and John A. Voll.

Committee on Laws—John B. Lennon, Daniel J. Tobin, John H. Walker, James J. Hannahan, Jacob Tazelaar, Timothy Healy, John Mangan, A. Rosenberg, W. S. Pierce, John Roach, M. W. Kelliher, T. J. O'Donnell, Edward Menge, John J. Barry and John Dowd.

Committee on Organization—John Mitchell, Wm. S. Macfarlane, Matt Comerford, Andrew J. Gallagher, Jacob Fischer, T. L. Lewis, P. W. Collins, James B. Casey, John T. Tassart, Thos. J. Williams, A. Myrup, Patrick Flynn, John C. Schaffer, Frank A. Scoby and Santiago Iglesias.

Committee on Labels—John F. Tobin, Jere L. Sullivan, Louis Kemper, A. M. Schwartz, Max Zuckerman, Harry Meyer, J. Mahlon Barnes, Chris. Kerker, J. J. Handley, Chas. Dold, Edward Johnson, E. J. Brals, Max S. Hayes, A. McAndrew and Ed. Anderson.

Committee on Adjustment—James O'Connell, John Golden, Matthew Woll, John A. Moffitt, T. W. McCullough, Wm. E. Klapetzky, Jos. A. Franklin, Thos. S.

Farrell, Frank Gehring, Edward Flore, Michael J. Hallinan, Percy Thomas, Wm. Taber, Victor Altman and H. C. Shuivoy.

Committee on Education—Jos. F. Valentine, Willis R. Golden, James J. Freely, Wm. J. Kelly, Chas. E. Pfeil, S. Polakoff, M. B. Cain, T. M. Daly, C. E. Mahoney, Ernest Bohm, John Murtaugh, Daniel J. Evans, W. A. McKenna, Groce Lawrence and G. E. Soyster.

Committee on State Organizations—John R. Alpine, Chas. H. Moyer, Wm. Clark, J. W. Wilkinson, J. R. Humphrey, Stephen J. Fay, William J. Brennan, George Miller, Joe Bobb, Richard D. Selway, Joseph Proebstle, John L. McNamara, George Meyers and George Leary.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—H. B. Perham, John Carroll, Thomas Flanagan, Joseph D. Cannon, James P. Holland, Frank X. Noschang, W. E. Bryan, Samuel Kelly, Patrick Murphy, Oscar F. Nelson, G. F. Mounts, J. M. Gavlak, Joe Birnes, E. W. Blakey, and Maurice De Young.

Committee on Building Trades—Wm. D. Huber, James A. Short, Frank M. Ryan, M. O'Sullivan, John Donlin, Wm. J. MacSorley, F. J. McNulty, Wm. J. Tracey, Frank Feeney, J. T. Kinsella, George F. Hedrick, O. A. Tveitmo, Paul Bianchi, D. D'Alessandro and C. W. Fry.

Committee on Boycotts—D. A. Hayes, James M. Lynch, Frank J. Hayes, James B. Connors, J. M. Kafer, Wm. A. Neer, Will J. Cooke, Thos. J. Durbin, Jos. Smith, Thos. J. Smith, Ed. H. Ryan, E. R. Torrey, Frank R. Heck, Thos. Connors and H. M. Munn.

Vice-President Huber—Inasmuch as the Carpenters are not part of the Building Trades Department, I decline to serve on the Committee on Building Trades.

President Gompers—If the convention will support the president in the decision and the appointment he will decide that is not good grounds for declination.

Vice-President Huber—I have other grounds. If the Brotherhood of Carpenters is not good enough to be affiliated with the Building Trades Department I am not good enough to serve on that committee.

President Gompers—And that is not a good ground. Delegate Huber is chairman of the Committee on Building Trades. In the labor movement membership is voluntary, duty is obligatory.

The chair has made these appointments as provided by the constitution. It has been my practice to ask of the convention for confirmation of these appointments. Is there objection to the confirmation of these appointments to committees? There appearing none, they stand

as the appointments of the president confirmed by this Convention.

President Gompers called the attention of the delegates to the fact that in former conventions the rules of a preceding convention governed until new rules were adopted. He stated that in St. Louis, owing to the distance of the convention hall from hotels, the unusual procedure of convening at 12 o'clock noon and adjourning at 6 had been adopted.

Vice-President Duncan—I move that the rules that now exist be suspended, that

we meet at 9:30, remain in session until 12:30, reconvene at 2 o'clock and remain in session until 5:30. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duncan stated that committees often waited before beginning their reports until all the resolutions could be printed in the daily proceedings, and urged that all delegates having resolutions present them early in the session.

At 6 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 14.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT.

ATLANTA, GA., November 13, 1911.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS: Herewith, in accordance with the rules of our Federation, I have the honor to submit, as its President, a report for the last twelve months.

In the nature of things, this report is a review of obstacles encountered, of the larger features in the struggles of trade unionism throughout the country, of the special endeavors being made by your representatives in organizing and in obtaining legislation favorable to the wage-workers and in promoting the high aims of our movement. In all these respects, it is a pleasure to report progress.

The American Federation of Labor through its affiliated organizations has today the largest membership in its history. Its standing is sound and prospects are bright. In its long-drawn-out legal contests there is more reason than ever to assume that labor's cause will win. In a number of important strikes during the year, we have had gains, and there has been a tendency to continue the shortening of the workday, to do away with child labor, and to animate the unorganized masses with a desire to take part in the great labor movement.

In the various phases of the work of our Federation reviewed under the headings which follow, and in the reports which the Executive Council and our Secretary will submit there will be found much reason for hope and satisfaction and some little for disappointment. Our Federation, resting on a solid foundation, is erecting a structure adapted at all times to its purposes and of a lasting character.

Our movement has no schism within. All opposition to its policies, its procedures, its form of organization, and its tactics, comes from without. All who would divert it from its established principles are enemies, working for the promotion of institutions foreign to its character. Those who would change it aim at its disintegration.

This is true whether the antagonist in view is the college president who believes in the right of the non-unionist to work below the union scale alongside of the unionist; or the philanthropist who believes unions should be mere benevolent societies; or the editor who believes that the unionist should be always in his party and a supporter of his interests, or the politician who demands that the unionist must always vote his ticket.

But, it can safely be said, our trade unionism is to witness no integral change in structure or principle; for these are all adaptable to circumstances as they arise—to conditions as they develop.

There exist within the scope of the trade unionism of America, as it was long ago conceived and for many years has been maintained in its integrity, the possibilities for continuous reform, both in economics and politics, to whatever extent at any time is possible.

The strength, the firmness, the consistency, and the reasonableness of our trade unionism have convinced the great body of the citizens of this continent, wage-workers and others, that change, and even radical change, in the laws which govern society being inevitable in accordance with justice, the American Federation of Labor, as the dominant body of wage-workers, is the fitting and effective organization to lead the masses in carrying on to the end the great work of transformation.

The ground-work principle of America's labor movement has been to recognize that first things must come first. The primary essential in our mission has been the protection of the wage-worker, now; to increase his wages; to cut hours off the long workday, which was killing him; to improve the safety and the sanitary conditions of the workshop; to free him from the tyrannies, petty or otherwise, which served to make his existence a slavery. These, in the nature of things, I repeat, were and are the primary objects of trade unionism.

Our great Federation has uniformly refused to surrender this conviction and to rush to the support of any one of the numerous society-saving or society-destroying schemes

which decade by decade have been sprung upon this country. A score of such schemes, having a national scope, and being for the passing day subject to popular discussion, have gone down behind the horizon and are now but ancient history. But while our Federation has thus been conservative, it has ever had its face turned toward whatever reforms, in politics or economics, could be of direct and obvious benefit to the working classes. It has never given up its birthright for a mess of pottage. It has pursued its avowed policy with the conviction that if the lesser and immediate demands of labor could not be obtained now from society as it is, it would be mere dreaming to preach and pursue that will-o'-the-wisp, a new society constructed from rainbow materials—a system of society on which even the dreamers themselves have never agreed.

It is untrue that this Federation is conservative in the sense of dissenting from propositions intended to affect far-reaching changes in our political institutions. We would conserve that which has been proved to be conducive to the welfare of the country as a whole, which means first of all the masses, but we would change as speedily as possible whatever has been injurious to the country, and especially to the masses. We would abolish all privilege, would establish a pure democracy, and would turn the tide of all volume of the products of labor into the hands of labor. We would end every form of aristocracy and bring to their end all institutions which refuse to recognize the people as the origin of legislation, of justice, and of domination.

Striking and irrefutable evidence has recently been furnished that these principles are the true ones on which labor may effectively and continuously advance its just cause. The severest blows ever dealt class privilege, plutocratic domination, and judicial greed for power were made possible last year through the forces of democracy patiently built up in the course of years in accordance with the established policy of the American Federation of Labor. I refer to the events taking place especially on the Pacific Coast, either in the promotion of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, or in acts of the masses of the people through those purely democratic instrumentalities. Those events have brilliantly and convincingly illustrated the power of the people. They indicate a coming leap in the progress of genuine democracy throughout the country. The new mechanism of that democracy will loosen the throttle hold which politicians have long had upon the people, relegate the political machines to the background, and bring to the front from all ranks of society, and especially from the wage-workers, men of truly patriotic and humanitarian principles, who are willing to work, not for partisan advantage or personal preferment, or the selfish interests of any clique or circle, but for the good and welfare of community and nation, and consequently all mankind. To trade unionists in general, at the present stage of their dearly-bought experience with political manipulators, and of their practical education in economics, parties count for little, while principles, objects, and achievements are everything. We confidently look forward, now that the principles and the mechanism of the people's power have been discovered, made clear, and applied, to a rapid succession of extraordinary adaptations of the institutions of this country to popular ideals and aspirations. The old spirit of partisan hatred, wrangling, bitter personalities, and cynicism over alleged failure in popular government must give way to the new spirit which interprets the general moral and intellectual level of a people of high intentions, generous emotions, and unquenchable aspirations for fair play, which must eventuate finally in economic justice. It matters little whether any party, whatever its avowals and intentions, succeeds in one place or another, now and again, in this State or that. The things desirable, in contrast to party organization, methods, war-cries, and promises, are those resulting in permanency of efficient methods, in possibilities of advancing one by one the propositions favorable to wage-workers, and in the opportunities for the full play of the powers of all the individuals of the community capable of promoting through legislation the welfare of the country and especially of the masses. This condition is being rapidly established, as we have said, through the energy and activity and concentration of aim of the American Federation of Labor. No other scheme of procedure for the advancement of the interests and well-being of the working classes measures up with the policy of our Federation in the slightest degree.

The history of the working-class movement of Europe in recent years is one of recession from cloud-land utopias and of approach toward the policy of our Federation. Revolution is to come by way of reform, and not by social cataclysm. The human conscience is to be society's guide. The social struggle is to be good and right against evil and wrong. The attainment of the maximum of liberty for every individual, the abolition of poverty, the best order in the production and equitable distribution of

wealth—in a word the establishment of the conditions for the highest possible earthly happiness for mankind—all this must come through taking the best that civilization has given us and lopping off, one by one, its imperfect growths and its baneful excrescences.

Under the various headings which follow, sufficient statement is made of the various activities of our great organization to indicate many causes for our encouragement. We invite all to give the statements, as herewith recorded, a careful reading. The utmost care has been taken in their preparation. It has been a matter of study that they should contain nothing that would mislead, nothing that would offend honest investigators, nothing that would excite enemies where friends are desirable, nothing that would bring embarrassment to trade unionists, nothing which on being read in future years could be regarded as unworthy. With these hopes and sentiments I pass to the consideration of the various phases of the work of our Federation for the last year.

ORGANIZATION AND GROWTH.

For the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911, there were issued by the American Federation of Labor 326 certificates of affiliation (charters), as follows:

International unions.....	3	Local trade unions	207
City central bodies	61	Federal Labor Unions	55
		Total	326

At the close of the fiscal year there were affiliated to our Federation:

International unions.....	115	Local trade unions	493
State Federations.....	38	Federal Labor Unions.....	187
City central bodies	631		
		Total	1,464

The international unions enumerated have approximately 28,000 local unions under their jurisdiction. To avoid error by casual hearers, or readers, attention is called to the system under which the American Federation of Labor is organized. It is, as its name suggests, a federated body. Each of its international unions has jurisdiction for one trade or calling over Canada, the United States, and the dependencies of the latter. No rival international unions including members of the same calling are permitted. Each international union is made up of directly affiliated local unions, of which there is usually but one for each occupation in each locality. The State Federations of Labor and the city central bodies are made up of delegates from the various local unions. In the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, each international or local union has a representation and a vote based upon the number of its members. Other bodies have each a single representative, with one vote, thus avoiding duplicate voting for the same membership.

In every way within, and to the fullest limits of our opportunities, the American Federation of Labor has been of the greatest value to our affiliated international unions and directly chartered local unions, as well as in the general work for the protection, advancement, and the common uplift of all the workers of America. Several of our directly affiliated local unions have been engaged in controversies, some of which are yet being waged. The laws of the Federation, in so far as concerns financial as well as moral assistance to local unions, have been liberally and generously interpreted so that the defense fund could be of real practical value to the workers engaged in any controversy. And better than all, the directly affiliated local unions have had the advice and supervision of the officers as well as the support of the American Federation of Labor. These factors have aided materially in securing improved conditions for the workers of those unions without the necessity of a recourse to strike.

The State Federations and central bodies have likewise profited by affiliation, and they in turn, as all other organizations affiliated, contributed toward the common concert of action in achieving the largest measure of success in the general trend and upward course of the labor cause.

This year the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor have reached the largest membership in its history. This despite the battle which has been waged against it, not only by certain employing class organizations, but by pretending

pseudo friends. The fact of our increased strength stands as a contradiction and challenge to our enemies, wherever they may be found.

Under this heading it is appropriate again to proclaim that our slogan ever has been, and is: Organize, Agitate, Educate!

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT.

Secretary-Treasurer Spencer of this Department has prepared the following statement of its work and present status, which I incorporate herein:

Since the adjournment of the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor there has been a decided change in the personnel of the Building Trades Department.

Two organizations were suspended for violation of decisions previously rendered, these being the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, with a consequent defection in membership amounting to 189,312. Against this sustained loss, however, it is gratifying to report the addition of the International Association of Machinists and the Slate and Tile Roofers' International Union, with a joint membership of 67,445.

At the same time it is gratifying to report that in nearly every instance the general membership of the international unions affiliated with the Building Trades Department has been augmented, so that the actual loss is reduced to 98,500.

While on the surface it might appear that a reactionary movement has set in, and that the solidarity of the Department has been threatened, a directly contrary condition will be found to exist under a thorough investigation. Not only has each international union identified with the Department increased its membership, as before stated, but what is more important the international unions comprising the Department have exhibited a display of toleration for the rights of others never before equalled in the building industry. Whether this condition is a direct result of the suspension of the two organizations named must of necessity be a matter of conjecture, nevertheless the fact remains that those organizations that are contestants in jurisdictional controversies have been decidedly more loth to show a deliberate and wanton invasion of the rights of others than has prevailed in the past. Indeed, in numberless instances there has been a ready acquisition in the declared policies, decisions, and awards of the Department in the past year by all affiliated organizations, and wherever a clash has occurred, or lines have been drawn more rigidly than usual in the building industry, the agitation has been created by those who have openly espoused a denial of the declared purposes of the Department.

It should be borne in mind that jurisdictional conflict is a struggle between international unions which the Building Trades Department was primarily organized to adjust, and any settlement between factions must necessarily be through the course of mutual agreement, or when the parties thereto fail the Department must exercise its prerogative of reaching a decision intended to be final and binding on both parties. It is, however, considered to be essentially the best policy that international unions should of their own volition eliminate any cause for dispute between them, and to this end it is indeed a pleasure to report that satisfactory agreements have been entered into by the following organizations: American Brotherhood of Cement Workers and Operative Plasterers' International Association; Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union and Operative Plasterers' International Association; Hod-carriers and Building Laborers and United Brotherhood Carpenters and Joiners of America; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; International Union Marble Workers and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and International Association of Marble Workers; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers; International Association Marble Workers and International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers' International Union; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance

and International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; American Brotherhood of Cement Workers and International Union of Hod-carriers and Building Laborers; International Union Steam Engineers; International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers' International Union and International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union and Slate and Tile Roofers International Union; International Brotherhood Composition Roofers and International Union Slate and Tile Roofers; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

The value of reasoning together, of friendly intercourse in the elimination of any cause for friction, will be obvious to all, and it requires but a moment of reflection to understand what greater measure of progress would have been made did all international unions give willing assent to decisions and awards when rendered.

There are now affiliated with the Building Trades Department twenty international unions with a total membership of some 294,345.

The financial condition of the organization is most flattering, more especially when the loss in membership is taken into consideration. Receipts from the general revenues for the year just closed are \$22,322.05, as against total annual disbursements of \$19,086.09, showing a balance on hand of \$3,235.96.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

The principal features of the work of this Department for the last year as reported by Secretary-Treasurer Berres were as follows:

In conjunction with the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Association of Machinists, the Legislative Committee-man representing the Executive Board of the Metal Trades Department worked in favor of the eight-hour amendment to the labor bill when it was up for consideration in committee and before Congress. The joint committeemen were successful not only in keeping the eight-hour amendment intact, but in promoting the passage of an amendment that is stronger and broader in its scope. The joint committee was also active in obtaining from the Comptroller of the Treasury, during the month of July, a decision which in effect is that the eight-hour day applies to all construction of navy vessels in the plant or the yard of a firm getting a contract direct from the United States Government. It is the intention of the officials of the Metal Trades Department to try to get the amendment so worded that it will apply to the vessel in its entirety, regardless of where the parts are being constructed.

The Department took up the matter of per diem employes on the Isthmus of Panama receiving only two weeks' annual leave with pay as against six weeks for per annum employes. The matter was brought up, in November last, before the President of the United States and the Canal Commission. On December 1 a communication from the White House was received by the Secretary of the Metal Trades Department conveying the information that beginning with January 1, 1911, employes on the Canal Zone were to be granted four weeks' leave with pay instead of two weeks, and allowed to accumulate leave by postponing two weeks for the following year, thus having six weeks instead of four in the second year.

The molders employed at the Watertown Arsenal recently went on strike because one of their members was discharged for refusing to work under the conditions imposed by the installation of the "Taylor system." The Metal Trades Department, on taking the matter up with the officials of the War Department, were promised that an investigation should be begun immediately, and therefore it proposed that all the men, including the molder first discharged, should resume work pending the inquiry, and their proposition was accepted. The report of the investigator, a naval officer, has not yet been received. However, the Secretary of the Department has been informed that one of the most objectionable features of the system, the use of the stop watch, has been discontinued.

On the occasion of the strike at the Baldwin Locomotive Works, the Department was interested from beginning to end. Although the international officers, as well as the local representatives of the union, had advised against the strike, when it took place all the support possible was given to the 12,000 men who went out. In the twelve weeks of

the strike no doubt much good was done, and the union spirit promoted, and the result on the whole was not disheartening either to the wage-workers directly concerned or those of Philadelphia in general. Like all great struggles, this strike taught many lessons which will be beneficial in future.

The Los Angeles metal trade's strike has been waged now for seventeen months. One result of it has been proof of the wisdom of the formation of this Department. Never has a better fight for right been waged, and the feeling on the part of the executives of the Department is that the unions will win in the end, even against the powerful forces aligned against them.

The Metal Trades Council of San Francisco is conferring with the local employers relative to the continuance of the eight-hour agreement. The Northwestern Coast will in all probability receive consideration at the coming convention of the Department. A campaign for a shorter workday, it is expected, will be carried into this territory. The policy of encouraging the signing of annual agreements is progressing.

Since the last convention, seventeen new councils have been organized, and it is expected that many more will be added to the roster within the coming year. Affiliation of the United Association of Plumbers, etc., and of the Stationary Firemen is shortly expected. The financial condition of the Department is good, and all the affiliated bodies in it are in good standing. Since the last convention, the membership in the Department has increased 35,234. During the year an organizer was set to work in Erie, Pennsylvania, another at Newport News, and for a period of three months another at Trenton, New Jersey, it being the desire of the Department to organize the ship-building industry, so that a better opportunity will be afforded for the establishment of the union scale and union workday in the construction of Government and private vessels.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT.

The enormous task of federating a dozen large classifications of wage-earners in the employ of the railroads of this country is yet in its initial stages. Years of experience must be required in the education of the rank and file of these various classifications in common activities. Long accustomed to separate and distinct organization, the membership of a number of the unions concerned needs the tutelage of time to bring all to conviction of the necessities for general federation. On the whole, it can be said that the desire for a systematic and orderly method of federation is gaining ground rapidly, the methods and customs of the hitherto separated local unions being considered. Railroad employes, through the nature of their work, are scattered over the country to such an extent that it is a gigantic task to get their views crystallized as to the best methods to be pursued in united action, but it is the conviction of the officials of the Department that this work is being accomplished surely, if necessarily somewhat slowly. One of the obstacles encountered in the work is the idea, promoted by enemies of trade unionism, that the federation of railroad employes is a menace to society, as likely to result some time in a general paralysis of business. The railroad managers who oppose the federation of the wage-workers ignore the fact that the employers themselves are federated in the General Managers' Associations and the American Railroad Association.

The influence of the Railroad Employes' Association up to the present time has been mostly of the silent kind. Its power is well understood. The ability, integrity, and courage of the eleven chief executives who conduct its councils are generally recognized by the employers of labor. Every representative and committeeman of each organization in the Federation knows what a forceful reserve it has behind it, and because of this fact it daily obtains better results and recognition. The executive officials of the Federation are persuaded that their scheme is safe and workable, and that it will continue to redound to the benefit of all classes of railway employes and wax in strength with the coming years.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

Thomas F. Tracy, Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label Trades Department, has submitted the following report:

"The work, as carried on by the Department during the year, has undoubtedly been to a very great degree satisfactory. While there have been no new affiliations of international unions, the work has gone on with a greater degree of activity and energy than during any time in the history of the labor movement, or to my recollection and knowledge.

"One of the great factors in the advancement of the sale of union label products and the patronizing of union establishments is the organization of local departments wherever possible. During the year we have organized seven local departments and now have in affiliation thirty-four located in practically all the large industrial sections, covering cities in the United States from Boston to Sacramento and several in Canada. In the reports received from these local departments, splendid results have obtained in almost every instance.

"During the year, this Department operated a Union Label Moving Picture Show, demonstrating the various union labels, shop and store cards. In connection with this show, an entertainment was given, which, from reports received, demonstrates that both features of the show were highly appreciated in the various cities and towns where performances were given. Eighty-three shows were given in the States of Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Vermont, and in the Province of Ontario, Canada; in all, covering a period of about four months, and the various shows were witnessed by approximately 50,000 people. The cost of maintaining this show for that period, being the salaries and expenses of the persons who were connected with it, was \$4,700. Already numerous requests have been received from various places asking that the show be repeated.

"It is my personal opinion that this method of agitation, particularly in the small cities, is one that brings about good results.

"I also beg leave to report that Resolution No. 54, which was referred to this Department by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, and which asked for an agitation to be started among the farmers of Tennessee, was carried out to a considerable degree of success.

"Volunteer organizers Albert E. Hill and Charles P. Fahey of Nashville were assigned to this work and they visited thirty-five different farmers' unions, or rallies, as they are termed, and addressed in the aggregate about 15,000 people, all farmers, in the interests of the union label.

"From the reports made by these gentlemen, it is quite evident that they have met with a considerable degree of success in this direction, and it is the intention of this Department to continue and extend this method of agitation during the coming year in other States.

"The Department has also given considerable attention to the question of convict labor, and has assisted in distributing literature upon this all-important subject in the various States with considerable success. We shall also continue to use our best efforts to have passed during the coming session of Congress the Booher bill, H. R. 5601. The Department has distributed a large amount of literature to the various local unions in affiliation with their international unions, as well as to State Federations of Labor, city central bodies, and local unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; also to all the organizers, special and volunteer.

"The most distinctive literature which has been distributed has been the Directory as issued by this Department, containing cuts of the various labels and the names of the manufacturers in the different industries who use the union label upon their product. Fifty thousand copies of this Directory have already been published and another issue is now being printed. Together with other literature distributed during the year, there have been sent out from this office during that time approximately 150,000 pieces of mail matter dealing with various subjects.

"Through the efforts of the Department, an agreement was arrived at with the editors of many of the official journals of international unions, whereby cuts of various labels and appropriate reading matter to accompany the same were to be published. At the present time twenty-seven international journals publish monthly four different cuts of labels, as described above, thus bringing to the attention of a large number of the members of international unions not only a description of these various labels, but the manner in which they are used and appear upon various commodities.

"It will, of course, be of interest to you to know the increase in the output of union labeled commodities during the year ending July 10, 1911, and for

your information I transmit to you a few figures as taken from my report to the coming convention of the Union Label Trades Department:

	1910.	1911.	Increase.
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.....	8,000	11,000	3,000
American Federation of Labor.....	8,465,000	9,309,000	844,000
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	27,422,900	27,795,900	373,000
United Brewery Workmen.....	41,930,000	44,922,000	2,992,000
United Garment Workers.....	45,866,674	48,234,136	2,367,462
Journeyman Tailors' Union.....	447,578	511,000	63,422
United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	3,721,572	4,015,000	293,428
Bakery and Confectionery Workers.....	494,837,000	548,210,590	53,337,590
Piano and Organ Workers' Union.....	4,600	8,200	3,600

"Of course, these figures do not deal with the increased output upon articles bearing the union label which are either a stamp or an imprint, such as the label of the Allied Printing Trades, the stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers, and other organizations.

"I feel confident that these figures will impress you that the work as carried on by our affiliated organizations and the Department during the past year has been highly successful.

"This briefly relates some of the important features of the work as carried on during the past twelve months, and I feel confident that from reports received from various sources the movement for the furthering of the sale of union labeled products and the patronizing of union establishments will apply to a greater degree during the coming year than it has during the past. I say this because not only of the interest manifested by our members but also of the interest manifested in many instances by business men and merchants who want to be in harmony with organized labor and give their assistance, which is demonstrated by the numerous inquiries received for information and the Directories, as issued by this Department, to business men in various sections of the country."

CANADA.

Between the union wage-workers of Canada and the United States the sentiment which is promoted is not reciprocity but unity. We are advised by the union officials of Canada that its workers are imbued with the feeling that they should persistently strive for the solidification of the international trade union movement. They are actuated by unanimity of purpose and breadth of view. Reports from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada show a continued increase in the membership of its affiliated bodies. The revenues are sufficient for whatever work has been undertaken. The last year has witnessed the practical disappearance of any manifestations of dissatisfaction or endeavors to undermine the international movement. No legislation directed toward this end was attempted, owing to the watchfulness of the legislative committees of the Congress. On the other hand, measures of importance to organized labor were the subject of discussion in the Dominion Parliament and in the various provincial Legislatures. A number of acts helpful to the laboring classes were placed upon the statute books. On the whole, the position of organized labor in Canada is in strict harmony with the trade union movement of the United States.

PORTO RICO.

In Porto Rico, twenty-two new local unions have been organized in the last year, while several which had been temporarily suspended were reinstalled in the Federation, which has now a total membership of more than 8,000. The number of local unions is 132. The American Federation of Labor organizer for the island reports that the spirit of organization is at the present time more efficient than during all of the preceding years. The economic and social conditions of the working classes of Porto Rico have improved to a marked degree. Now and then in the course of the last year a partial strike has occurred, but on the whole it may be described as having been peaceful. The actual number of strikes was eighteen, the trades involved being cigarmakers,

shoemakers, carpenters, tobacco selectors, and tobacco strippers. Nearly all terminated satisfactorily to organized labor. The strikers in most cases were contending for the right to organize unions or to resist reduction of wages, as well as for increase of wages. In the course of one strike thirty-three union men were imprisoned, charged with complicity in the killing of a manufacturer by a man who was later proven to be insane. All the men thus arrested were released. On another occasion the editor of the "Union Obrera," condemned for libel to two years in prison, was pardoned by Governor Colton.

The organized workers of Porto Rico share in the general concern of Porto Ricans over the constant failure of Congress to frame a law fixing the political status of the people of the island. The practical question with the people is whether they are to acquire citizenship under the United States, or whether Congress is to keep the island in the position of a great factory, exploiting cheap labor for the benefit of large corporations of the United States.

The promises made in 1898, when our nation took possession of Porto Rico, that its inhabitants would be recognized and treated as full-fledged American citizens, have not been fulfilled. This bad faith has reacted to the detriment of the American Federation of Labor. The dissatisfied Porto Ricans make their protest felt by refusing to give voluntary assistance to any national organization or institution of the United States. This course, feeble and inconsistent as it is, can be understood by all who have witnessed the usual actions of men actuated by blind resentfulness. The American Federation of Labor has never ceased in its efforts to obtain from Congress all the rights of a free people for the inhabitants of Porto Rico. Its support of the Olmsted bill and the special efforts of Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania are well known. The Olmsted bill, after having been approved in the House, was pigeonholed in the Senate, an act of the most flagrant injustice. At present in Porto Rico, those inhabitants who by education are Spanish, a part of the press, and some of the discontented native politicians are openly proclaiming the idea of independence for the island. The organizers for the American Federation of Labor find an obstacle, in their endeavor to educate and organize the masses, in this frame of mind of a considerable part of the population. The general belief of the inhabitants of the island is that their economic welfare would be greatly improved through home rule. Whereas the sum of the exports and imports in 1897 was \$14,500,000, they were in 1911 nearly \$79,000,000. But this increased wealth has not brought with it corresponding evidence of benefits to the laboring masses.

Labor Day was celebrated in most of the cities of the island, the local and consular authorities taking part in the demonstrations.

The American Federation of Labor organizer for Porto Rico, Santiago Iglesias, asks the various national and international unions to send to the island in the Spanish language all printed matter which they issue for the assistance of organization.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

The biennial conference of the International Secretariat was held at Budapest, Hungary, August 10-12. The decision most interesting to American trade unionists was that relating to the repudiation of the so-called Industrial Workers of the World. One of the articles of the constitution of the Secretariat prescribes that but one national body from each country shall be represented in its conference. The effrontery of any one presenting himself as a representative from America in opposition to the delegate from the American Federation of Labor, it might be thought, would be appreciated at once at its proper value by the delegates from the other countries, but inasmuch as the would-be delegate from the corporal's guard that composes the Industrial Workers of the World professed to support the policies and program of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* of France, his pretensions were supported by the latter organization. Between them he and its delegates managed to bring up sufficient discussion to consume the entire first day of the conference. At the close of the debate, the Industrial Workers of the World aspirant to a seat was rejected, all the votes being against him excepting that of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*. The case against the Industrial Workers of the World delegate was conducted in a masterful manner by the delegate from the American Federation of Labor, First Vice-President James Duncan. The decision on this and other questions during the sessions of the conference tend to show that the true position of the American Federation of Labor in the great labor movement of the world is becoming better known and appreciated by the representatives of labor in Europe. Not only is

the sentiment for a unity among the wage-workers of the different countries advancing, but recognition is being made of the points on which solidarity may become practical.

Among the resolutions passed was one introduced by Delegate Duncan proposing that labor organizations of all countries prevent by all means possible the migration of workmen from one country to another in time of labor disputes.

The two propositions, the one for an International Federation of Labor brought forward by America two years ago, and the other, for an International Congress of Labor, introduced by France, were sent back to all the national bodies for discussion.

It was voted that the International Secretariat could in exceptional cases initiate a wage movement where the number of workers engaged were so great that the necessary funds could not be furnished by either a national organization or an international union interested. The Secretary's report showed that the American Federation of Labor paid on 1,700,000 members, Germany being the only country with a higher number. The total membership was 6,033,500. Carl Legien was unanimously re-elected Secretary. The country in which to hold the session of 1913 is to be determined in the early part of that year by consulting the wishes of the affiliated national organizations.

That the Budapest conference served to promote a sentiment of international unity among the wage-earners, and to clear away misunderstandings that existed between those of one nation and another, has become evident in the comments of the labor press of the various countries since the gathering. The labor movement of America stands better with the Secretariat representatives of the European countries than it did two years ago, before our case was plainly put by an American delegate, speaking, upon an equality, face to face with the other members of the conference. It may, however, take years to disabuse the minds of many who are active in the movement abroad of their prejudices against our movement, so long was it exposed to misrepresentation by men in this country who were trying to divert its aims and change its policies. With experience, it has become clear to the representative men of labor in all countries that each country has its peculiar problems, which must be worked out by its own working classes by the methods they deem most applicable and advantageous.

The advice, "Workmen of all countries, unite!" can not be carried into actual practice to the extent of similarity of organization and procedure. In trade unionism, the possibilities are promising for internationality in respect to recognition of union membership, in refraining from black-legging, and in financial and other support in case of great strikes and lockouts. But politically, no two countries are on the same plane. There may be a general sentiment favoring the emancipation of labor everywhere from its disqualifications, an agreement upon many points in an analysis of the injustices of society as now organized, and even common assent as to certain principles or maxims for guidance in forming the better society that is coming, but to fix hard and fast rules by which the wage-earners in all countries are to work in building for the future is an impossibility.

The important things for American trade unionists to consider, in connection with the International Secretariat, as well as other of our international associations, are such as relate to trade union work, as brought up through the mobility of labor made possible by today's means of transportation, or as suggested by the experience of the unions of the different countries. Comparison of methods, in organizing, in scale making, in negotiating with employers, is valuable, and in this respect the exchange of fraternal delegates between Great Britain and the United States has helped both countries. This year, as has been the custom for nearly two decades, two fraternal delegates have been sent to our convention from the British Trades Union Congress and one from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. In extending them a hearty greeting, we feel assured that they, as well as ourselves, will profit by their coming.

The peoples of all civilized countries are coming to the realization that in many respects they have a cause in common—that of justice, freedom and humanity. There is no force in society so potent to crystallize that sentiment and the establishment of human brotherhood as the historically developed and developing labor movement of the world.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW EXTENSION.

My report this year on the extension of the eight-hour law as applied to work done for the United States Government by contractors and sub-contractors should be read in connection with the report I had the honor to submit to the St. Louis convention. In this report I have necessarily to cover action on this subject by the Sixty-first Congress, as well as to make reference to the status of the bill before the present Congress.

In the Sixty-first Congress the House Committee on Labor and the Senate Committee on Education and Labor took no action upon the eight-hour bills which had been referred to them. In fact, it was impossible even to get these committees, during the short session of the Sixty-first Congress, to hold a meeting to consider anything; but, in spite of the attitude of the two Labor Committees, efforts were continued along the line of making provision for an eight-hour workday in the appropriation bills on the same lines as proved to be successful in the previous session. Consequently every effort was made by the opposition forces to circumvent such legislation.

On January 12, 1911, the Secretary of the Navy appeared before the House Committee on Naval Affairs and asked that the committee abolish the eight-hour provision in the previous Naval Appropriations bill. He also urged the committee to so amend that act that he would not be compelled to build one of the battleships authorized last year in a Government navy yard, giving as his reasons the extra cost because of the eight-hour law being operative in Government yards. He did his best to fortify his argument with the charge that the eight-hour provision put into the Naval bill at the last session added to the cost of construction from 25 to 35 per cent, absolutely ignoring the savings that have been secured to the Government since Government competition with private contractors has been instituted in the line of battleship construction.

The House Committee on Naval Affairs, however, reported its appropriation bill January 28, 1911, including the reactionary recommendations of the Secretary, as follows:

- (1) The repeal of provision in last year's act authorizing one battleship built in a navy yard.
- (2) Repeal of the provision in last year's act whereby the contracts for construction should contain an eight-hour clause.
- (3) Repeal of provision that not more than one of the battleships in last year's act should be built by the same contracting party.
- (4) Repeal of provision that the collier authorized in the Naval act of 1908 be built in a Pacific Coast navy yard, and that it be given out to private contractors.

It will be readily noted that this part of the Naval Committee's report was grossly antagonistic to labor's best interests. The Naval Committee's report was apparently unanimous; if any of the committeemen dissented they failed to make a minority report, and when, on February 21, the bill came up in the House, and they had the opportunity to do so, not one of the committeemen said a word in behalf of labor's contention for an eight-hour day or for the public economy in construction of one of the battleships in a Government yard. After the Secretary of the Navy had given his testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs, and before the measure was taken up by the House, I addressed a letter to the President registering our protest against the Secretary's unfriendly criticism of the eight-hour clause contained in the law of the previous year, and called the attention of the President to that part of his message in which he recommended eight-hour legislation. To that letter the President made reply. For the sake of the record I incorporate in my report these two letters:

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 10, 1911.*

SIR: In the Naval Appropriation bill passed in the last session of the Sixty-first Congress, the following section was adopted:

"And the contract for the construction of said vessels shall contain a provision requiring said vessels to be built in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled 'An Act relating to the limitation of the hours of daily service of laborers and mechanics employed upon the public works of the United States and of the District of Columbia,' approved August first, eighteen hundred and ninety-two, and shall be awarded by the Secretary of the Navy to the lowest best responsible bidder having in view the best results and most expeditious delivery."

In the message which you sent to Congress upon the opening of its present session, under the caption of "Eight-hour law," you said:

"Since 1868 it has been the declared purpose of this Government to favor the movement for an eight-hour day by a provision of law that none of the employes employed by or on behalf of the Government should work longer than eight hours in every twenty-four. The first declaration of this view was

not accompanied with any penal clause or with any provision for its enforcement, and, though President Grant by a proclamation twice attempted to give it his sanction and to require the officers of the Government to carry it out, the purpose of the framers of the law was ultimately defeated by a decision of the Supreme Court holding that the statute as drawn was merely a direction of the Government to its agents and did not invalidate a contract made in behalf of the Government which provided in the contract for labor for a day of longer hours than eight. Thereafter, in 1892, the present eight-hour law was passed, which provides that the services and employment of all laborers and mechanics who are now or may hereafter be employed by the Government of the United States, by the District of Columbia, or by any contractor or sub-contractor on any of the public works of the United States and of the said District of Columbia is hereby restricted to eight hours in any one calendar day. This law has been construed to limit the application of the requirement to those who are directly employed by the Government or to those who are employed upon public works situate upon land owned by the United States. This construction prevented its application to Government battleships and other vessels built in private shipyards and to heavy guns and armor plate contracted for and made at private establishments.

Pending Bill.

"The proposed act provides that no laborer or mechanic doing any part of the work contemplated by a contract with the United States in the employ of the contractor or any sub-contractor shall be required or permitted to work more than eight hours a day in any one calendar day.

"It seems to me from the past history that the Government has been committed to a policy of encouraging the limitation of the day's work to eight hours in all works of construction initiated by itself, and it seems to me illogical to maintain a difference between Government work done on Government soil and Government work done in a private establishment, when the work is of such large dimensions and involves the expenditure of much labor for a considerable period, so that the private manufacturer may adjust himself and his establishment to the special terms of employment that he must make with his workmen for this particular job. To require, however, that every small contract of manufacture entered into by the Government should be carried out by the contractor with men working at eight hours would be to impose an intolerable burden upon the Government by limiting its sources of supply and excluding altogether the great majority of those who would otherwise compete for its business.

"The proposed act recognizes this in the exceptions which it makes to contracts, 'for transportation by land or water, for the transmission of intelligence, and for such materials or articles as may usually be bought in the open market, whether made to conform to particular specifications or not, or for the purchase of supplies by the Government, whether manufactured to conform to particular specifications or not.'

Substitute for Pending Bill.

"I recommend that, instead of enacting the proposed bill, the meaning of which is not clear and definite and might be given a construction embarrassing to the public interest, the present act be enlarged by providing that public works shall be construed to include not only buildings and work upon public ground, but also ships, armor, and large guns when manufactured in private yards or factories.

Provision for Suspension in Emergencies by President.

"One of the great difficulties in enforcing this eight-hour law is that its application under certain emergencies becomes exceedingly oppressive and there is a great temptation to subordinate officials to evade it. I think that it would be wiser to allow the President, by Executive order, to declare an emergency in special instances in which the limitation might not apply and, in such cases, to permit the payment by the Government of extra compensation for the time worked each day in excess of eight hours. I may add that my suggestions in respect to this legislation have the full concurrence of the Commissioner of Labor."

Your attention is respectfully called to the fact that Honorable George von L. Meyer, Secretary of the Navy, appearing before the Naval Appropriations Committee, made statements which, to say the least, unfriendly criticised the clause contained in the Naval Appropriations law, providing for the construction of battleships, etc., under the eight-hour provision of the law. The Secretary, in referring to the fact that the shipbuilders of this country obtained a contract for two great battleships from Argentina, said (page 340 of the printed proceedings of the hearing):

"Unfortunately, right in the very first stages of their competing successfully with the shipbuilding concerns of other countries, an amendment is put on the appropriation bill which forbids these companies to build a United States battleship unless the work done is on an eight-hour basis, which means an increase in the cost of about 20 per cent, and which means that it will be difficult to compete in the future with foreign shipbuilding concerns. It would probably necessarily mean two organizations in one shipyard."

You, as President of the United States, recommended the passage of a law for the extension of the eight-hour law, and it seems exceedingly peculiar that the Secretary of the Navy, under your administration, and a member of your Cabinet, should seek the repeal of a law already on the statute books in line with your Presidential recommendation,

Because the men of labor are so intensely interested in this species of legislation, it would be interesting to know whether you, as expressed in your message, or the Secretary of the Navy, as expressed before the Naval Committee, represents the actual wishes of your administration in regard to eight-hour legislation.

Trusting that I may have an answer at your early convenience, I have the honor to remain,

Yours, very respectfully,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, American Federation of Labor.

Hon. WILLIAM H. TAFT, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, *February 18, 1911.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have yours of February 10, and beg to advise you that I have not changed in any way my opinion in respect to the eight hours a day law. I have referred your letter to the Secretary of the Navy, who advises me that he declined to express an opinion on the main question when pressed by the Naval Committee; that he simply gave them the facts with reference to the additional cost arising upon the necessity for a limitation of eight hours a day in the work in a private shipyard, and thinks it was all that he should do.

If Congress enters upon the policy I have recommended, it should know exactly what the additional cost to the Government is.

The expression you quote from the Secretary was an expression of his own opinion and not of the administration, and was a casual expression and incidental to the conference in which he was engaged, and not intended to be a declaration one way or the other.

The attitude of the administration upon the subject is unchanged.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Esquire, 801 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

During the consideration of the Naval Appropriations bill, in the House on February 21, when the sections were reached providing appropriations for the construction of new battleships, torpedo boats, colliers, etc., Representative Hughes of New Jersey offered the following amendment:

"Provided, that no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the construction of any boat by any person, firm, or corporation, which has not at the time of commencement and during the construction of said vessels established an eight-hour workday for all employees, laborers, and mechanics engaged, or to be engaged, in the construction of the vessels named herein."

The chairman of the committee, Mr. Foss of Illinois, made a point of order that this amendment was new legislation. It was sustained by the chair, Mr. Currier of

New Hampshire, who took as his precedent a ruling by Mr. Mann of Illinois, on a former similar occasion. A spirited debate ensued. Messrs. Fitzgerald of New York, Kendall of Iowa, and Poindexter of Washington, made elaborate and powerful arguments in favor of the contention made by Mr. Hughes; the chair was overruled by a vote of 111 "nays" to 96 "yeas." (I report this in detail, because of the great significance and important principles it establishes—First: The House decided its own power over the rulings of its presiding officer or the peculiar inclinations of a departmental Secretary. Second: The House emphatically decided that it was perfectly parliamentary for it to include contractual specifications in its appropriation bills.) The same proviso was offered by Mr. Hughes in two other sections of the bill, both of which carried without further contest.

When those sections of the bill were reached proposing to repeal the eight-hour proviso in last year's bill and the other sections I have already referred to, points of order were made against them and they went out of the bill in short order; in fact, the House did not divide upon any of them.

²Chairman Foss and his committee then acted as though they had lost all interest in the fate of the Naval Appropriations bill.

When the bill came up in the Senate, the second eight-hour proviso was amended to make it apply specifically to battleships, and the bill was strengthened by adding sufficient appropriations to complete last year's battleship in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and the collier authorized in 1908 to be completed at the Mare Island Navy Yard.

The Secretary of the Navy then took the matter up with the Comptroller of the Treasury, inquiring as to the eight-hour provision, and Comptroller Tracewell rendered the following opinion:

"I am of opinion that the limitation on the use of the appropriation in question applies to the employees, laborers, or mechanics engaged or to be engaged in the construction of these vessels, of the person, firm, or corporation to whom the contract for their construction is let, and is limited to such employees, laborers, or mechanics as are in the employ of such contractor and subject to his hiring or discharge, and not to the employees, laborers, or mechanics of other persons, firms, or corporations who in the usual course of business may furnish to such contractors materials entering into the construction of said vessels. Giving the act a different construction than the above would make it practically impossible to secure a contractor and would result in penalizing him, if obtained, on account of matters which he is powerless to control. I do think, however, that the restriction operates in favor of the employees, laborers, and mechanics engaged in the construction of these vessels wherever they may be, provided they are in the employ of a person, firm, or corporation who has contracted directly with the Government to build one of these vessels, or parts thereof, and all such persons, firms, or corporations in order to secure payment under such contract should show that all their employees, laborers, or mechanics engaged in the construction of these vessels, wherever their situs, are working under an eight-hour employment day."

This action of Congress and decision of the Comptroller mark an advance in governmental recognition of the eight-hour law.

I have reported this matter more in detail than usual—first, because the substance of the contest should be recorded; secondly, because certain important precedents and principles have been established that may be observed in future with other appropriation bills, such as that of Rivers and Harbors, Fortifications, etc.; thirdly, because it demonstrates that Congress is favorably disposed to an eight-hour day; fourthly, because it is a rebuke to the standpat obstinacy that has dominated the House and Senate Committees on Labor for so many years; fifthly, because it demonstrates the cohesive, persistent, and resourceful qualities contained in the organizations composing the American Federation of Labor in the remarkable contest they have waged so continuously to extend the beneficent effects of the eight-hour law on Government work.

In the special session of the present Congress, Representative Hughes of New Jersey introduced H. R. No. 9061 and Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, introduced S. No. 2791. These bills are identical in character and are in line with labor's demands. They have been introduced for the purpose of still further extending the operations of the eight-hour law. The House Committee on Labor

through its Chairman, Representative William B. Wilson, reported the Hughes bill favorably to the House, on August 21, with an amendment which strengthens the bill. It is my opinion that this measure will pass the next session of Congress, provided our organizations urge it as persistently and as vigorously as they have similar measures in past years.

WOMEN AND CHILD LABOR INVESTIGATION.

The official investigation of the condition of working women and children, which the American Federation of Labor was successful in persuading the Fifty-ninth Congress to institute, has been concluded. Eleven of these volumes are published and being distributed. No. 1 treats with women and children engaged in the cotton textile industry; No. 2, in the ready-made clothing industry; No. 3, in the glass industry; No. 4, in the silk industry; No. 5, in stores and factories; No. 6, the beginnings of child labor legislation in certain States—a comparative study; No. 7, the conditions under which children leave school to go to work; No. 8, juvenile delinquency and its relation to employment; No. 10, history of women in trade unions; No. 11, employment of women in the metal trades. They are so exhaustive that it is impossible to give even an epitome of them at this time, but I urge our members to apply to the United States Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D. C., for copies of these reports in which they are especially interested.

The results of this investigation have fully justified the action of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of such an inquiry being made. The last volume, No. 11, in speaking of "Accidents in the metal trades," contains five specific conclusions, as follows:

"The conclusions to which a student of accidents in the metal trades must come, as set forth in the foregoing pages (of this inquiry), may be summarized as follows:

"1. The hazard to women in these industries is distinct and considerable.
"2. When men and women work at the same task its dangers menace the woman much more seriously.

"3. The employments of children have in general only those dangers common to all factory work. Their employment at dangerous tasks is rare and seems to be decreasing.

"4. *Negligence of the worker as a cause of accident has been greatly over-emphasized.*

"5. *The accidents of most frequent occurrence are largely preventable.*"

What more can be said other than to extend a creditable recognition to the public officials who will make such a faithful, honest report?

The contentions of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of this investigation are herein held justified, and if the cold-blooded facts and figures contained in these reports are properly presented to responsible committees in the several State Legislatures, they will be sufficient to substantiate and prove the need of suitable legislative remedies in behalf of the reasonable restriction of females and minors in dangerous employments and of better safety devices installed with more rigid and intelligent inspection for the welfare of all the workers.

CHILD LABOR AND CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

The bill introduced in the Senate in the Sixty-first Congress by Senator Flint of California for the purpose of establishing a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor passed the Senate on February 14, 1911. It was reported to the House and referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor, and every possible effort made to get that committee to report, but without success. Consequently, the bill died in the House committee. During the present Congress it has been reintroduced as S. No. 252 by Senator Borah of Idaho and as H. R. No. 4694 by Representative Peters of Massachusetts, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Education in the Senate and the Committee on Labor in the House. On August 14 Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate committee, reported the bill favorably without amendment. From the sentiment prevailing in favor of this measure there is little doubt that favorable action on this measure will be taken during the coming session; provided, of course, that our organizations press it home upon their Representatives that they desire this legislation.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY—WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

This part of my report should be considered as a continuation of the matter I reported to the St. Louis Convention upon the subject of employers' liability and workmen's compensation, and in which were summarized the employers' liability laws of the several States or groups of States, and in which special attention was called to the evils of the defenses known as "Fellow-Servant Doctrine," "Assumption of Risk," "Contributory Negligence," and the "Waiving of Rights" to secure employment.

Resolution No. 131, adopted by the St. Louis Convention, instructed the officers of the Federation to "supply copies of the different laws now in existence and in force relative to employers' liability and workmen's compensation acts, as well as copies of such bills as may be proposed, dealing with this subject, to the various secretaries of the State Federations of Labor, where such laws do not exist and where it is intended to try and have such laws enacted, to the end that the best information may be at their command for their guidance in the presentation of bills before such legislative bodies as may have to deal with this subject."

It can be safely stated that the full spirit and intent of these directions have been followed by the officers of the Federation during the past year. The correspondence from and to headquarters on the subject of liability and compensation has equalled that on any other subject, so far as matters of legislation are concerned. Copies of employers' liability bills abrogating all of the old common-law defenses were drafted and very generally distributed, not only to the constituent elements of the American Federation of Labor but to many citizens who were making a special study of this subject, as well as to many members of State Legislatures and executive officials in State governments.

A number of conferences were held by officers of the Federation on the special feature of preparing a "sketch model" workmen's compensation bill for introduction in the several State Legislatures or for consideration by the commissions that had been appointed in the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Michigan, and Iowa. This educational work has been persistently carried on during the year to such an extent that we can very consistently say that the American Federation of Labor has been the hub upon which the greatest dependence has been placed by the people of our States giving these grave subjects their serious consideration. In fact it has been the clearing-house for information on such matters.

The further spirit of the resolution in which the President and Secretary were instructed to supply copies of the various laws now in existence and in force for circulation was carried out to the fullest possible extent, and in every case where correspondence was had with union members special requests were made for them to promptly advise the Federation as to the results they secured. Many of these correspondents faithfully responded, and it is deemed fitting to add at this time that it should not be necessary for us to urgently prompt all of our people to see to it in future, as soon as a new law affecting the interests of labor is proposed in any Legislature that copies be forwarded to the Federation for its counsel and advice, and, particularly, to furnish the Federation with copies of such laws enacted as affect the interests of labor, particularly on vital subjects, so that we will always be in a position to accurately advise inquirers. This is mentioned because it is one of the most practical methods of attaining the goal of uniform State legislation; not only uniform in kind but of the best character.

It is gratifying to report that, from our latest information, progressive legislation on the subject of liability and compensation has been enacted by the States of Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, California, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin. During the recent sessions of the Legislature in these States the old statutes were either amended or new ones were enacted that will prove great blessings to the workers of those States, and will prove blessings to citizens in neighboring States by the stimulus of good example. As the Executive Council will report upon this matter in complete detail I will not duplicate that part of its report, other than to add that the progress made upon these subjects through the influence of the American Federation of Labor has been fairly satisfactory. But the matter is not concluded, and no time must be taken to indulge in rest so long as the evils complained of under the peculiar reasoning of many of our courts exist. The antiquated judicial fallacies of "fellow-servant," "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence" must be consigned to the limbo of tradition with no regrets that they have

finally reached their lasting, peaceful resting place. We must steadfastly continue to be on guard at every session of every Legislature, in State and nation, in order to see that the best interests of the workers are not merely conserved but advanced.

The Federal Commission appointed by the Sixty-first Congress to inquire into the general subject-matter of employers' liability and workmen's compensation held extended hearings, and it has been industriously at work during the summer. It is expected it will make a report early during the next session of Congress.

During the session of Congress just closed the following bills were introduced: H. R. No. 1681 by Mr. Gillette of Massachusetts and H. R. No. 1695 by Mr. Sterling of Illinois, for the purpose of amending the present law governing compensation for accidents to Federal employes. These bills have been urged by the American Federation of Labor in order to so amend the present law as to bring it up to the standard and within the requirements of the original bill drafted by the American Federation of Labor and urged for passage before the Sixtieth Congress. They have been referred to the Committee on Judiciary, and it is hoped that after the report of the Federal Commission has been considered by the Judiciary Committee that the bills already mentioned may meet with a favorable response from the committee and Congress. Other bills have been introduced by several members proposing amendments to the present Federal law to include employes in additionally hazardous occupations not included in the present act.

LOCOMOTIVE BOILER INSPECTION.

The first step has been taken by the Congress, in response to the demands made upon it by the organizations of labor, in behalf of the inspection of locomotive boilers. On January 10, 1911, the bill, S. No. 6702, was passed by the Senate without division. It was reported to the House on January 23, and passed that body without material change on February 7. It was approved by the President February 17. This law provides for the appointment by the President, with confirmation by the Senate, of a chief inspector and two assistant chief inspectors, who shall have practical knowledge of the construction and repairing of boilers and be otherwise properly qualified. They are required to have a force of fifty district inspectors, to be selected after competitive examination under Civil Service rules. The district inspectors must have had practical experience in the work of construction, repairing, operation, and testing of locomotive boilers. There is no doubt that this law has had, and will have, a widespread influence for good and be the means of saving many lives and preventing much suffering, and, while it may be said that it does not go as far as might be desired, yet, in the light of all experience obtained in the development of safety-appliance legislation on railroads, this first step as applied to locomotive boiler inspection is more far-reaching than earlier efforts have been looking to the safety of life and limb on the interstate railroads of our country.

THE HATTERS' CASE.

On April 10 the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the district of New York and New England handed down its decision upon the appeal in the Hatters' case. The decision reversed the judgment of the trial Federal court over which Judge Platt presided and in which under his instructions the jury returned a verdict mulcting the Hatters in the sum of \$232,240.12. It will be remembered that the original case was started at Danbury, Connecticut, over seven years ago, resulting from a strike which was called in the Loewe Factory July 25, 1902, 242 employes, union and non-union, ceasing work. Suit was brought by Loewe & Co. August 31, 1903, under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, \$80,000 damages were alleged, and threefold damages under that law claimed.

The Hatters claimed that the Hatters' Union and other unions were not engaged in trade or commerce, and therefore did not come under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Relying upon these points the Hatters made no defense upon the bill of complaint. Judge Platt of the Federal Circuit Court of Connecticut maintained this position and dismissed the complaint. Loewe, or rather the Anti-Boycott Association, appealed to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, and both parties agreed that that court should certify the case and ask the question of the United States Supreme Court as to whether a suit of the kind could be maintained under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. February 3, 1908, the United States Supreme Court decided that the case could be maintained. The case was then tried before Judge Platt and a jury, and lasted over four months. Judge Platt instructed the jury that they must find for Loewe &

Co. and left to the jury the question only of how much damage Loewe & Co. showed they sustained. The jury, as stated, awarded \$232,240 12.

Since the starting of the suit in 1902 and the beginning of the trial, 26 of the 240 defendants died. Attachments were issued against the homes and savings of 100 of the defendants. The Anti-Boycott Association and the Manufacturers' Association stood behind Loewe & Co. The American Federation of Labor aided in the legal presentation of the case, and in addition gave its moral support to the Hatters. With this verdict against the Hatters, the American Federation of Labor appealed the case for the Hatters to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and retained as counsel Judge Alton B. Parker, Hon. Frank L. Mulholland of Toledo, Ohio, and Judge John K. Beach of New Haven, Conn. In their brief masterful arguments were made to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and the unanimous decision of the court reversed the judgment and remanded the case for a new trial. In connection with this famous case it would be well to call your attention to the review of it given in the March, 1908, and the March, 1910, issues of the *American Federationist*.

Our attorney was then requested to take action to secure the refunding of the cost of the appeal to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, which was incurred by the Federation and in due course of time the American Anti-Boycott Association paid over the amount of \$5,348.90, which has been placed in the fund for the defense in this case.

We are now advised that the Anti-Boycott Association, in the name of Loewe & Co., has asked for an assignment of the case for retrial and that it is likely to be reached during the January term of the Federal Court in the State of Connecticut.

In reviewing this case it is well to understand just what matters of law have been passed upon by the various courts giving considerations to the questions involved. As heretofore said, the demurrer filed to the complaint of Loewe & Co. admitted for the purposes of the hearing thereon, the truth of all matters correctly pleaded, and the only question which came before the Supreme Court of the United States was whether a cause of action, under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust act, was stated in the complaint. As already stated the court so interpreted that law as to declare that upon the basis of the question submitted, a cause of action existed. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Supreme Court of the United States has not passed upon the state of facts submitted to the court and jury upon the trial of this cause, but has decided that the complainant made a case upon paper sufficient to state a cause of action under the Anti-Trust act.

The Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, in granting a new trial on the merits, reviewed somewhat the decision of the Supreme Court, in the following language:

"This decision [of the United States Supreme Court] also has fixed the law in this case. It is needless to inquire whether boycotts generally, or this variety of boycott, are or are not unlawful at common law, or under the statutes of some particular State. If it be shown that individuals have combined together to induce a manufacturer engaged in interstate commerce to conduct his business as they wish, and, upon his refusal, further combine not only to prevent him from manufacturing articles intended for interstate commerce, but also to prevent his vendees in other States from reselling the articles which they had imported from the State of manufacture, or from further negotiating for the purchase and inter-transportation of such articles, the combiners intending thereby to destroy or obstruct an existing interstate traffic, such combination of individuals must be held to have essentially obstructed the free flow of commerce between the States. A combination to effect such an obstruction is a violation of the Anti-Trust act."

Attempting still further to define the law as applicable to this particular case, the Circuit Court of Appeals in granting a new trial said:

"It may be well, however, that we should indicate for the guidance of the Circuit Court in the new trial that, as we understand the decision of the Supreme Court in this case, there may be a distinction drawn between—

"(a) A combination to cause a strike in a manufactory located in a particular State, where the important object is the unionizing of the factory, although a part of its product, if manufactured, would have become the subject of interstate trade; and

"(b) A combination directly to restrain and put a stop to the importation by a person in one State of goods produced at a manufactory in another State, although the ultimate result sought to be obtained by such restraint might merely be the changing of conditions in that particular manufactory."

The above quotations appear to settle the law, as laid down by the courts, upon this branch of the case as nearly as can be stated in any general proposition. It will still be a question, of course, in any particular case, of what amounts to a "prevention" or "putting a stop to" the importation of articles from another State.

Upon the trial of this case before Judge Platt of the Federal Court for the State of Connecticut, the Anti-Boycott Association claimed—and succeeded in impressing the court with the opinion—that mere membership in the organization known as the United Hatters of North America, and the payment of dues therein, made one a party to a conspiracy to commit the unlawful acts charged against certain individual members and officers of that association. The Court of Appeals in its opinion granting a new trial properly disposes of that contention. We quote:

"It has been argued here that the mere fact that an individual defendant was a member of, or contributed money to the treasury of, the United Hatters' Association made him the principal of any and all agents who might be employed by its officers to carry out the objects of the association, and responsible as principal if such agents used illegal methods or caused illegal methods to be used, in undertaking to carry out those objects. We can not assent to this proposition. . . . Something more must be shown, as, for instance, that, with the knowledge of the members, unlawful means had been so frequently used, with the expressed or tacit approval of the association, that its agents were warranted in assuming that they might use such unlawful means in the future; that the association and its individual members would approve or tolerate such use whenever the end sought to be obtained might be best obtained thereby."

The Anti-Boycott Association, through its attorneys, contended that the payment of dues by certain defendants after they had received knowledge of the alleged unlawful acts of their officers, through the service upon them of summons in this case, was competent evidence tending to show that the acts of their officers were authorized at the time they were performed, and the anti-boycott attorneys succeeded in convincing Judge Platt, the trial Judge, that this contention was correct. The Court of Appeals, however, took exceptions to the admission of such evidence and held this testimony incompetent.

From what we are able to gather from the decisions of the courts, it is apparent that upon the retrial of this case each individual defendant will have to be in some way connected with the alleged conspiracy set forth in the bill of complaint before a verdict for the plaintiff can be secured. We understand that the courts have decided that the pecuniary liability of a defendant in this action does not depend solely upon his continued membership in a labor union whose officers and agents have committed the alleged unlawful acts, but that further evidence must be introduced tending to show that such defendant either participated in or authorized the performance of the unlawful acts in question. This case now stands for a new trial on the merits, and is not unlike any other conspiracy case. These men will not now be presumed guilty of conspiracy. It will not be assumed that merely because they are union men they have entered into an "unlawful combination," but each defendant will stand upon his own defense, and will not be charged with responsibility for alleged unlawful acts committed in the furtherance of a conspiracy, until it has been clearly established by competent evidence that he was a party to the "conspiracy."

INJUNCTION-CONTEMPT-APPEAL-RETRIAL.

Since my last report much has happened in connection with the contempt proceedings and other litigation growing out of the original action of the American Anti-Boycott Association brought in the name of the Buck's Stove and Range Company.

An adjustment having been obtained in regard to our former difficulties with that company, when the appeals on the injunction were reached in the Supreme Court of the United States, that court indicated its conclusion that there was no longer a real legal dispute between our organization and the company, and that it would be unwilling to pass upon a case which was then purely moot. Following this intimation, the Supreme Court directed that the appeals taken by both the company and ourselves should be dismissed, the costs to be equally divided.

With regard to the contempt case against Messrs. Mitchell and Morrison and myself, the history was somewhat different. After Mr. Justice Wright, in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, had found all of us guilty of contempt, and sentenced Mr. Mitchell to a punishment of nine months in jail, Mr. Morrison to six months and myself to a year, we, through our attorneys, considering the decision unjust, took an appeal. Our attorneys regarded the petition filed by the plaintiffs as civil in its nature, and the appeal was arranged accordingly. Upon the hearing in the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, that court confirmed the sentences of Judge Wright, and held that the appeal was not taken in such manner as enabled it to consider the merits of the case, it having been treated as an appeal in equity, which would have been proper as a civil contempt, while the court regarded it as a purely legal matter, which should have been the subject of what is technically known as a bill of exceptions.

We applied to the Supreme Court of the United States for the issuance of a writ of certiorari, representing to that body the magnitude of the case and the importance of the questions involved. The Supreme Court granted the writ, and the case, on our own part as well as our appeal in the principal case, was argued at great length on our behalf by Judge Alton B. Parker and Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, there appearing against us Joseph J. Darlington and Daniel Davenport, who, the Buck's Stove and Range Company having dropped out of all real interest in the conflict, represented the so-called American Anti Boycott Association.

After a full hearing, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the contentions of our attorneys that the proceedings were civil in their nature, and that the appeal to the Court of Appeals was properly taken in the manner it was. Following largely the lines laid down in the argument of our counsel, the Supreme Court held that the petition in contempt, originally filed in the name of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, was civil in its nature, and not criminal, but that the punishment undertaken to be meted out to the respondents was of a criminal character, its purpose having been apparently to vindicate the dignity of the court rather than to remedy the ills from which the company claimed originally to have suffered and desired to be cured. Considering, therefore, that the company had asked for something which was remedial in its nature, whereas the relief granted by Mr. Justice Wright was simply punitive, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of Justice Wright, which had been affirmed by the Court of Appeals, and sent back the cause to the lower courts, in the following language:

"The judgment of the Court of Appeals is reversed and the case remanded with directions to reverse the judgment of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and remand the case to that court with direction that the contempt proceedings instituted by the Buck's Stove and Range Company be dismissed, but without prejudice to the power and right of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to punish by a proper proceeding contempt, if any, committed against it."

On the morning after the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was orally rendered, and before any official or authentic copy of the decision was obtainable by any one, Justice Wright, taking advantage of the decision of the court, appointed a committee, consisting of the attorneys in the original injunction and contempt case, Messrs. Darlington, Davenport, and Beck, to make an investigation and report whether there be good cause for believing that Messrs. Mitchell, Morrison, and I were guilty of contempt of court.

The "committee" formulated charges and presented them to the court, and my colleagues and myself were cited to show cause why we should not be punished for contempt.

Our attorneys sought to have the case tried before another Judge than Justice Wright. This was overruled, and at a later session, because in the meantime I had testified before a committee of the United States Senate, during the course of which the course pursued by Justice Wright was brought by me to the attention of this committee, Justice Wright took cognizance of my statement to the Senatorial committee for further justification of his refusal to have another Judge try the case. Whereupon, because Justice Wright had in the previous case shown that his mind was biased against us, and because of his latest expression in regard to me, our counsel renewed the motion for the case to be tried before another Judge of the same court, which in turn Justice Wright overruled.

The committee of attorneys appointed by the court asked Justice Wright to refer the taking of testimony in the contempt proceedings to an Examiner. Our counsel opposed, and urged that the case be heard in open court, where irrelevant testimony would be excluded and my colleagues and myself guaranteed the rights to which we were entitled, to be confronted by our accusing witnesses, and to answer the same if necessary.

At this writing Justice Wright has under consideration his decision upon this point. In either event, the case will proceed shortly, whether in open court or before an Examiner, to be subject to the court's decision.

It should be understood that when a case of this character is referred to an Examiner, obedience to subpoena, even to the defendants to testify against themselves, is expected to be obeyed, and that they are expected to answer any and all questions put, no matter how irrelevant they may be. It is true that counsel may object to the questions, but the answer is expected and under order of the court compelled to be given. It is true that when the written testimony is presented, the court may exclude these questions and the answers, but they have been written and are read by the Judge, and must have some influence in forming his judgment and decision.

POLICE OPPRESSION—THE THIRD DEGREE—EXTRADITION.

In the report which I had the honor to submit to the St. Louis Convention, reference, together with recommendations for a remedy, was made to police oppression and the infliction of what has become notorious as the "third degree." The committee to whom was referred the subject-matter indorsed not only the declarations, but the recommendations, and it was decided to urge the State Federation and city central bodies to have enacted, by their respective State Legislatures, a law that shall put an end to this species of barbarism perpetrated upon accused persons and to safeguard the rights inherent to every citizen of a civilized community.

On December 29 last, a circular was issued to the State and central bodies upon this subject. In reply, much encouraging information was received, and a determination expressed on the part of all to see to it that the laws shall be so amended, or so enforced, as to guarantee the right of presumption of the innocence of unconvicted men, even though they be suspected and accused. In several States reformatory action, either by law or administration, has followed.

The U. S. Senate Committee on Judiciary adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That a select committee of five members of the Senate be appointed by the Vice-President to inquire into and report to the Senate the facts as to the alleged practice of administering what is known as 'the third degree' ordeal by officers or employes of the United States for the purpose of extorting from those charged with crime statements and confessions, and also as to any other practices tending to prevent or impair the fair and impartial administration of the criminal law," etc.

The committee made an extended investigation, on July 8 giving me a hearing. I made an extended argument citing numerous cases of police oppression under "the third degree" ordeal, and particularly emphasized the kidnapping of John J. and James B. McNamara. I recited to the Senate committee the details of the methods employed by the Burns Detective Agency men in their sensational farce tragedy circuitous routes in transporting the McNamaras to Los Angeles, evidently planned to avoid habeas corpus or other legal processes being served. I especially pointed out to the committee that it is only workmen in the United States of America upon whom such dastardly outrages are perpetrated.

The select committee made a report to the Senate on August 4, 1911, in which it stated that from its investigation and from testimony elicited from Major Sylvester, Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police, Washington, D. C., who has also been President of the International Police Chiefs' Association for ten years, that it was his experience, that while there were instances of brutality by police officers from time to time in various parts of the country, they were sporadic and were not the regular practice." The special committee also reported:

"It appears from testimony taken before the committee that in important cases involving violations of the Federal statutes, upon application by the

District Attorney, the Department of Justice authorizes the employment of special United States Marshals and specially appointed investigators to watch the jury for the purpose of preventing jurymen from being tampered with. This committee deprecates this practice or custom, although it may be justified upon the ground that, inasmuch as the accused or his friends may employ men to watch the jury, therefore the Government should be allowed the same privilege. This committee regards the employment of men by either the prosecution or the defense for the purpose of shadowing jurymen as liable to great abuse. The spectacle of a sworn jury shadowed by secret employes of both parties to the suit during the entire period of a trial does not seem to this committee to comport with the impartial administration of justice."

The committee closed its report with the following:

"Clause 2 of section 2 of Article IV (United States Constitution) provides for what is known as the extradition of a person charged with crime who shall flee from justice and be found in another State. Under the authority of this clause of the Constitution several instances have occurred where persons alleged to have committed a crime in one State and fled into another State have, upon the requisition of the State where the crime was alleged to have been committed, and the warrant of the Governor of the State to which the person so charged with crime had fled, been taken before a court and remanded to the custody of the agent of the State in which the crime was alleged to have been committed and by him returned to the State from which he was alleged to have fled, without affording any opportunity to the person so charged with crime to test the legality of the proceedings against him or the jurisdiction of the court granting judgment against him. The courts have held that if the person so charged with crime is within their jurisdiction when produced for trial they will not inquire into the legality of the proceedings by which he was brought within their jurisdiction. Although such a proceeding may not strictly fall within the province of this committee as a practice tending to impede the impartial administration of the Federal criminal law and may not be resorted to so frequently as to properly constitute a practice, still, in the opinion of this committee the extradition of a person charged with crime and his transfer from one State to another—perhaps far distant and by a route calculated to prevent his obtaining a writ of habeas corpus to test the validity of the proceedings which resulted in his arrest and transportation—presents a condition of affairs, which, if possible, should be made impossible, by legislation.

"If the court, before whom the person charged with crime is brought, in reality has no jurisdiction, and the person is deprived of any opportunity to test that question by reason of his hasty transportation to and custody in a remote part of the United States, he has to all intents and purposes been kidnapped, and such person would seem to have been deprived of his liberty without due process of law. We therefore recommend to the consideration of Congress whether Congress can not constitutionally provide some remedy against the possibility of injustice in the execution of extradition under clause 2 of section 2 of Article IV of the Constitution of the United States, either by providing that the person so charged with crime shall not be removed from the State in which he is found within a certain number of days, thus affording him an opportunity to test the validity of his arrest and extradition in habeas corpus proceedings, or in some other manner if authority for any such exists."

While Congress was recently in session the following measures were introduced bearing upon the subject of extradition, the action taking its inspiration from the extraordinary procedures connected with the hasty and alleged illegal extradition of the McNamaras. On the first day Congress convened, Representative Henry of Texas introduced a bill, H. R. 4658, for the purpose of amending section 5278 of the Revised Statutes of the United States bearing upon extradition procedures. Bill H. R. 8469, very similar in character, was later introduced by Representative Korbly of Indiana, also H. R. 11174 by Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania; H. R. 13241 by Mr. Good of Iowa, and H. R. 13804 by Mr. Buchanan of Illinois, and on April 25 Representative Berger of Wisconsin introduced House Concurrent Resolution No. 6, citing part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which ordains that no State shall deprive any person

of "life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," followed by this resolution: "That a committee of each house be appointed to investigate the arrest and extradition of the said McNamara, and to report its findings to the two houses at the earliest practicable moment." This resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules, and two days later, on April 27, hearings were had, which were continued for two days. Representative Berger defended his resolution, the Chairman, Mr. Henry, adding that all the Congressmen had received many memorials, Frank M. Ryan, General President of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, Leo M. Rappaport, attorney for that organization, Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania and others appeared before the committee in behalf of the resolution. As it was impossible for me to be present in person, on account of a previous engagement, I addressed the following letter to the Chairman, which was made a part of the record:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 24, 1911.*

HON. R. L. HENRY, Chairman, Committee on Rules, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 22d instant, advising me that you have called a meeting of the Committee on Rules for Saturday morning, May 27, at eleven o'clock, and inviting me to be on hand at the time for the purpose of making a statement to the committee in favor of the resolution introduced by Hon. Victor Berger, came duly to hand.

I regret to say that it will be impossible for me to be at the session of the committee. Your letter reached me on Tuesday. On Monday I received an urgent telegram and later a long-distance telephone message, and found it necessary to make an engagement to deliver an address at Cooper Union, New York City, on Friday evening, May 26, and incidentally have made other arrangements which will necessitate my remaining in New York for the following day.

May I take advantage of this opportunity to submit to you and the committee a few of the reasons why, in my judgment, an investigation should be had either by joint committee of Congress or by a committee of the House of Representatives?

While attending to his official duties on Saturday evening, April 22, 1911, John J. McNamara, an officer of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union, in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., was arrested without warrant, and taken to a police court, which had no jurisdiction in matters of extradition. He was denied the right to be heard by himself or by counsel, and was then manacled and in that condition taken out of the State of Indiana across the continent, and confined in a jail in Los Angeles, Cal.

It is needless for me to say that no self-respecting, humane citizen can have any sympathy, either with killing or the policy of killing, and this without regard whether the crime has been committed by a high official or one of the submerged in the social strata. Our civilization presumes the highest regard for human life and human liberty.

The meanest man in all our country is guaranteed rights which neither State nor nation is warranted in taking from him, even though he be suspected of or charged with crime. Every man in our country is assumed to be innocent of any crime until he has been proven guilty and so pronounced by a jury of his peers; and until John J. McNamara has been proven guilty, after fair and impartial trial, the law holds him innocent. The abduction from his home State is a crime against justice, liberty, and the rights of man. Mr. McNamara was not a fugitive from justice.

The Governor of a State in which a crime has been committed may certainly make demand upon the Governor of another State in which the person charged with crime is located for the surrender of the person so charged, but the person demanded has always been granted the right to be heard before such a demand or requisition has been honored and complied with, that he or others in his behalf may have an opportunity before the courts of the State in which he is found to review and determine whether the requisition papers are ample or authentic; whether the grounds of complaint are sufficient; whether there exists an illegal or improper design even under the forms of law to take a citizen away from his home and from his State and to take him to a foreign State for an ulterior purpose.

The law and the practice are that a person shall be protected by the government of the State in which he lives against being deprived of his liberty or his life without due process of law, or being handed over to the Governor of another State without the opportunity of setting up even a preliminary or formal defense so as to show that he has a right to the protection of the State against an untenable or unlawful demand of another State.

Ample evidence is at hand that the safeguards guaranteed by law were flagrantly disregarded, and John J. McNamara surrendered without a moment's preparation or opportunity to avail himself of his lawful rights and railroaded to a California prison.

Right here I should say that under our Government the States are as much foreign to each other in the administration of their criminal law as is, say, for instance, a foreign country to the Government of the United States, except that in the former—the State—the State Governors and courts are the arbiters and in the latter the President of the United States and the potentates of the foreign countries and their representative courts are the determining officials.

Is it conceivable that the President of the United States would have surrendered an American citizen to a foreign government upon its requisition without giving him an opportunity to avail himself of his lawful rights and a chance to show that some mistake, some terrible mistake, has been made?

Suppose such a citizen might be able to show that a conspiracy had been entered into by some foreign power to get him into its jurisdiction and domain with the ulterior purpose of taking his life or depriving him of his liberty.

Would and should not an American citizen be given the chance to show these?

If these contentions are true, and no liberty-loving, right-thinking American will dispute it, then it follows that this course should also have been pursued by the Governor of Indiana, and that he should not have done as he has done, allow the practical kidnapping of these men.

The entire proceedings in this case thus far have been characterized by high-handed outrage and violation of the constitutional and statutory guarantees, and are repugnant to the conception of human justice as understood and accepted by our American life, our American manhood, since the foundation of our Republic.

It is not appropriate here to even refer to the guilt or innocence of Mr. McNamara. That many of our fellow-citizens and I believe in his innocence is not a question for your committee to consider, but that a great outrage and violation of fundamental guarantees has been committed; that the subject is one deserving of the investigation of a special committee of the House of Representatives; that at least in the future the same travesty on law and outrage of justice may be prevented, should appeal to every right-thinking and patriotic American citizen. I sincerely hope that the Committee on Rules will report such a resolution favorably to the House of Representatives, and that the same will be adopted.

Very respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

The committee showed a sympathetic interest in the matter, Mr. Madison, one of its members, going so far as to say: "The committee has been very favorably impressed with the candor and fairness and the information which has been given." The chairman, Mr. Henry, after summing up the position of the committee in favor of having the whole subject-matter referred to the Judiciary Committee, said: "Personally, speaking for myself, I see no objection to reporting this testimony to the House for whatever action they may want to take. Then, of course, the Committee on the Judiciary can give hearings." Mr. Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, one of the members of the committee, added: "I think this testimony should be submitted to the Committee on the Judiciary if it has a bill before it which is germane." Mr. Berger, after consultation with friends of his resolution, responded as follows: "I believe it would be satisfactory to me to send it to the House, because after all, McNamara is to be tried in California. In fact, he is to be tried now. Just report it to the House with any findings you may make, and that will be satisfactory as far as I am concerned." The chairman concluded the hearings by saying: "We will just submit this hearing to the House and then you can go before the Committee on the Judiciary and have additional hearings." That course was satisfactory to all.

In accordance with this decision of the Committee on Rules, it reported to the

House on June 6 as follows: "The Committee on Rules has had under consideration House Concurrent Resolution No. 6, providing for the appointment of a committee on investigation, and report that they held hearings at which the proponent and all others desiring to be heard appeared and gave testimony. In the opinion of your committee it covered all the material facts that could be elicited by a select committee, and further investigation would throw no additional light on the transaction, and is therefore unnecessary. The testimony is herewith submitted for the information of the House with a view of determining whether or not further legislation is necessary. It is recommended that House Concurrent Resolution No. 6 do lie on the table."

During the debate upon this report, Mr. Henry, chairman of the Committee on Rules, said in the House:

"It is my intention to ask unanimous consent that the testimony taken by the Committee on Rules be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, in order that such committee may inquire whether or not further legislation is necessary in regard to the extradition laws."

Mr. Henry, later in the debate, asked unanimous consent that both testimony and report be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, to which the House agreed.

This matter will be given proper attention during the next session of Congress, when the bills herein referred to on the subject of extradition are duly considered by the Judiciary Committee.

Senator La Follette has introduced bill S. 2694 for the purpose of amending sections 5270 to 5274 of the revised statutes regulating the practices in extradition cases. This was referred to the Senate Committee on Judiciary. Nothing further on this subject has been done by the Senate other than what I have included in the earlier part of this section of my report in reciting the substance of the hearings which I attended before the Select Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

THE POST SUIT AGAINST A. F. OF L.

Since the time of my last report, and following the action of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Post, the owner of Postum Cereal and Grape Nuts, as a stockholder in the Buck's Stove and Range Company, commenced an action in St. Louis to restrain the Buck's Stove and Range Company from carrying out the terms of its settlement with the American Federation of Labor, and also claiming, as a result of the making of such settlement, threefold damages under the Sherman act for the Buck's Stove and Range Company, in which he (Post) was interested as a stockholder. These damages he fixed at \$750,000. The defendants to this action, against which this relief was prayed, included the Buck's Stove and Range Company, the American Federation of Labor, and practically all of its officers and the officers of the local organization in St. Louis, and others.

Our counsel, Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, demurred to the complaint upon the ground that no cause of action whatsoever was stated by it against the American Federation of Labor and the organizations and individuals affiliated with it. This demurrer was fully heard last May, and in the following month was decided by Judge Dyer of the United States Court at St. Louis in our favor and the bill directed to be dismissed. From this decision of Judge Dyer an appeal has been taken to the United States Court of Appeals, and the cause on appeal will come on for hearing in January. Our attorneys assure us that they confidently expect an affirmation of the decree of Judge Dyer—that is, that the dismissal of the suit will be sustained. However, regardless of the fact that there is no merit in the suit brought by the unscrupulous labor hater Post, we must needs defend our rights in this litigation or be mulcted in damages by default.

ANTI-TRUST AND INJUNCTION LIMITATION BILLS.

During the whole of the existence of the Sixty-first Congress it was an absolute impossibility to obtain any direct action from either the Judiciary Committee of the House or that of the Senate upon the bills introduced at the instance of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of amending the anti-trust law or for the limitation of the issuing of injunctions, but during the short session, when the bill for the "Codification of Laws Relating to the Judiciary" came up in the House, on December 7, 1910, Representative William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania took advantage of an opportunity to offer his bill dealing with injunction limitation as an amendment to the "Codification" bill.

Some expert parliamentary athletics were immediately indulged in by Mr. Moon of Pennsylvania and others who were anxious to rush the "Codification" bill through with some special features attached in which they were keenly interested. The amendment

offered by Mr. Wilson evidently gave them much anxiety. They finally succeeded in having Mr. Wilson's amendment sidetracked on a point of order that it was not germane to the particular section in which it was offered.

On December 14 the "Codification" bill was brought up for further consideration, and again Mr. Wilson offered his injunction limitation bill as an amendment to a section in which he considered it perfectly appropriate for it to be included. More points of order were raised upon Mr. Wilson's amendment, on the plea of its not being germane to the particular section, but Mr. Wilson soon deprived the opposition of that objection by informing the House that it was immaterial to him under what section of the "Codification" bill it should come so long as he could obtain a consideration of it at some time, and he thereupon moved that the House should by unanimous consent take the injunction limitation amendment up and consider it at a proper time while the "Codification" bill was before the House. It was thereupon agreed that when sections 249 to 252 of the "Codification" bill should be reached the injunction limitation proposition be considered in connection with either of those, whereupon other Representatives who had introduced injunction regulation bills also offered them as amendments to the "Codification" measure. Finally, acting as though it were a premeditated arrangement Representative Sterling of Illinois, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, offered a *pro injunction* bill which had been introduced by Mr. Moon of Pennsylvania in the previous session, and which had received a strong indorsement by President Taft, as a substitute for the amendments made by Mr. Wilson and the other members on the injunction proposition.

It will be remembered that I called particular attention of the delegates to the St. Louis Convention to the dangers lurking in that bill of Mr. Moon's, fathered by President Taft, and at the same time I reported a protest I entered and urged organized labor to register its vigorous objections to the enactment of any bill of the character and species of which the Moon bill was a type.

Immediately after these tactics of Mr. Sterling had been brought to my attention, I sent the following letter to all of the members of the House of Representatives on December 20, 1910:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 20, 1910.

DEAR SIR: You are aware that Mr. Moon of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Committee on Revision of the Laws, called up for consideration in the House, on December 7 (Calendar Wednesday), the bill H. R. 23377, "to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary." On Wednesday, December 14, this same bill again occupied the attention of the House, and the expectation seems to prevail among many members that this bill may continue to be considered on each Calendar Wednesday until it is finally disposed.

On December 14, Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania offered an amendment to the bill (see *Congressional Record*, page 93, December 7, and page 314, December 14).

On December 14 it was agreed by the House that Mr. Wilson's amendment would be in order when section 249, 250 or 251 of the bill or some other appropriate section of that chapter of the bill is reached. Your attention is called to the fact that at the same time several other amendments were offered to the bill and were similarly referred.

Mr. Sterling of Illinois offered an amendment as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. Wilson, to be considered in connection with that amendment, when it comes up. The Sterling substitute is the Moon injunction bill, introduced by Mr. Moon at the last session of Congress.

May I respectfully suggest that you make an effort to be present in the House on each Calendar Wednesday while this bill is under consideration, and to express the hope that you give your active support to the amendment offered by Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania?

The substitute offered by Mr. Sterling (the Moon bill), or any other bill of the character and species of which it is a type, is inimical to the rights and interests of labor, and by unanimous direction of the American Federation of Labor at its convention last month I enter an emphatic protest against its passage. The men of labor of our country contend for the principles contained in the Wilson bill. May they not count upon you to make every possible effort for its enactment?

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

The "Codification" bill came regularly before the House on each "Calendar Wednesday" thereafter, namely, January 11, 18, and 25; February 1, 8, and 15, but the sections in which Representative Wilson's injunction limitation amendment could be appropriately introduced and considered, according to the agreement previously referred to, were not reached, and in spite of the fact that this exceptionally long bill was so frequently brought up in the House it was generally understood that it was being used for dilatory purposes and as a scheme to offset other pressing legislation that the people were demanding. It became quite apparent that the members of the House of Representatives as a general thing showed neither anxiety nor inclination to reach those sections of the bill on which they had unanimously agreed the Wilson injunction limitation bill would be germane, and by their actions they brazenly demonstrated that they did not wish to have the merits of the proposition discussed for their own information and enlightenment, nor to be placed on record on the subject, as they surely would have been had the section been reached, because the bill was being debated while the House was sitting in regular session and not while it was sitting in Committee of the Whole.

The whole farce of these contemptible tactics was ruthlessly exposed by Representative William Hughes of New Jersey, on February 15, when with great indignation he passionately and mercilessly flayed the reactionary standpatters, in part, as follows:

"This afternoon we have been conducting a sham battle in the interests of delay. . . . I do not see what anybody can do to compel the gentleman in charge of the bill to go on and take up the really important pressing matters that are to be considered by this House if this bill is to be finished at this session of Congress. I do not know what the plan or program or scheme is, I only know that I and other members of Congress have been sitting around patiently waiting for the particular propositions in which we are all interested to be reached in order that we may debate them and have the House pass upon them. But gentlemen have wasted the afternoon conducting an Alphonse and Gaston burlesque across the aisle. I have seen three quarters of an hour wasted this afternoon debating an amendment which everybody agreed to and nobody opposed. It seems that the more unanimity there was regarding an amendment the more time was taken up in discussing it. I confess that for one I do not know what is going on. I would like to find out, and I propose, if the gentleman in charge of the bill does not do it himself, to move that the House adjourn and put an end to this farce."

The few "managing" members of the House who were present evidently realized the exposure of their tactics by Mr. Hughes, and amidst considerable merriment they acted upon the motion of Mr. Hughes and adjourned the House, evidently considering that they had been the actors in a great comedy and that they flattered themselves on their artistic ability, and deemed it a great joke to so sidetrack one of the greatest issues before the organizations of labor and the American people. It was either through their effrontery or their debasement that they avoided the opportunity of declaring by positive legislation, in harmony with the fundamentals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, what should be the clear-cut legal definition of the inherent rights of man.

The conduct of the majority in the House of Representatives in the last Congress once more illustrated their subserviency to the "interests" rather than their care for the rights of the people. It is regrettable that criticism such as this should be necessary of a great, responsible public body, but I deem it my duty to not only call the attention of the members of organized labor to these things, but to herald them forth so that all the world may know, with the hope that it may arouse the spirit of our countrymen to such an extent that they will see to it that they send men, real men, to represent them in Congress instead of marionettes, who are ready to jump, dance, run, or kneel, as the vested interests, the power behind the throne, may dictate.

Now let me report what took place in the other chamber—the Senate. While the farce just related was being played in the House, Senator Heyburn of Idaho, Chairman of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws, was taking advantage of every possible opportunity to advance the "Codification" bill in the Senate. Previous to the Senate reaching sections 249 to 252, many Senators were approached by our Legislative Committee and urged to introduce the Wilson injunction limitation bill as an amendment. Most of them declined under the excuse that they did not consider the "Codification"

bill open to amendments, and asserting that it was pure codification and not new legislation, in spite of the fact that new legislation was enacted in several parts of the bill. However, when section 251 was reached, Senator Martin of Virginia, true to his pledge to us, offered the Wilson bill as an amendment and urged its adoption. Senator Heyburn promptly moved to table the amendment, and the motion was declared carried by the Chair without a division. In a few moments after this occurred the bill was completed and was passed by the Senate.

On February 23, while the House was working under the parliamentary order of suspension of the rules, which order usually prevails during the last few days of a session, Representative Moon moved to suspend the rules, take up the "Codification" bill reported from the Senate, and pass it in the House. The motion carried and the bill was passed. This lightning like rapidity of the House, after the dilatory practices which had previously prevailed upon this bill to which I have already referred, shows to what sharp practices those mis-Representatives of the people resorted in order to prevent a review and open discussion of the injunction abuse.

It should be clearly understood that this part of my report is only a brief résumé of the many important incidents occurring in our efforts to obtain remedial injunction limitation legislation. Time will not permit personal experiences to be recounted here.

The anti-trust and injunction limitation situation in the Sixty-second Congress is as follows:

Early in the first session of the Sixty-second Congress, just adjourned, Mr. Hughes of New Jersey introduced a bill known as H. R. No. 40 for the purpose of amending the anti-trust law, granting relief to labor. His bill is a verbatim copy of the original amendment that was unanimously passed by the United States Senate in 1890, while the Senate was in Committee of the Whole and giving its consideration to the Sherman Anti-Trust bill. It was then known as the "George" amendment and has been referred to many times by us in our conventions, in the columns of the *American Federationist* and by our speakers at public and union meetings:

Mr. Wilson introduced H. R. 11033, which has been approved by the American Federation of Labor, and which I herewith produce in order that its contents may be made a matter of record and the public generally afforded an opportunity to become conversant with the measure. The second section contains the substance of the bill H. R. No. 40, introduced by Mr. Hughes, previously referred to.

H. R. 11033.—A Bill to more clearly define the Act of July second, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against any unlawful restraints and monopolies."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That nothing in the Act of July second, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against any unlawful restraints and monopolies," is intended, nor shall any provision thereof hereafter be enforced so as to apply to organizations or associations not for profit and without capital stock, nor to the members of such organizations or associations as such, except where such organization or association not for profit and without capital stock, or the members of such organizations or associations shall become directors or managers of corporations which are organized for profit and which have capital stock.

Sec. 2. That nothing in said Act of July second, eighteen hundred and ninety, is intended, nor shall any provision thereof hereafter be enforced so as to apply to any arrangements, agreements, or combinations among persons engaged in agriculture or horticulture made with a view of enhancing the price of their own agricultural or horticultural products when sold or offered for sale by themselves.

Sec. 3. That all Acts and parts of Acts in conflict with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed.

Mr. Martin of Colorado introduced H. R. 11718 for the purpose of amending the anti-trust law. He incorporated in his bill the exclusion clause, applying to labor organizations, fraternal organizations, and such other organizations or associations not for profit and without capital stock, as was contained in the exemption provisions applicable to such organizations enacted in the Corporation Tax Law, which passed the Sixty-first Congress as a revenue producing measure as a supplement to the Aldrich Payne tariff bill. The Corporation Tax Law has been contested through several Federal courts and

finally carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. The latter tribunal declared the measure to be constitutional, including the exemption clause, and in accordance with this decision Representative Martin is confident that a similar application and exemption should be made in the anti-trust law to labor organizations and other associations not for profit.

Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania introduced bill H. R. 11032 for the purpose of defining and limiting the meaning of so-called "conspiracy," to regulate the issuance of restraining orders and to outline a method of procedure thereon. This is labor's injunction limitation bill. Together with the others formulated as amendments to the anti-trust law, it has been referred to the Committee on Judiciary, but no action thus far has been reported by that committee. It is generally understood that the session of Congress just closed was a special session called by the President for the purpose of giving consideration to special legislation referring to reciprocal trade relations with Canada, and while it is true that the Congress gave some attention to other revenue producing bills, there was little expectation that any material consideration would be given to other measures coming under the classification of general legislation in that special session of Congress.

Such opportunities to make progress as were available were taken advantage of in the advancement of our bills during that session, and at this moment we stand in a better equipped and possibly better strategic position than we have ever before occupied. Let me specify:

First. Our bills are clearly and positively written; they have been regularly introduced and referred to appropriate committees; most of the members of these committees now know not only the numbers of the bills advocated by labor, but the substance of them.

Second. The coming session of Congress is the long business session, when it is customary to give general legislation some serious consideration.

Third. Next year the people will be called upon to elect a President and a new Congress.

Fourth. Let organized labor make its wants clear and in no uncertain tones; the people of the country are in the mood to stand true to the cause of justice, freedom, and humanity. Let the delegates return to their homes carrying with them the declarations from this convention and have their demands repeated in every village, hamlet, town, county, and State by every local organization and city central body and State Federation. Let the voice of labor be heard distinctly, vigorously, and persistently. If this be done, no repetition of the disgraceful performances herein recited as to what transpired in the Sixty-first Congress will ever be repeated.

If these suggestions are observed and duly carried out, it will so supplement the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor that the probability is much greater good can be accomplished in the advancement of effective legislation in the interest of the workers and the people generally during the next session of Congress than could be possible without such co-operation from local sources.

RELIEF FROM JUDICIAL USURPATION—THE WILSON BILL.

The movement for legislative relief against judicial abuses in the issuance and enforcement of injunctions and restraining orders was, during the years from 1905 to 1908, general and aggressive. With the incoming of the present administration the opposition to our efforts in that direction, which had been previously concealed, for the most part, by hypocrisy and the confusion caused by the offering of ineffective makeshifts, assumed the form of open, defiant, uncompromising hostility. President Taft, during his first candidacy, profusely assured the interested public that when, or if, elected he would approach this subject with an open mind. He was careful, however, not to clearly define his attitude toward the Pearre (now the Wilson) bill. Early in his administration he outlined a scheme of legislation which was embodied in the Moon bill. The shortcomings and evil purpose of that bill were fully exposed in my last annual report. It was only necessary to unmask its objectionable features to have it condemned, not only by organized labor but by all fair-minded men.

It is useless to further dwell upon the Moon bill. It is dead beyond recall, and its authors and supporters stand discredited. Let the authors and sponsors for other subterfuges, and all would-be "life savers," take notice and be forewarned. The real

friends of labor will stand for the Wilson bill. It has stood the test of every objection and criticism, constitutional and otherwise. The opposition to it, in default of meritorious objection, has resorted to appeals to selfishness and directed their efforts to arousing every form of employing class prejudice.

The greatest importance should be attached to this practical reform. We are now, in this matter of injunctions, at a crisis which should arouse all the latent energies of the organization. It is the opportune time for a united and mighty forward effort. If we act unitedly, wisely, and vigorously, the bill can be put through the House and Senate at the coming session. Even if President Taft should veto it, we still would take a long stride in the right direction. I wish to be entirely fair to the President. I prefer to believe that he has heeded the arguments on only one side of this issue, and that if he were placed where decisive action was unavoidable, he would give the subject the consideration its importance warrants from all viewpoints. I must say, however, that his attitude, as clearly and repeatedly defined and declared, is not such as to justify us in expecting any voluntary assistance from that source. You have not forgotten that immediately after his inauguration, in the absence of emergency or provocation, and apparently without any immediate object in view, he transmitted to the extra session of Congress in 1909, a bitter, denunciatory tirade against the Pearre bill, nor how at the close of the regular session in 1910, he put forth extraordinary, and I regret to say successful, efforts to strangle a provision in an appropriation bill which forbade the use of public funds, under the Sherman anti-trust act, in prosecutions against labor and agricultural associations. In my last year's report I gave a somewhat detailed account of the President's extraordinary conduct with reference to this matter. Inasmuch as the situation then presented is likely soon to recur, if not in the same form at any rate in some form, I deem it worth while to remind you of the episode. The amendment just mentioned, proposed by Representative Hughes of New Jersey, was debated and adopted by the House in Committee of the Whole, reported and passed by the House, but was defeated in the Senate. The disagreement between the two houses necessitated the appointment of a joint conference committee. Passing over the formal proceedings in such cases, we come to the deadlock between the House and Senate. One motive in the President's action was his fear that the important appropriation bill, in which the amendment had been inserted by the House, would fail. But the sharpest spur was his anger at the thought that the friends of labor had developed sufficient strength to insert the amendment in the first instance. My former report contained a paragraph which I here insert without change:

"The situation evidently angered the President, as he immediately took the matter into his own hands. He suspended other public business and swept aside every engagement. He called 'wavering' Representatives to the White House and insisted upon their active opposition, even going so far as to say that, if it cost him the support of every laboring man in the country, he would not approve of such a proviso in the law. It is reported that when he learned that the House had receded from its insistence upon the proviso by the close vote of 138 to 130, he made no effort to conceal his great gratification because he had succeeded in defeating labor to this extent."

But under stress of political exigencies he has been known to make amazing changes of front on questions of great importance. As we do not know Mr. Taft's uttermost capacity for shifting his position, let us hope that he will ultimately conclude that the cause of justice which this measure represents will outlive his lease of power, and that it is a movement whose successful culmination is among the things inevitable, whether he approves or disapproves.

The very best arguments have been presented to the Judiciary Committee of the House, before which this measure was pending, and the opposition, as far as argument goes, has been thoroughly discomfited. Non-action has not been for the lack of conviction with respect to the merits of the bill, but because of the inertia of some members of the committee and the hostility, open or secret, of others. Indeed, the situation prior to the Sixty-second Congress was such, owing to the complete subservience of the House membership to a Speaker and Rules Committee which were controlled by special interests, that it seemed scarcely worth while to put forth our reserve forces. But, unless I am greatly mistaken, the changed situation, in the matter of House and Committee organization and the formation of rules, encourages prompt and aggressive action at this time, and suggests the folly of either delay or half-hearted action.

Political history is made largely through the ebb and flow of public opinion. We are just passing from an era of reaction, otherwise designated as "standpatism." The particular reform we are now advocating is in harmony with the present progressive trend, and if we do our full duty in having it catalogued among the important causes to be pressed forward for legislative action we shall only be acting in accord with the spirit of the times.

In self-defense, labor and its officials have in times past been compelled to criticise judicial action. For this course our spokesmen have been censured in unmeasured terms. But we are no longer singled out for targets by the subsidized organs of the privileged. The list of critics of the judiciary now includes the best thought, the best talent, and the best character of the nation. It required, however, something other than ultra-jurisdictional injunctions in labor disputes to bring about the situation in which about the only defenders of the injunction courts and of their most important recent decrees are the President and his Attorney-General. But let me remind you that, before the House Judiciary Committee and elsewhere, I and my co-workers often predicted that if the courts were permitted to annex to rightful jurisdiction a discretionary domain, constituting an invasion of legislative power, the courts would not stop with trampling upon the rights of labor. It gave me no pleasure to question or criticise court decisions, and I shall never do so, unless and when absolutely necessary. But no leader of labor in all this land ever so fiercely or successfully attacked a court as did Mr. Justice Harlan. I say successfully, because among the hundreds of lawyers and statesmen who have expressed themselves with respect to the decisions in the oil and tobacco cases few have failed to regard the trend and significance of these decisions as did Justice Harlan, that is to say, as a menace to the very life of the Republic and as a usurpation of legislative power. Even such newspapers as usually assume the task of defending the courts in all circumstances have either remained silent or have evasively and feebly replied to the court's critics.

Here are some of Justice Harlan's words:

"In order that my objections to certain parts of the court's opinion may distinctly appear, I must state the circumstances under which Congress passed the anti-trust act and trace the course of judicial decisions as to its meaning and scope. This is the more necessary because the court by its decision, when interpreted by the language of its opinion, has not only upset the long settled interpretation of the act, but has usurped the constitutional functions of the legislative branch of the Government."

Then, after a review of the history of the act and of the prior decisions thereunder, he thus proceeds:

"It remains for me to refer, more fully than I have heretofore done, to another, and in my judgment, if we look to the future, the most important aspect of this case. That aspect concerns THE USURPATION BY THE JUDICIAL BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT. The illustrious men who laid the foundations of our institutions deemed no part of the national Constitution of more consequence or more essential to the permanency of our form of government than the provisions under which were distributed the powers of government among three separate, equal and co-ordinate departments—legislative, executive, and judicial. This was at that time a new feature of governmental regulation among the nations of the earth, and it is deemed by the people of every section of our own country as most vital in the workings of a representative republic, whose Constitution was ordained and established in order to accomplish the objects stated in its preamble, by the means, but only by the means, provided, either expressly or by necessary implication, by the instrument itself. No department of that Government can constitutionally exercise the powers committed strictly to another and separate department."

The learned Justice was not merely deciding or giving his opinion of the law, but testifying to facts. In that testimony he has been corroborated almost universally, the only dissentients being President Taft and Attorney-General Wickersham.

I have referred to this part of current history because the ignorant and unreasoning have ever heretofore received with incredulity and scorn our complaints that the courts were usurping legislative powers in labor disputes by issuing blanket injunctions where the law had provided legal remedies. The judicial usurpation pointed out by Justice

Harlan is no more flagrant and obvious than in each of dozens of instances to which we have from time to time referred.

Surely the declaration of Justice Harlan in his dissenting opinion is sufficient to give us pause. It not only recalls our declarations, frequently made upon the same subject, but the one which was most emphatically stated in the editorial appearing in the March, 1908, issue of the *American Federationist* under the caption, "Labor Must Not Be Outlawed—The Supreme Court's Decision in the Hatters' Case," and from which the following is quoted:

"We are proud of the institutions of our country and try to uphold them with all our power, *but we do protest against the assumption of law-making power by the courts. In assuming such functions they invade the sphere of the legislative and executive, which must necessarily result injuriously to the very fabric of our republic.* Such action by the courts not being contemplated by the Constitution, there are no safeguards, no checks, as to what may be attempted."

A comparison of the utterances of Justice Harlan with this quotation is suggested. The identity of thought, and almost of language, is most complete.

Well may the business men of the country heed Justice Harlan's note of warning. Indeed, all men who love their country and its institutions should fear for their own safety, even if not for that of the men of toil, and should join hands with us in lopping off the sinister, poisonous excrescence of judicial jurisdiction invasion.

Not only workingmen but all classes and callings are at the parting of the ways, the one road leading to government by judicial edict, the other to government by laws enacted by a free people.

Justice Harlan, in the course of his opinion, made a prediction that the majority decision would "throw the business of the country into confusion and invite widely extended and harassing litigation, the injurious effects of which will be felt for many years to come." How literally and exactly his predictions have been fulfilled all know. We are in a position now to extend heartfelt sympathies to business men, for we have known for years what it was to have our rights so unsettled by court "decrees" that we knew not where we stood or what next to expect. We have also known the harassment of litigation referred to by the Justice, as well as its cost. The men of "big" business are at present at a loss in managing their affairs, because they do not know whether they are going to jail or not. The administration whose duty it is to impartially enforce the laws is as much in the dark as are others. One day it says that it will enforce the Sherman act to the letter, and on the next, after having read the morning papers, it fears that it has spoken too strongly and withdraws the statement. One day it indiscriminately denounces all restraints and interferences with interstate commerce, and on the next "roars like a sucking dove," claiming that it was misunderstood or didn't really say anything at all.

It is not my present purpose either to restate the conditions which render the enactment of a Federal law, limiting within its proper sphere the issuance of injunctions, a matter of vital importance, or to repeat the arguments advanced by me on former occasions. The conditions are known to you all, and the arguments were set forth last year at the St. Louis Convention and also have been placed before the rank and file of labor and the public on similar occasions and in various forms. I have myself, aided by others, held up the torch of reason before Congress and its committees so often and so earnestly that it would seem that little more remains to be said. Nevertheless, for the benefit of any who may wish a reminder of the underlying reasons for the legislation asked, I append an exhibit containing their restatement.

In closing this part of my report, I wish to make a practical suggestion. The Wilson bill will not pass itself. Your national officers will, of course, do their part to the utmost of their ability, as heretofore. But that, alone, is not enough. Members of the House and Senate are very much like other men. They are oftener than otherwise creatures of immediate environment and local influences. Many of them, when spoken to upon this measure, put up a barricade which is hard to scale. They say, "Your bill is all right," or, "I have always been in favor of some such legislation, but I don't know what my people think of this particular bill." Now, it is difficult to criticise that attitude, especially in the political atmosphere recently created based on the plea for popular rule to which we are emphatically committed. But this attitude presents a condition which is not only easily understood but can be met without great difficulty. It is only a question of a little expense and some labor to give every member of Congress

and every Senator the information which, sincerely or otherwise, he claims to lack. I shall make no recommendations of a plan for meeting it, but suggest that the committee to which this report shall be referred seriously consider the matter and then formulate a simple, feasible method for getting from the various congressional districts, for Congressmen, and from the various States, for Senators, an individual as well as a general expression of opinion, or demand for action, on this measure.

I append a copy of the Wilson bill. It is the product of our own thought, aided by men learned in the law. It is comprehensive without ambiguity and has stood the test of criticism running through several years.

THE PEOPLE—THE JUDICIARY—INJUNCTIONS—DEFENSE.

The signs of the times are portentous for injunction Judges. A movement looming up rapidly in the West indicates that the people are about to have their day. The courts, "that human institution that likens itself to a divine institution," to quote the President, who is a product of that institution, are on the point of finding out that final decisions of justice must come, not from one class in a republic, but from all its people. As time passes, evidence accrues that the injunction habit must go down before common sense and the general sentiment of liberty. Unauthorized edicts from the bench are proving to be naught as against the barriers placed before them by public opinion.

In the course of the long series of attacks upon the trade union movement, made by a certain type of Judges, the attitude of the organized laborers has been strictly that of legal defense, exercised through the usual methods of employing counsel and pleading before the courts. The time may now be opportune to raise the question whether our organizations may not adopt more direct means in obtaining justice for the individuals and the trade unions exposed to a reign of tyranny which has been established by the employing classes through the instrumentality of subservient courts. The continual drain on the finances of the unions, the uncertainty of the fate of accused union officials and other labor representatives, the doubt in the minds of the working classes as to what the law really requires, the possibility of our enemies on the occasion of labor disputes obtaining the aid of court machinery against us—these facts all present reasons for the trade unionists endeavoring to make short work of ascertaining what their rights are and of enlightening the public upon the question.

How great the obstacles interposed by courts have been to the organization of labor, and to the exercise of the fundamental legal rights of trade unionists, may be inferred from the number of injunctions petitioned for and the number granted in the course of a decade. As in the State of Massachusetts, from 1898 to 1908, employers petitioned for injunctions in sixty-six cases, and injunctions were actually issued in forty-six, it may be estimated that the entire number granted throughout the United States in that time reached not less than a thousand. The damage to trade union effort lies not only in the injunctions actually issued, but also on occasions in the partial paralysis of union activity because of the threat of injunctions by employers and because of the aggressions of police authorities acting on the assumption that injunctions already granted give them extraordinary powers in case of strikes or lockouts.

Now, what are the rights claimed by the trade unionists which have been interfered with by the courts? The trade unionist asserts, first of all, that his labor power is his own, to be exercised or not, according to his own will. He asserts, as well, that his purchasing power is his own, to be applied, with respect to all things legitimately on sale, according to his own discretion and judgment. The trade unionist's right to the so-called "primary" boycott has been recognized by the higher courts in the country, and he asserts the same right in every successive application he deems fit to make of it. A trade unionist further holds that his union is legal; that it has a right to exclude unqualified workmen from membership; that its rules and by-laws are an element in determining the legitimacy of a strike. He holds that it is not unlawful to attempt to peacefully persuade persons not to enter or remain in the employment of any one against whom a strike is being carried on. He, of course, holds that a strike is lawful when directed against an employer with whom the striking workmen have a direct dispute with regard to wages or conditions of labor for the purpose of obtaining a betterment of these conditions. He also holds that no restraining order or injunction should be issued by any court as against striking or locked-out employees which would not be issued against other citizens and not even against workers who were not engaged in a strike or lockout with employers. He holds that an injunction rightfully lies to protect from injury property or a property right of the party making the application for which injury there

is no adequate remedy at law, such property or property right to be described in detail in the application. He holds that no right to continue the relation of employer and employee can lawfully be construed as property. He holds that it can not lawfully be regarded as a conspiracy for two or more persons to agree concerning the terms or conditions of employment of labor or the determination of any relation between employer and employee, nor concerning any act to be done or not to be done with reference to a labor dispute, unless the act or thing agreed to be done or not to be done would be unlawful if done by a single individual.

The trade unionists hold that in case of lockout or strike, their representatives, in their rightful enjoyment of the common property of the community, may go about anywhere in the public highways just as may be done by other citizens—no more, no less. They hold that they have a right to approach persons in the public highway and in a peaceful manner converse with them for the purpose of informing them of actual conditions, facts, and circumstances in regard to labor disputes, and if possible inducing them not to enter into or not to continue in the service of an employer. In all cases trade unionists regard a trial by jury as a fundamental right of a citizen charged with an offense against the laws. They are prepared at all times to maintain as a primary principle that courts should be restrained from enjoining members of a union, as they are restrained from enjoining other citizens, from exercising the rights of free speech and of a free press.

Often have decrees and decisions issued by the lower courts been revised and modified by the higher courts. Nearly all labor officials of experience are today acquainted with the clearly illegal character of those decrees of the lower courts which have often been eliminated, at least partially, by their superiors or have been refused by other courts, their equals. Whereas, for example, peaceful "picketing" and "patrolling" are frequently forbidden by one court, they are upheld by another. The same is true of approaching non-unionists on the streets, or, in the words of an injunction, "interfering with any person or persons who now are or may hereafter be in the employment of the complainant or desirous of entering the same," etc. Likewise as to union action, or, in legal parlance, "any scheme or conspiracy among unionists for the purpose of preventing persons from continuing in the employ of certain employers." Unionists have been enjoined from "following any products of the plaintiff's business for the purpose of learning what person or persons have purchased such products;" "or in any way interfering with the conduct of business by the plaintiff as now carried on by him," etc., etc.

All such indefinite and far-reaching inhibitions find no legitimate place in injunctions. They are a perversion of the intent and purposes of the injunctive writ. If any trade unionist should be guilty of violating any law, we ask no immunity for him; we insist that the course to be pursued by justice is arrest, indictment, and trial by jury.

It is time that the unjustifiable peremptory charges, brow-beating, censures, and threats of fines and imprisonment by injunction Judges should cease.

It is time for the laboring people to know precisely how far their rights carry them when facing courts in labor disputes.

We have been assured by high judicial authority that "the modern writ of injunction is used for purposes which bear no more resemblance to the ancient writ of that name than the milky way bears to the sun." Judges have not only restrained and punished the alleged commission of crimes defined by statute, but they have proceeded to frame a criminal code of their own, extended as they have seen proper, by which various acts innocent in law and morals have been made criminal. The tendency of the jurisdiction of the "equitable octopus called injunction," has been to "grow and extend perpetually and unceasingly."

The people of this country have witnessed, in the course of a celebrated injunction case, how it has dragged on until years have been consumed, how the trade unions have been subjected through it to extraordinary expenditures, and how the injunction which began it has been used during all that time as a menace to prevent the proper and rightful activities of workers.

To our 1908 Denver Convention, I took occasion to report:

"It is quite evident that it is the purpose of labor's opponents to entangle us in constant litigation before the courts, involving not only our time and attention, but enormous expense for legal counsel, printing, and court fees. The expenditures of time and money have been enormously increased in recent times, since the further abuse of the injunction writ and the Hatters' decision of the Supreme Court, all of which have been taken advantage of by all union haters." . . .

"The contempt proceedings against Messrs. Mitchell, Morrison, and myself have just closed. The Executive Council or I may again be cited for contempt of court because I have undertaken to report the status of the case to this convention; and no one can foretell to what limits the contempt proceedings, injunction cases, and other suits may extend. For one, I am free to say that I shall not recommend the levying of additional assessments or making appeals for voluntary contributions in legal defense of these cases. If it is the intention of those who are hostile to the interests of the toilers of our country, to take advantage of the trend of court decisions for the usurpation of the toilers' rights by the injunctions, let them proceed as they will without our assuming to do the impossible—that is, to be represented by competent legal counsel. If the situation is to become so acute, let us personally, as best we can, defend our rights before the courts, taking whatever consequences may ensue. For one, I can see no remedy for these outrageous proceedings, unless there shall be a quickening of the conscience of our Judges or the relief which the Congress of our country can and should afford."

The committee to which this subject was referred made a report, upon which ensued a prolonged discussion and which was finally amended and adopted by the convention, as follows. (The committee quoted part of my report upon the subject, which has already been mentioned herein):

"Bearing this in mind your committee desires to state that whenever the courts issue any injunctions which undertake to regulate our personal relations either with our employer, or those from whom we may or may not purchase commodities, such courts are trespassing upon our relations which are personal relations, and with which equity power has no concern; that these injunctions are destructive of our rights as citizens, as well as of popular government, and we therefore declare that we will exercise all the rights and privileges guaranteed us by the Constitution and the laws of our country, and insist that it is our duty to defend ourselves at all hazards, and we recommend that such be our action, taking whatever results may come.

"We further recommend that when cited to show cause why such injunctions should not be issued, we should make no defense which would entail any considerable cost, and we further recommend that when cited for contempt the proper policy is as outlined above. We further desire to warn our fellow unionists that testimony extorted under equity process may be partially used in a damage suit under the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

"However, your committee feel constrained to say that when blanket injunctions are applied for or issued by the courts against the members of unions for no other reason except that they are members of the unions, and these injunctions are applied for or issued solely for the purpose of intimidating the members, we believe that such legal advice and protection as may be necessary should be provided for them by the organizations in interest."

Since that declaration of our 1908 convention the situation has not materially changed, except that events have made it, perhaps, more acute.

The question has therefore arisen in my mind as to whether in the recent past we have pursued the most practical course in the legal defenses we have presented to the courts when unwarrantable injunctions have been issued and we have been cited to show cause why we should not be punished for alleged violation of the injunctions—for contempt of court. Labor's antagonists have sought to entangle us in all forms of litigation involving large expenditures of the hard-earned money of the workers; they have to a considerable extent made impossible much constructive uplift work of our men and of our movement. The conclusion reached in one case has not had its definite determination by which the courts of other or of equal jurisdiction have limited their course. The question of doubt which has arisen in my mind as to the course we have pursued raises the further thought whether at some time we shall not appear in our own persons and in our own defense without the aid of attorneys; that is, whenever, after due study and consideration of the facts relative to an unwarrantable injunction in a labor dispute, it is decided by the union or unions interested that the members have good grounds for holding and maintaining that their fundamental, constitutional, and inherent rights are invaded by the injunction, and if arrest ensues, those workers who

are taken before the courts shall decline to employ the services of counsel, but shall themselves assert their rights under the law and then abide by the consequences—if imprisonment follows, the victim in any case to accept his fate; the members of the union concerned to take care of his family or dependents, and the usual agents of publicity, especially the labor press and the spokesmen for the unions, to appeal the case to public opinion. By such a course any usual terrors of jail imprisonment will be annulled. It is clearly no disgrace to have been convicted under court decrees which the masses of the people know are oppressive and ill-grounded, which form mere fiat law which has not been made through elected representatives in the course of legislation, and the general terrorism of which, by recent votings, the citizens of whole States have shown that they oppose.

The laborers of this country want to know where they are with regard to the law. In labor injunction cases in general they hold that not they themselves, but the courts, have been violators of the law. To continue the perplexing wrangle over what is the law, to keep up the hair-splitting by bench controversialists, to live under the uncertainties raised by contradictory court decisions, is unworthy of a people who believe themselves to be free. Let the masses themselves proceed to cut the Gordian knot in this question and by the effective measures suggested rid labor and the people generally of the obstacles to their legitimate progress erected through the manifest partiality of the injunction courts.

POLITICAL CHANGES AFFECTING LABOR.

At length it has become evident to all open-minded men that important changes are impending in our methods of government, and especially with reference to the status of political parties. Voters are now demanding better reasons for their support of a particular candidate than his nomination by a party or his indorsement by some official or unofficial boss. The spirit of revolt and change is abroad in the land, and the spirit of liberty which first inspired the revolutionary leaders in 1776 has again entered the hearts of the American people. The people who form the rank and file of political parties are more progressive than their leaders. They will no longer submit to the rule of evasion and false pretense found in platforms, Presidential messages and public addresses. They demand straight talk and open, honorable methods.

I hope to find henceforth that the millions of intelligent men of labor, having passed beyond the influence of campaign buncombe, have come to understand that the welfare of the people and the promotion of the cause of labor are more important than any party candidacy or empty partisan success.

In the progress being made toward popular rule, now seen not only in our own country, but in all nations, labor can justly claim an important, if not indeed a leading, part. In this movement, international boundaries may be disregarded. The manhood and intellect associated in the war for the rights of man, differentiated from the claims of wealth, privilege and hereditary rank, belong to no particular race, class, or nationality. The spirit of liberty and self-assertion overleaps mountain ranges and speeds across the seas separating empires and continents. It can not be stayed by Kings, nor Emperors, nor even by Presidents, nor by armies and navies, nor by injunctions and jail sentences.

We have often been ridiculed for claiming too much for organized labor. But, where today would have been the initiative, referendum and recall, direct nominations and direct election of United States Senators, had it not been for the energetic and persistent demand, advocacy and support of workingmen—of "labor leaders," if you please, of twenty years ago? You may have observed of late that the press has moderated its tone in speaking of "labor leaders" in derision, showing a tendency to admit the designation to its rightful place in the language.

The initiative and referendum are now in full force in several States, are indeed recognized in the constitutions of nine States, and are operative on fundamental, and occasionally financial, propositions in all, or nearly all, the States of the Union, and besides in many cities on local propositions. California, with a population of two and a half millions, is the latest convert, by an enormous majority to true democracy. Labor has been fighting for this reform in that State for twenty years or more. While in a broader sense it was a long stride upward and onward for all the men and women of that State, let me ask what chance the recent amendments to California's constitution would have ever had if her brave and loyal "labor leaders" had not demanded them years ago, and continued to demand and advocate them? And so it has been in a greater or

less degree in every State where the people have had the sense and courage to strike off the shackles of the corporate agent working as a corrupter of legislative bodies, and to rebel against an autocratic boss-owned and syndicated judiciary. We are no longer journeying in the wilderness. We are no longer in the season of mere planting and hoping. We are in the harvest time.

The last battle line of the opposition is at the provision for recall of Judges. But that part of this general reform has been in force in several cities for several years and in four States during a shorter period. It was only within the last half century that the experiment of an elective judiciary was tried in the States of this Union. Rarely has an honest, independent Judge, putting forth proper effort, been refused a re-election. No case of a worthy, deserving Judge being recalled, or a case where the recall of a Judge was of even doubtful propriety, can be cited.

Why all this fuss and fury in opposition? Is there any reason, based upon the fitness of their social relations, the character of their offices or the nature of their calling, for the placing of judicial officers on pedestals above other public servants? This semi-deification of the judiciary, this sanctimonious cant about "mob rule," some of which was in President Taft's message vetoing the Arizona admission bill, is mere cant and drivel. The people who pay the taxes, bear the brunt of wars, do the work of the world, have as clear a right to recall and discharge unfaithful officers, including the judiciary, as they have to choose them in the first instance. And they are as capable of forming an intelligent opinion in the one case as in the other.

As a matter of fact, speaking with the utmost sobriety, and in unison with most respectable authority, we have never had the benefit of a real representative democracy in this country, because of the absence from our constitutions and laws of the right of initiative, referendum, and recall. In opposing them, sordid capital and buttressed privilege are merely making a last desperate struggle against the inevitable.

True progress has never been by rapid strides, notwithstanding that a change from the old to a new order comes with a suddenness which is almost startling, when after a long period of dissension and preparation the people are ready. Labor has been patient and persistent, enduring many wrongs and sacrifices. There should be no retreat from the points of vantage it has conquered.

Labor's contentions of many years have at length become merged into, or have rather co-ordinated with, those of the progressive of all parties. The people as a whole, irrespective of class, condition, calling or partisan alignment, have declared for freedom in fact, and not merely in name. They are taking affairs political into their own hands. They will no longer tolerate the sale of legislation to the highest bidder or the granting of franchises to the richest bribe-giver. Under the coming régime, assuredly there are to be no more court decrees entered as prepared in advance and ordered by the attorney for the stronger party—stronger politically or financially. Along with these abuses will depart the midnight injunction and the policeman's ready club, at the behest of those claiming a property right in the labor of the vicinage, whether at work or on strike. In lieu of the political boss and his machine, we shall have leadership of intelligence, pleading for public justice, with adherents proportioned in number to the strength of the arguments. The stuffed ballot-box, the false count, and the perjured election return will likewise disappear. With these opportunities, with these stimulating inducements to free thought and action, the cause of public justice will be advanced in all directions. Labor, acting from the point of enlightened self-interest, and yet with a full sense of responsibility respecting the just rights of all others in society, will manfully and patriotically meet its enlarged responsibilities.

Under the prevailing system of cut and dried platforms and slated nominations, preceded by fake primaries, the ballot in our hands has not been, in any adequate sense, either a protecting shield against wrong or a means of redress. We may not for some time be entirely rid of the rule of parties. If they be an evil, they are such as are incident to all governments based on popular suffrage. I deem it unwise, or rather impolitic, to waste our energies now in efforts to abolish political parties. Perhaps they are institutional in all free governments. But if we can not now destroy them, we may, by more assiduous and regular exercise of our privileges and rights of citizenship do much in the way of controlling them.

Under existing conditions, we must obtain various measures of legislation at the hands of dominant parties in legislative bodies, and if party affairs are to remain in the hands of corporate agents and corrupt bosses as heretofore, then our interests will be imperilled and the desired relief retarded, no matter which party has the majority.

But political parties should, after all, be treated as means to an end. The success of a party should never outweigh the accomplishment in legislation or administration of the important purposes of labor. In casting our ballots we should ever distinguish, whenever possible, between our friends and our enemies, and between these should be no division on party lines among us. On general party issues it would be useless to attempt bringing about unity of action, and perhaps it is better in the long run that such is the case. But when we are seeking legislation from Congress on so vital a matter as curtailment of judicial power in the matter of injunctions and in all matters involving our personal liberties, including the right of free speech and free press, we should be a unit in opposition to candidates who stand in the way, no matter how exalted the office sought by them.

LABOR GROUP IN CONGRESS.

The fifteen members of the House of Representatives holding trade union cards of membership frequently held conferences with the officers of the American Federation of Labor, counselling with us as to the best methods by which they could be of service to the cause of labor and to the people generally. At the meetings no resolution was either adopted or proposed. The measures before Congress or its committees were freely discussed. The general consensus of opinion expressed, impressed itself upon the minds of these Representatives. While no conclusion of a binding character was reached, yet the labor group in the House of Representatives, regardless of political party affiliation, acted in unison and with advantageous results.

For convenience as well as the record I give the names of the labor group who are members of the House of Representatives in Congress, with the names of the organizations of which they are members and the parties to which they are attached:

Wilson, W. B., Coal Miners, Democrat.
 Lee, Robert E., Blacksmiths, Democrat.
 Martin, John A., Locomotive Firemen, Democrat.
 Cary, Wm. J., Commercial Telegraphers, Republican.
 Berger, Victor L., Typographical, Socialist.
 Hughes, Wm., Textile Workers, Democrat.
 Buchanan, Frank, Str. Iron Workers, Democrat.
 McDermott, James T., Commercial Telegraphers, Democrat.
 Lewis, David J., Coal miners, Democrat.
 Smith, Chas. B., R. R. Telegraphers, Democrat.
 Anderson, Carl C., Musicians, Democrat.
 Sherwood, Isaac R., Typographical, Democrat.
 Roberts, E. E., Metal Miners, Republican.
 Farr, John R., Typographical, Republican.
 Maher, James P., Hatters, Democrat.

The good this group of labor men has already accomplished, the good they can and no doubt will do in Congress, should imbue the men of labor and all liberty-loving citizens with the duty, the responsibility, and the advantage of not only securing the reelection of the members of this group, but also increasing the number and the possibilities of their influence and power for just and humane legislation.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES.

Resolution No. 114, adopted at St. Louis, recommended that the American Federation of Labor should urge the further enactment of legislation giving greater protection to the workers in factories, mines, etc., through the provision, in a scientific way, of safety measures for the preservation of the life, limb, and health of the workers, and especially through the adoption of comprehensive means that would eliminate the unnecessary suffering and economic loss occasioned by occupational poisons and by such diseases as are peculiar to certain occupations.

Communications were addressed to all of our State Federations and city central bodies asking them to exert themselves in behalf of the enactment of legislation in their States in harmony with the spirit of this resolution. The following is a brief summary of such safety and health-preserving legislation as was passed during the last legislative period of the States:

- (1) Illinois: (1) Legislation establishing fire fighting and rescue stations at coal mines.
- (2) A State commission appointed to inquire into and render a report to the Legislature

on occupational diseases. (3) A special investigation undertaken on mining accidents and casualties.

Kentucky: (1) Adequate life-saving apparatus made obligatory in and around coal mines. (2) Mine foremen to be licensed and examined by State officials.

Louisiana: (1) State bureau of mines established, with a State inspector in charge.

Maryland: (1) Shirt-factory floors to be sprinkled with water every morning made mandatory. (2) Examination and licensing of plumbers made mandatory. (3) Better ventilation laws for coal mines. (4) Stationary engineers and those in charge of steam boilers to be licensed after examination.

Massachusetts: (1) Medical inspectors for schools made mandatory. (2) State inspector of health authorized to prosecute manufacturers employing persons under eighteen years of age in unhealthy occupations. (3) State inspectors of health authorized to fix a standard as to permissible degrees of humidity in textile factories. (4) Plumbers to be examined, licensed, and registered. (5) A State commission of five appointed to investigate the general subject of factory inspection and report its findings to the Governor.

New York: (1) Children under 16 prohibited from operating drill presses, paper-cutting machines, and other dangerous machinery. (2) Factory inspection law amended, strengthening the sanitary and ventilation requirements of factories and work-shops. Also providing for proper supply of pure drinking water, suitable and convenient wash-rooms, clean and sanitary separate toilet-rooms for the sexes. Created State Commission to investigate sanitary machine and fire dangers. (3) All accidents occurring to employees must be reported to the Commissioner of Labor within forty-eight hours after occurrence. (This requirement should be made mandatory in all States.)

Ohio: (1) Mine laws practically rewritten, greatly improved and strengthened. (2) Safety appliance law extended, standardizing equipment, and also ordering proper protection of railway frogs and switches. (3) All persons operating steam boilers must be duly examined, licensed, and registered. (4) All accidents to factory operatives to be immediately reported to the State factory inspector. (5) Elevator and elevator shaft sections of factory inspection law strengthened. (6) Penalty for failure to guard dangerous machinery increased. (7) Penalties for failure to carry out orders of State factory inspector increased and State factory inspectors and State building inspectors granted co-equal powers in the protection of men engaged in the construction of buildings.

Rhode Island: (1) Passenger elevator section of factory inspection law improved. (2) Bakery shop inspection law strengthened by increasing the number of inspectors and making more rigid the ventilation and sanitary regulation of bakeries.

Virginia: (1) The factory inspection law improved and strengthened as to sanitary requirements, adding a penalty for violation. (2) Public washhouses and laundries placed under the authority of city inspectors of health. (3) Safety appliance law on railroads, standardizing equipment.

California: (1) Full crew bill on railroads enacted. (2) Protecting electrical workers and other building mechanics. (3) Physicians treating patients suffering from lead, phosphorus, arsenic and mercury poisoning, also anthrax or compressed air illnesses are directed to report all particulars to the State Board of Health. (4) Appropriation of \$5,000 for an investigation to reduce the prevalence of tuberculosis. (5) Tenement house law amended, improved, and strengthened regarding ventilation and sanitation.

Kansas: (1) All coal mines to be provided with suitable washrooms for employees. (2) All coal mines to have a telephone system installed.

Washington: (1) Legislation for full crews on all railroad trains enacted.

During the Sixty-first Congress a determined effort was made to obtain adequate legislation to eradicate the dangers to the health of employees in match factories. Bills were introduced by Representative Esch of Wisconsin for this purpose, which were referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. Every one whose assistance it was possible to enlist was urged by us and other sympathetic organizations to bring pressure to bear on Congress to obtain this much needed legislation. I addressed the following appeal to each member of the House Ways and Means Committee:

JANUARY 28, 1911.

DEAR SIR: The Esch Phosphorus bill, H. R. No. 30,022, is freighted with the greatest potentiality for good. It will save the workers from endless suffering, expense, disfigurement and early death; it will contribute to the well-being, the safety, the comfort, and the economy of the general public. It is one of the real measures before the third session of the Sixty-first Congress that would

earn well-merited public praise, and place our country along with others in the vanguard of civilization, from the standpoint of real, practical, serviceable and necessary conservation of human life.

In behalf of the great rank and file of the American Federation of Labor, in the name of humanity, I respectfully ask you to exert your every talent and energy to see to it that this life-conserving measure is enacted before the close of the Sixty first Congress. May I have the pleasure of saying to our membership that you have pledged yourself in behalf of H. R. No. 30,022, and that you will do your utmost to see that it becomes a law during this Congress?

Thanking you in advance and hoping to hear from you, I am, very truly yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

To this letter the following members of the committee replied, representing themselves in sympathy with the measure: Representatives Ellis, McCall, Randell, Payne, Needham, Harrison, Broussard, Pou, and Hill.

On February 21 Representative Dalzell of Pennsylvania, member of the committee, reported, in lieu of the bills introduced by Mr. Esch, a joint resolution authorizing President Taft to appoint a committee to make a thorough examination of the match factories and the disease common in them known as "phossy" jaw. That resolution passed the House February 27. The Senate passed it on March 4, after making a few minor amendments. It was sent back to the House later the same day, when everything was in the utmost confusion during the closing moments of the session. While the turmoil was at its height, Mr. Dalzell called the resolution up and deliberately moved to disagree with the Senate amendments and asked for a conference, to which the House agreed. A few moments later Congress adjourned sine die. The conferees had no time to meet and, of course, will never report upon the match bill; consequently this measure died in conference. Who will pass judgment upon this inhuman act of Dalzell of Pittsburg?

MINERS' SAFETY—U. S. BUREAU OF MINES.

The Bureau of Mines was created by Congress in the year 1910 as a result of a demand coming, not alone from the mining industry, but from the organized labor movement, backed by the general public sentiment. The chief purpose of the bureau is the development of greater safety and efficiency in the mining industry, or, expressed in another way, its duty is to develop means whereby health, life, and limb, as well as the mineral resources, may be best conserved.

The bureau is making diligent investigations of mining, especially in relation to the safety of miners and the conservation of the mineral resources. Of the common causes of the mine accidents, such as falls of roof and coal, gas and dust explosions, mine fires and the misuse of explosives, all of which are often closely related, each must be studied and fought in a manner peculiar to itself. The misuse of black powder and other explosives is sometimes considered the least important of the causes of mine accidents; but its importance is much greater than statistics indicate, as it is the true cause of many of the fatal mine fires, gas and dust explosions, and falls of roof that are credited to other causes.

Both the quantity of explosives and the number of purposes to which they are applied are increasing. They are now made at 150 plants, in different parts of the United States, and the product of a single year is estimated at nearly 500,000,000 pounds. Nothing in all this material is a safe, or safety, explosive when in the hands of careless or ignorant persons either in shipment or use.

In addition to the large losses of life and property resulting from improper use of explosives in mining, the recent statistics of the Railway Bureau for Safe Transportation of Explosives have shown more than 400 persons killed or injured and over \$3,000,000 worth of property destroyed by explosives in transit by rail. The fact that three years of co-operative effort under the supervision of the bureau has reduced these losses to almost nothing encourages the hope that similar co-operative effort may likewise greatly lessen losses of life and property from the use of explosives in mining.

The additions to the large death roll of our mines make a recurring appeal to the public for fair treatment of the coal mining industry, and to the miners and to the managers that they join in every possible effort for greater safety. It may never be

possible under conditions such as exist today to prevent mine accidents entirely. Little can be accomplished in that direction by either the operators or the miners working alone, but experience in all countries shows that through the hearty, determined co-operation of both, the accidents may be greatly reduced. This will require wise laws and regulations, based on fact and experience, and the strictest possible discipline.

The accidents resulting from the improper use of explosives in mining can most certainly be prevented, (1) through the use of the best and safest explosives; (2) through the handling and firing of these explosives in the safest manner by carefully selected and trained men; and (3) through strict and competent supervision.

Among the important problems before the Bureau of Mines is the reduction of the number of deaths in the mines, and it is gratifying to note that in the last three years, for which statistics are obtainable, there has been a decrease of 25 per cent.

In the year 1907, 3,125 miners lost their lives, or 4.86 in every 1,000 employed; in 1909, the last year for which there are official statistics, 2,412, or 3.62 in every 1,000 employed.

The record of the three years is as follows:

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Death rate per 1,000 employed.
1907	3,127	5,316	4.86
1908	2,451	6,772	3.60
1909	2,412	7,979	3.62

In 1907 Great Britain, in each 1,000 men employed, had 1.13 killed; France, 1.1; and Belgium, 0.194, or less than one man in every 1,000 employed, showing that three or four times as many men were killed in the United States in that year as in any of the European coal-producing countries.

Since the bureau was organized, it has placed seven fully equipped rescue cars in the principal coal fields of the country—Wilkesbarre, Pa.; Trinidad, Colo.; Evansville, Ind.; Rock Springs, Wyo.; Billings, Mont.; Huntington, W. Va., and Pittsburgh, Pa. In addition, the bureau maintains rescue stations at Pittsburgh, Pa.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Birmingham, Ala.; Urbana, Ill.; McAlester, Okla., and Seattle, Wash.

Each rescue car and station is in the immediate charge of a mining engineer and a practical miner who is trained in rescue work. The stations and cars have complete outfits of oxygen helmets, which permit breathing for two hours in a deadly atmosphere; oxygen reviving apparatus used in bringing asphyxiated miners back to consciousness; a collapsible steel cage, to take the place of one shattered by an explosion; a portable telephone for use in the mine; safety lamps, etc.

Within the last twelve months 5,000 miners throughout the country have been thoroughly trained in rescue work. It is hoped that these men will volunteer their services whenever there is a disaster.

Each Bureau of Mines rescue car has a specified territory over which it travels, visiting the mining camps. At each stopping place, demonstrations in the use of the oxygen helmet are given, also lessons in first aid to the injured. In the evening, the mining engineer gives an illustrated lecture to the miners on greater safety in mining. Thousands of miners have attended these lectures in the last few months and have gone back to their hazardous work with a keener sense of its dangers, a desire to be more careful and to live up to the precepts of safe mining. All of this must necessarily have a salutary effect.

More than 5,000 men are injured in the coal mines of the United States every twelve months. Some recover sufficiently to return to work, but several thousands of men are so maimed and crippled each year as to be useless to themselves and burdens to their families. Many of the injured men who are taken from the mine die later, perhaps within a few months. In instances, the death of these men or their crippling for life is due to the fact that they did not receive intelligent emergency treatment at the time of the accident.

It is to better this condition of affairs that the Bureau of Mines carries on each car a practical miner trained in first-aid-to-the-injured work. This employee, while not engaged in actual rescue work, teaches the miners how to care for an injured comrade. Simple lessons in bandaging wounds and providing splints for broken legs are given at every mining camp visited. The miners are taking special interest in this feature of the work, and it promises to have an important bearing on the reduction of the death rate.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Mr. Sulzer of New York has reintroduced his bill for the establishment of a Department of Labor. It is known as H. R. No. 13. It has been referred to the House Committee on Labor, and the prospect for a favorable report upon it from that committee during the next session of Congress is encouraging.

In spite of the fact that the House Committee on Labor in the Sixty-first Congress decided to report this bill favorably, and so instructed its chairman, Mr. Gardner, of New Jersey, he failed to report it before that Congress adjourned.

No organized opposition has made itself apparent on this measure. Congressmen generally seem to favor the establishment of a Department of Labor, and it is confidently expected, if continued pressure is brought to bear from the members of organized labor and other broad-visioned citizens on the members of Congress in behalf of the creation of such a department, that such requests will meet with an early and favorable response.

CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES' RIGHTS.

During the Sixty-first Congress, at the request of the American Federation of Labor, Representative Poindexter and Senator Jones of Washington, introduced in Congress bills for the purpose of restoring to Civil Service employes of the United States Government the rights of free speech and of mutual voluntary association. No material progress was made with these measures other than what could be done in the direction of crystallizing sentiment in behalf of these principles. At the St. Louis Convention resolution No. 52 was adopted, "protesting against executive orders that deprived Federal Civil Service employes of their constitutional rights as citizens to petition Congress for redress of grievances and the right of free speech," etc. In response to this resolution, the American Federation of Labor drafted a new bill, which was introduced in the Senate by Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, and is known as S. 1162; and in the House by Representative Lloyd of Missouri, as H. R. 5970. They were referred to the committees on reform in the Civil Service. Prompt action was taken by the House committee. The bill, introduced on April 18, 1911, had its first hearing on April 20, with all of the members of the committee present. Secretary Frank Morrison, Oscar F. Nelson, President of the National Federation of Post-Office Clerks, and myself, with other labor representatives, made arguments before the committee in behalf of the Lloyd bill. Considerable interest was manifested upon the subject, and the hearings were extended throughout the session. Copies of the printed hearings have been widely distributed. In opposition, Second Assistant Postmaster-General Stewart and representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers appeared before the committee. From all indications the House committee appears to be favorably disposed to the general principles contained in the Lloyd bill, H. R. 5970, and from a canvass of the House it develops that many members are in favor of legislation upon this subject. The members of Congress themselves apparently feel deeply aggrieved because of the drastic character of the executive orders, issued by ex-President Roosevelt and President Taft, forbidding Civil Service employes and subordinate officials from approaching Congressmen on matters affecting their welfare while in the Federal employ. Congressmen take the position, and in my mind it is a perfectly correct one, that they are representatives of all of the people, including those who are employed by the National Government, and, in order that they may be correctly and amply informed upon public matters, no restriction should be placed in the way of any of their constituents from approaching them, either with a complaint or with a request for a remedy for grievances.

The Senate Committee took no action upon the La Follette bill, S. 1162, during the last session, but Senator La Follette issued a circular letter with a scheduled list of questions, and sent them broadcast among the railway mail clerks, so that he might be thoroughly fortified with the most accurate information when he makes his argument for his bill before the Senate committee.

Every endeavor will be made during the next session of Congress to secure the enactment of this legislation, in order that all Government employes may thoroughly and completely enjoy all of the prerogatives contained in that clause of the Constitution of the United States which reads: "Congress shall make no laws abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or of the right of the people to peacefully assemble and to petition Congress for a redress of grievances." We, of the American Federation of Labor,

consider this to mean all the people of our nation—including those who may be permanently or temporarily employed by our Government, and we intend to see to it that these constitutional rights shall not be transgressed or invaded by whosoever occupies the White House or holds a position as a Cabinet officer.

LABOR OF CONVICTS.

To the St. Louis Convention I reported that the House Committee on Labor had through its chairman made a favorable report upon the convict labor bills before that Congress. I also urged that every effort be put forth in the forthcoming session of Congress to obtain favorable action on these measures. Such efforts were duly made, but Chairman Gardner (of New Jersey) declined to call the bills up, even after he had been assured that the Speaker (Cannon) would give him recognition for that purpose. Consequently the bills died upon the calendar of the Sixty-first Congress.

In the session just closed, Mr. Gardner introduced both measures again. They are known as H. R. 1239 and H. R. 1240. The first prohibits officials of the United States Government from purchasing convict-made goods for public use in the Government service; the second is the same that has been so frequently and profusely indorsed by employers, publicists, penologists, and humanitarians in general co-operation with organized labor, but which is always being caught in some peculiar dilemma in its tortuous passage through Congress; first with one mishap or excuse, and then with another. It is therefore deemed advisable to urge the friends of this measure to inaugurate a most determined and vigorous campaign for the enactment of this essential legislation during the next session of Congress. And, in view of the fact that the House Committee on Labor is more favorably disposed than the former committees to give a reasonable consideration to matters submitted to it for consideration, the prospects are bright for favorable action upon this measure.

Because the views and sentiments are in such complete accord with the avowed position of labor, I can not refrain from making a reference here to that part of the report made before the American Prison Association last month, at Omaha, Nebraska, by its President, Mr. T. D. Patton, in which he said, in part, the following:

"We are today building on the foundations which were deeply and strongly laid in the years gone by, by men who were moved by an impulse not born of man, but divinely implanted, and who were led to undertake the inauguration of measures which have finally resulted in the accomplishment of such humane results as are now generally observed in the prisons of this and of other countries. Not alone this, but this movement, under the fostering care of this organization, has been largely instrumental in securing the co-operation of other kindred organizations and societies, whose beneficent ministries are being expended, not on the prisoner directly, but upon those who are called upon to suffer by reason of the prisoner's wrongdoing; and these united efforts mark the onward progress of organized co-operation on the part of various organizations, which are justly entitled to and are freely given our highest encomiums of praise, because of the magnificent results they have accomplished.

"The enactment of such wise legislation as is best calculated to properly protect society and to provide, under humane discipline and restraint, an adequate punishment for the offender; the securing of the proper and regular employment of the prisoner in prison, under wise State law; the obtaining of a rightful portion of the prisoner's earnings for the use of his dependent family; the systematic investigation of their real needs, and the furnishing of prompt relief to the worthy, and possible effort for their rehabilitation or removal to more favorable surroundings, are some of the things for which we strive and which we are achieving."

Prisoners should be required to work not for private profits of contractors, nor even for the financial profit of the State, but for the benefit of their dependents and for their own reformation.

UNIFORM LAWS TO PROTECT HUMAN LIFE.

The work of prosecuting our endeavors to secure a uniformity of State laws for the protection of the health and lives of the workers is being continued. While we have not reached that position which we can proclaim is satisfactory, yet we have been much more successful than formerly, as the technical details of this report verify.

Our correspondence is steadily increasing from all parts of the country on some

detail of this vital question, and the only regret we have is that there are times when we do not have in our possession the very last word on the subject inquired about. Therefore I am constrained again to urge every central body and every State Federation to maintain a permanent Legislative Committee, to keep us supplied with the latest happenings in their localities, and to whom we can apply and in turn supply local and State information concerning legislation.

SEAMEN'S RIGHTS.

During the Sixty-first Congress strenuous efforts were made by the International Seamen's Union to obtain legislation that would accord to seamen the possibility of self-help and make of them free men, and in addition improve the safety of travel at sea and make more attractive the opportunities that the sea offers for American boys. Exhaustive hearings were held before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, at which President Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union, Secretary Olander of the Lake Seamen's Union, and Secretary Flynn, of the Marine Firemen and Water Tenders' Union, made masterful arguments in behalf of the bill (H. R. 11193), introduced by Representative Spight of Mississippi. On account, however, of the fierce opposition by Mr. McKinlay, from the Second California District, Mr. Humphreys of the First Congressional District of Washington and the sharp political practices of the Chairman of the Committee, William R. Green, of the Thirteenth District of Massachusetts, no report was made upon the bill.

Through the sympathetic co-operation of Senator La Follette, two Senate documents were printed and widely distributed. These have been of material assistance in giving publicity to the need of remedial legislation affecting maritime law and for the restoration to the men who follow the sea all of the honor, rights, and privileges which free-men hold dear.

During the present Congress, Senator La Follette has re-introduced the same bill. Its number is now known as S. 468, and Representative Wilson has introduced an identical bill in the House, known as H. R. 11372. Both have been referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce and the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

In justice, I urge all members of organized labor to aid the seamen in their worthy efforts to obtain the legislation they are seeking.

INSURANCE LAWS AND TRADE UNIONS.

This subject was again called to the attention of central labor bodies and State Federations in a special circular, and some considerable correspondence ensued that has been helpful, but in view of the fact that a dangerous situation might develop and menace our interests if strict vigilance is not exercised, I therefore again urge the membership in all of the States to exert themselves to secure the enactment of such definite legislation dealing with insurance matters as will permanently prevent any interference with the rights of organized labor in the humane work of caring for the sick, the injured, and the bereaved ones. It is particularly requested that the officers of our Federation be promptly advised concerning any proposed insurance legislation in any of the States at any time.

R. R. TRACK INSPECTION-LOADING VESSELS REGULATION.

Resolution No. 78, of the St. Louis Convention, directed the Executive Council to take such steps as they might deem proper to secure the passage of legislation by Congress providing for Government inspection and supervision by skilled inspectors, under the Interstate Commerce Commission, of the physical condition of the interstate railroad tracks, so as to insure to the traveling public the greatest possible degree of safety from accidents that might occur through defective tracks.

This matter was taken up with the Railroad Employees' Department, and after giving the whole subject careful consideration it was agreed that it would be wise to hold this matter in abeyance for the time being. The same course is being pursued in regard to the Government regulations in loading vessels.

SECOND-CLASS POSTAL RATES.

The Dodds Trade Union and Fraternal Publications Bill, H. R. 22,239, which passed the House June 6, 1910, in the Sixty-first Congress, was not reported out of the Senate Committee on Post-office and Post-roads by Senator Penrose, the Chairman, in spite of many thousands of petitions and resolutions which were received by him and other mem-

bers of the committee from trade unions, fraternal organizations, and other associations, urging the passage of the bill.

When the Post-office appropriation bill was before the Senate, on March 3, 1911, Senator Owen of Oklahoma offered the Dodds bill, which had passed the House, as an amendment, and he vigorously urged its adoption, but a point of order was made against it by Senator Kean of New Jersey, who contended it was new or general legislation included in an appropriation bill, and it was ruled out of order by the chair, the Senate sustaining the ruling.

The Post-office Department induced the committee to propose raising the rate on advertising matter on second-class mail to 4 cents a pound, and this proposition was incorporated in the bill, but it raised such a furious protest from all parts of the country that Senator Penrose withdrew it from the bill on the floor of the Senate. A new section was later added to the bill providing for the appointment of a special commission to take the whole subject-matter of second-class mail under investigation and report to the President by December 1, 1911. The members of the commission appointed are: United States Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Hughes; A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University; Harry A. Wheeler, President of the Chicago Association of Commerce.

About fifty editors, representing an equal number of official trade union journals, met in Chicago on July 31, to consider the proposed increase of postage rates on second-class matter and the various rulings and interpretations placed upon the laws to enter second-class matter as applied to trade union publications and the labor press.

After a careful and mature consideration the conference unanimously expressed its protest against any increase in postal rates of any kind regardless of classification, and indorsed the Dodds bill.

Two committees were formed by the conference, one of which was to appear before the commission to acquaint it with the attitude of the labor press and the labor movement on the subjects the commission had to consider. This committee was composed of Matthew Woll, President of the International Photo-Engravers' Union, and Editor of the *American Photo-Engraver*; W. J. Adames, Editor of the *Carmen's Journal*, and myself. We appeared before the commission August 10 and presented to it the views of organized labor upon the subject-matter, describing in detail the declarations of the Chicago Conference of Labor Editors; namely, that organized labor and the labor press were unalterably opposed to any increase in postal rates whatever, and we entered our protest against the administrative discrimination now prevailing against the trade union publications. At the same time, we called the commission's attention to the fact that the present effort of the Administration and Postmaster-General Hitchcock is the first attempt on record of any civilized government to increase postage rates and make the interchange of ideas among intelligent people more difficult and expensive.

We also called the commission's attention to the fact that no one, excepting the Postmaster-General, proposed changes in the present postage rate on second-class matter, and by effective comparison with other departments of the Government the demands of the Postmaster-General were shown to be illogical and inadvisable for the public good. We also urged the commission to recommend the abrogation of the present arbitrary rules and restrictions upon a free press, and particularly the ruling against the right to publish advertisements in trade union publications.

The Third Assistant Postmaster-General, Mr. Britt, undertook to reply to the statements made by labor's representatives, but instead of disproving our statements he supplemented and gave greater weight to our protest and argument. Upon examination by me, Mr. Britt not only admitted that there was a wide scope of discretionary power now in the hands of the Post-office officials, but made other statements conflicting with the past attitude of the Post-office officials, all of which, no doubt, may have some bearing upon the report of the commission.

Our committee was frequently questioned while pressing its arguments before the commission, and great interest was aroused by our presentation of facts. What effect our arguments may have had upon the commission can not be stated at this time, but can be best judged when the report of the commission is submitted. Reports of the conferences and of the committee were duly printed and widely distributed in pamphlet form.

In the meantime, during the recent extra session of Congress, Mr. Dodds reintroduced his bill known as H. R. 3972. Mr. Martin of Colorado introduced H. R. 9319, and Senator Burton of Ohio introduced S. 1713, the two latter being identical measures, only applying to the interests of trade union and fraternal society publications. These

bills have been referred to the proper committees on Post-offices and Post-roads, but no public consideration was given to them by the committees during the last session. We should take vigorous steps to urge the Congress to enact this legislation. Our interests and the public interest demand from us this imperative service.

IMMIGRATION.

The Sixty-first Congress during the short session refused to take up for consideration the immigration bill, requiring an educational test for immigrants, by Mr. Gardner of Massachusetts, which had been placed on the discharge committee calendar in the previous session, and it refused to take up for consideration the bill by Mr. Hayes of California, introduced by him for the purpose of obtaining legislation excluding Asiatic immigrants.

The Commission appointed by the Fifty-ninth Congress, February 29, 1907, to inquire into the general subject-matter of immigration, made its final report to Congress December 5, 1910. The Commission recommended several methods of restricting immigrants, among which were:

- (1) "The exclusion of those unable to read or write in some language.
- (2) "The reduction of the number of each race arriving each year to a certain percentage of the average of that race arriving during a given period of years.
- (3) "The exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families.
- (4) "The limitation of the number of immigrants arriving annually at any port.
- (5) "Material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant at the port of arrival.
- (6) "Material increase of the head tax.
- (7) "The levying of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families."

No more splendid indorsement of the far-sighted economic position taken on this great question by the American Federation of Labor would be possible than these specific recommendations from the Immigration Commission, unless it could be the following addition to its recommendations by the Commission, in which it said:

"All these methods (quoted above) would be effective in one way or another in securing restrictions in greater or less degree. A MAJORITY OF THE COMMISSION FAVOR THE READING AND WRITING TEST AS THE MOST FEASIBLE SINGLE METHOD OF RESTRICTING UNDESIRABLE IMMIGRATION.

I think we may congratulate ourselves that this particular part of the Commission's recommendation adds emphasis to the foresight and the wisdom of the members of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, because of the fact that this suggestion and demand came originally from such bodies.

Anticipating the report of the Immigration Commission in its recommendation of the illiteracy test, the House Committee on Immigration decided, on January 13, by a vote of 6 to 4, to report out the bill, H. R. 15,413, by Mr. Gardner of Massachusetts, which provided for the educational requirement. The committee also decided that this illiteracy test bill should have preference for consideration in the House over the other bills reported by it to the House. It was reported on January 20, but never called up from the calendar, in spite of the persistent endeavors of the author, Mr. Gardner of Massachusetts, and other friends of the bill. Mr. Gardner even went so far as to introduce a resolution calling upon the Rules Committee to report out a special ruling so the bill could be considered, and I wrote the members of the Rules Committee, on January 21, urging action on their part.

All the committeemen were personally polled by our Legislative Committee and other representatives of immigration restriction organizations who were advocating the educational test bill, and many thousands of resolutions and petitions were received by Congressmen in behalf of the bill from trade unions and other organizations, but the effort was apparently in vain. Representative Dalzell of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Rules Committee, sat stubbornly "on the lid" and refused to budge; he and his stand-pat colleagues evidently believing that free trade in labor, literate or illiterate, is positively the safest and surest method by which the vested interests can obtain an unlimited supply of low-priced, docile labor.

During the present Congress Mr. Gardner of Massachusetts has reintroduced his bill requiring an educational test for immigrants. It is known as H. R. No. 1343.

Mr. Burnett of Alabama, the new Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, has introduced bill No. 8155, which covers in a greater measure the recommendations of the Immigration Commission. It includes a broad educational qualification. It increases the head tax from four to five dollars, and contains other salutary provisions for the purpose of improving the regulations in regard to immigration. These bills have been referred to the Committee on Immigration, but no action has yet been taken. Many other bills, too numerous to specify, have been introduced by other representatives for the purpose of the better regulation of immigration.

PACIFIC COAST TRIP.

For several years a number of central bodies and other unions in the organized labor movement of the Pacific Coast have urged that I undertake a lecturing and organizing trip through their section of the country, stating, by formal resolutions, that it would be helpful to our cause, especially in bringing a clear understanding to the public with regard to trade union philosophy, policy, and achievement. Twice resolutions were introduced by delegates from the Pacific Coast at conventions of the American Federation of Labor, which unanimously adopted them, authorizing and directing me to accept the invitations, but owing to litigation in the courts and the sentence hanging over my head it seemed to me that I had no right to undertake a trip which would carry me so far from headquarters and from the jurisdiction of the court. Responding to the importunities, I stated that if the Supreme Court reversed Justice Wright's sentence I should endeavor to arrange to make the Pacific Coast trip.

The Supreme Court decision reversed the sentences, and though Justice Wright initiated a new contempt proceedings at once, he later announced that the case would not be taken up until October. When learning these facts, in May last the San Francisco Labor Council, by unanimous vote, repeated and insisted upon my acceptance of the invitation to visit the Pacific Coast at as early a date as possible. In the course of the correspondence on the subject during the next two months, I pleaded the difficulties in the way of sparing sufficient time for the trip, and the large amount of physical exertion incident to the journey, and the various forms of union work during it which I should necessarily be called upon to undertake. On the other hand, many of our friends of the Pacific Coast, speaking in their representative capacity, urged that the proper place for me to speak on Labor Day, in view of results, would be San Francisco, and that also more good could come from a short campaign in Los Angeles and the neighborhood than possibly could be effected by me anywhere else in the country. It was represented that a noteworthy solidifying and strengthening effect might be expected from the meetings which would take place on the coast during my travels there. No one else, they insisted, could bring to the movement the same attention that might be brought by the President of the American Federation of Labor. The correspondence to date on the question was turned over by me to the Executive Council at its meeting in June. After discussion of the various methods in which I might best employ my time, it was decided that it would be well to partially drop the routine work at headquarters and to set aside the various other engagements that had been made and that I be authorized to visit the Pacific Coast at my convenience.

Accordingly, an itinerary having been carefully arranged, I left Washington for the West on August 17, and after successfully following the route of travel laid out and fulfilling the engagements that had been made for me, I returned to Washington on October 4. In detail my itinerary was as follows:

- August 18, arrived at Chicago.
- August 19, arrived at Denver.
- August 21, arrived at Salt Lake City.
- August 23, left Salt Lake City for Butte.
- August 25, left Butte for Missoula.
- August 25, left Missoula for Spokane.
- August 27, left Spokane for Seattle.
- August 28, left Seattle for Vancouver.
- August 29, left Vancouver for Seattle.
- August 30. Addressed public meeting at Tacoma.
- August 31, left Tacoma for Portland.
- September 1, left Portland for San Francisco.

September 5, left San Francisco for San Jose.

September 6, left San Jose for Santa Cruz.

September 7, left Santa Cruz for San Francisco.

September 9, left San Francisco for Los Angeles.

September 14, left Los Angeles for San Diego.

September 15, left San Diego for Los Angeles.

September 15, left Los Angeles for Bakersfield.

September 17, left Bakersfield for Fresno.

September 23, arrived San Francisco.

September 25, left San Francisco for Sacramento.

September 28, left Sacramento on return trip to Washington, during which I stopped at Denver and at St. Louis.

On the trip I delivered thirty-four public addresses of from one and a half to two hours' duration; made about twenty short speeches, and held a large number of conferences with representative men upon important phases of our movement.

The course of my journey was marked by interesting and important events. I can not say that anywhere I met with any serious disappointment or in fact disappointment of even a trivial nature. On the contrary, from the time that I arrived in Denver and made an address there until the day when I made my last speech on the trip in Sacramento my presence was the occasion for manifestations of enthusiasm and expressions of confidence in the labor movement such as I had never before witnessed. The press gave to the incidents of my journey, and to my utterances on various occasions during it, an extraordinary amount of space. Indeed, the Western country recognized the significance and timeliness of the visit. The press seized the occasion for indirectly, when not directly, exhibiting both a sympathy with the trade union movement and a concurrence of opinion with our authorized spokesmen regarding the most important events in the recent history of organized labor. I have no complaint whatever to make regarding my treatment, either in the news columns or the editorial columns of the entire Western press, with one or two exceptions, which were to be expected. An appreciation was shown of the consistent and well-considered attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the great social questions of the day. In short, the newspapers "printed the news" relative to my utterances and to the great assemblages which greeted me and to the reception of my views by my audiences.

The public meetings which I addressed were much of the same character, whether they took place in Denver, in Spokane, in Missoula, in Portland, in San Francisco, or Los Angeles. Everywhere the gathering was mainly made up of a fine type of intelligent wage-workers, with, on all occasions, a considerable representation from the professional, official, and business elements of society. My audiences evidently believed I had something to say, and they listened so as to hear me say it. On only one occasion was there the slightest interruption. I purposely occupied the necessary time in making my addresses to reach the general understanding, taking up a subject and so treating it that all present might have a correct impression of the subject and know my opinions as to how labor in general interpreted it. The greatest occasion naturally was that of Labor Day, on which I addressed a gathering in Shellmound Park, San Francisco, estimated at 25,000 persons. The features of the demonstration of that day, such as a parade of 45,000 workers in the principal streets of San Francisco, a decoration which was general in many parts of the city, enormous crowds on the sidewalks and in the squares, and the reading of two essays written by school children on the lessons that Labor Day teaches—these will of a certainty be long remembered in the city by the Golden Gate.

My reception in Los Angeles, considering the crusade that has been carried on by powerful enemies against trade unions, was nothing short of triumphant. Labor took the opportunity of declaring itself, its sentiments, its purposes, and its opposition to the forces which would bring dissension and disintegration to trade unionism in Southern California.

In the course of my seven weeks' trip, I was daily brought into communication with men representing other institutions than that of united labor, and in every case I was listened to with respect, and almost invariably with expressions of sympathy for the cause of labor as represented in trade unionism. The meetings were held in the largest auditoriums, "stadiums," and halls that the cities afforded and with one exception they were crowded to overflowing.

In looking back over this memorable trip, I feel that all the efforts that were made by every one who participated in the work of getting it up and in the various meetings

that were held were amply repaid. It is a common desire among men to give public expression to the faith that is in them, and the gatherings in the various cities I visited brought out thousands upon thousands of men beyond the usual membership of the unions which might be expected to be in attendance at such meetings. The wheel-horses of our movement in the various cities had but one verdict to pronounce on the outcome of the project of bringing the President of the American Federation of Labor to the Pacific Coast. In saying that the movement is the stronger as the result of that series of meetings, I trust I am not guilty of thrusting my personality before the membership. Quite apart from the personal commendations of my efforts on the coast, I have received a number of letters from the active trade unionists since my return. I quote from a letter under date of October 2 from Andrew J. Gallagher, Secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, as a type of the general expression. It is as follows:

"I trust you arrived home safely, and while I know that you were not over-
well, because of such strenuous trip, I hope that at least the recollection of
your visit will reward you for the energy expended.

"Now that your trip is concluded, permit me to say, without any desire to
flatter or over-estimate things, that you may return home conscious of having
performed a great service for the cause. The result of your visit has been a
strengthening influence for our people, and a tremendous impetus to our move-
ment; indeed I do not know of any happening in the labor world in recent
years that has stiffened the backbone of labor to the true realization of their
purpose as your advice, instructions, and appeal to them.

"It is hardly probable that we may see you again, but we hope that it
won't be long before the West will be again calling upon you."

The American Federation of Labor is indebted to the strong, forceful, courageous
body of men who form the leadership in the unions on the Pacific Coast. In the face of
the denunciations of their enemies, I declare that I found them animated by high
principles, the best evidence of which is the solid support given them by the men in the
trade union movement. That movement has been of the highest benefit in the cities and
industrial centers of the West. Without it, wages would be at a point far below what
they are, and the long day would be the prevailing one instead of the eight-hour day,
as it is. It is to the credit of trade unionism that commercial men in that part of our
country are doing a better business than when wages were lower and the working
people unable to consume what they do now. Society is the better off in all the West for
trade unionism. The working people there have the spirit to advance the labor cause.
They are progressive, capable, independent. They have correct conceptions of their
rights. Their future is safe in their own hands. Their affiliation with the American
Federation of Labor is one of loyalty and solidarity.

MIGRATORY LABORERS.

Resolutions 44 and 86 of the St. Louis Convention, relating to migratory laborers,
referred by it to the Executive Council. By reason of my then contemplated visit
to the Pacific Coast States, the Executive Council referred the subject-matter to me for
investigation. I have seen and spoken with some of the migratory laborers and their
spokesmen, and held prolonged conferences with the representative labor men of the
Pacific Coast who have given this subject of migratory and casual labor their closest
observation, and the following is the result of my investigations, with the recommenda-
tions I submit for your consideration and action.

The lot of the migratory laborer in the United States today is in some points worse
than slavery. The slave was at least sufficiently well nourished to enable him to perform
his allotted tasks. He was assured of a shelter and in case of illness of as much care
as a thrifty farmer will give to his horse or other domestic animals. But the very large
proportion of unskilled or casual workers who at the present time usually find employ-
ment only on short jobs or at season work suffer a precarious existence. As they move
from place to place, they often go hungry, and while at work their food is usually of a
poor quality, ill prepared. Many of them do not earn enough to establish a home or to
pay for medical attendance when sick or suffering from accidents. The character of
much of the work performed in the United States does not permit of the steady employ-
ment of a regular body of men. Railroad extension work, the construction of bridges and
highways, much work in lumbering, waterway, canal, and drainage, and in the build-
ing trades, which are mostly carried on in the less inclement seasons of the year, are

characterized by idleness for months together of tens of thousands of men. In agriculture, large bodies of men are employed during the seasons of ploughing, seeding, planting, and harvest, only to be left without steady work the rest of the year. In all, it is difficult to estimate how many men are thus living in the United States today, but the number reaches into the millions.

The Pacific Coast has its own immediate problem with regard to migratory labor, though within a few years to come local conditions will probably be so changed as to present few features distinguishable from those of the general labor situation of the United States. As has been the case for years, the question of moving the migratory laborers to the place where and at the time when needed has been a serious one affecting the Pacific Coast trade unions. While there may be congestion at one point, there may be a dearth of labor at another. While there is the general division of laborers into Asiatics and whites, there is a sub-division of non-American whites into "colonies" of Mexicans, Italians, Greeks, Russians, and others. The private employment bureaus of the Pacific Coast have been and are badly conducted. On consideration of the facts as they now exist, the establishment of State employment agencies would, in the judgment of some of the union officials of the Coast, be of benefit to the unskilled wage-workers in general and might have a tendency to aid in the special organization of the migratory workers.

The early completion of the Panama Canal, however, will without doubt bring about a total change in the labor situation of the Pacific Coast, both internally and with relation to other countries. It has already been calculated, and semi-officially published, by the agents of the steamship companies, that immigrants from Europe may be landed via the Panama Canal at Pacific Coast seaports for a less sum than is required to pay the passage to inland points in States of the Middle West. It is to be remembered that the enormous fleets of foreign vessels which are in the immigration trade are seeking business the world over. All countries, except their own, are in every case the same to them. In the pursuit of their interests they are engaged in moving vast bodies of immigrants so that the gross result will tend to be the equalization of the wage rates for less skilled grades of labor in all the civilized, or indeed semi-civilized, world. In a single year, aided by the climate, the present transatlantic fleet could carry 500,000 wage-workers from the southeast of Europe to the Pacific Coast ports, while also transporting the average yearly number to the Atlantic Coast ports. This is a more than probable forthcoming condition to be faced by our fellow trade unionists of Washington, Oregon, and California.

My own investigations of the subject of State and national labor exchanges and distribution bureaus in this country have shown me that they are inevitably linked up with the schemes of the steamship combine to bring immigrants to, and distribute them over, the United States. (See article on "Schemes to 'Distribute' Immigrants," July, 1911, issue, *American Federationist*.) In general the wage-workers seeking situations through State labor exchanges are persons engaged in hotel, restaurant, and domestic service. But whatever other laborers have been moved in gangs by such exchanges have usually been freshly landed from foreign shores. The movement of American wage-workers commonly takes place through trade union labor bureaus, newspaper advertisements, and the information given one another by fellow workmen of the same or kindred trades. It is a serious question how State labor exchanges may be established, immigration being as it is, without their becoming simply one more advantage and benefit to the corporate or private capitalists whose business is to carry labor to markets for it which in many cases are already vastly oversupplied or which may readily be supplied by our own migratory laborers elsewhere idle.

Turn which way we may, the fact invariably confronts us, in our endeavor to ameliorate the lot of the laborers now in America, that there must be a restriction of immigration. Restriction, as recommended by the United States Immigration Commission, is, if not the first step toward organizing migratory laborers, at least an essential step. There are sufficient workers on the Pacific Coast at the present time, were their shifting about intelligently systematized, to perform all the pressing work there throughout all the seasons of the year. The main trouble has been that the employers have not paid any adequate attention to the laborer as a social entity except at the moment when one is to be hired. Society has not concerned itself seriously about the casual worker. State labor exchanges might answer the purpose of distributing what laborers are on the Pacific Coast, but, we repeat, with the influx of hundreds of thousands more, they would in connection with the agencies and systems of information maintained by the steamship combine,

simply give advantage to the newcomers over the labor already in the country as is now the case in the East.

It might be well to establish a Department of the American Federation of Labor in which trade union migratory laborers should be enrolled.

A card in one union must, in case one is formed, permit the holder to transfer his membership to any other union in the Department.

The organization in the whole country, with respect to this class of laborers, would have the same relationship to the American Federation of Labor as that of the international unions through the other departments. Trade union methods in the operation of labor bureaus, in devising systems of relief, insurance, etc., might be established in the case of these laborers.

A well-conducted migratory labor exchange, or office of information, would be of far more help to the migratory laborers' union than any State labor exchange could possibly be. Such a union office could make itself thoroughly acquainted with the character of contractors and other large employers of labor. They could ascertain what any given job was to be, what the food, and what kind of sleeping quarters were to be given the men, with the pay, the hours of labor, time of payment, kind of payment, and all other particulars which the laborer has a right to know, but singly can not obtain.

The American Federation of Labor recognizes the fact that the migratory workers must be organized, and that the labor and expense of so doing must be borne by the organized workers. Its maintenance must be by the members themselves. A patronizing attitude would react and prove the undoing of the entire project to help them to help themselves, and to have them take their position side by side with the others in the ranks of the organized labor movement. Through the exertion of great energy in the labor movement of California ten unions of migratory or casual laborers have been organized in that State within the past year and chartered by the American Federation of Labor. That work must be aided and supplemented by our Federation.

THE MCNAMARAS-OTIS' CAMPAIGN FOR REVENGE.

When, on October 2, 1910, the newspapers published accounts of a terrible disaster in Los Angeles, in which, by the burning of a part of the Times building, twenty-one human beings lost their lives, our whole country was shocked and grieved. To no circle of society did the news bring greater distress, anxiety, or horror than to the trade unionists, for with the relation of the circumstances connected with the accident came the announcement that the owner of the *Times* and men who were allied with him in opposing organized labor had seized the occasion to denounce unionists and unionism. But, as every active member of every international or local union in the country can certify, trade unionists with one voice rose up and declared their feeling that such deeds of violence as were alleged would be the undoing of trade unionism and their desire that if it could be shown that the explosion which started the fire was wilfully caused by human agency the persons implicated should be condignly punished, no matter who they might be. As was done by all prominent union officials, I made every effort possible to gain publicity to my views on the occasion. Without the possibility of consultation on the subject, labor men, on the instant, everywhere sincerely and earnestly exhibited similar sentiments with regard both to the loss of life and the accusations of their enemies. To them and the cause, from every point of view, the event was a misfortune, an injury, a disaster.

While the debris of the wrecked Los Angeles *Times* building was still aflame, after the explosion which caused the consuming fire, Gen. Harrison Grey Otis, proprietor of the *Times*, although many miles from the spot, lost not a single moment in laying the cause of the disaster, in words of fury and hatred, to the trade unions. He could then have known little of the circumstances which might solve the mystery of the explosion, excepting as he might have been well acquainted with the fact that for some time there had been in the building a leakage of gas. He had no facts whatever, except his insane enmity, upon which to base his charge against the unions. Had he been a conscientious man, or a cool and sensible man, he would have awaited the developments of a forthcoming investigation. But Otis, in a bitter tirade, exhibited to the world his rancorous spirit toward trade unionism, his violence of character, and his thirst for revenge on union men.

As everybody knows, the dragnet investigation of the explosion and fire, after the lapse of months, left the case simply one of mystery. For half a year it was plain to all observers that circumstances were favorable for the hatching of a plot against such

union men as should be selected as the objects of Otis' diabolical revenge. Time and again the thought must have occurred to union officials: Which of us shall be the ones to have charges framed up against him? With Otis' money, of which he has millions, to be used in hiring detectives, "the biggest lot of blackmailing thieves that ever went unwhipped by justice," a plot could be concocted involving any man in the United States whose organization or whose principles had ever attracted the poisoned pen of Otis. It was not until nearly seven months had expired that, in a series of events intentionally made theatrical, organized labor and the public were apprized of the fact that Otis' victims had at length been found. The Secretary and two other members of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association had meantime had weaved about them a body of purely circumstantial evidence sufficient to justify, not their arrest and transportation to California by the regular processes of law, but what amounted to their kidnapping attended by the slightest degree of legal formality possible.

I may be permitted to interrupt the narrative at this point to say that from that day to the present the proceedings of Otis' agents and detectives have time and again served to throw suspicion on their honesty, on their alleged facts, and hence upon their entire side of the case. The daily press in general indicated, by their slighting the information, that it was too much for their credulity to ask them to believe in the placing of suitcases near the home of General Otis and of the Los Angeles Secretary of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association the day of the explosion, except as the transparent acts of superserviceable detectives. Moreover, it is preposterous to suppose that if John J. McNamara were a dynamiter he would have any of the explosive substance either in the basement of the building containing the offices of the Structural Iron Workers' Union or in any outbuilding belonging to or rented by a member of his family. The slipping of dynamite into the hand-baggage of the two other members of the union would be a trick of legerdemain easily accomplished by any of the thieves and blackguards who are alleged by undoubted authority to be in so great a majority in their sneaking profession. The finding of clockwork dynamite bombs in various parts of the country could easily be arranged for by the veriest amateur in sleight-of-hand play.

The manner of the stealing away of John J. McNamara without opportunity given him to make a proper defense, rendered it obligatory upon union labor to take up his case for examination and for the protection of other labor representatives who might at any time be treated in a similar manner. Therefore, as early as May 6, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued a circular declaring it to be the duty of union labor to defend the kidnapped men in the courts and to promptly prosecute those men most closely concerned in their wrongful and illegal arrest. This call met immediate response in the ranks of labor throughout the country. In accordance with a general sentiment, the Executive Council, together with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, the Executive Board of the Metal Trades Department, and the executive officers of the Union Label Trades Department, met in joint session in Washington, D. C., on June 17, for the purpose of formulating such tentative plans as might be found to be immediately necessary. The joint committee adopted as a plan of action an appeal to all national and international labor organizations to contribute an amount equal to 25 cents per member, the international officers to raise the amounts from their respective membership or locals in the form and manner best adapted to each organization, the total amounts to be transmitted weekly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who should also be Secretary of the McNamara Legal Defense Committee. The same appeal was directed to be made to the local and Federal Labor unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and central bodies were asked to select committees for the purpose of collecting funds from workers and friends not contributing through other channels. A conference was also arranged for, to take place in Indianapolis, Indiana, on Thursday, June 29, for the purpose of discussing energetic co-operative action in the collection of funds and the defense of the McNamara case. The organizers of international unions, the officers of all labor organizations, and the labor and reform press were at the same time urged to keep continually before the people the defense of the kidnapped men. In addition, a permanent committee on ways and means was created, consisting of Frank M. Ryan, President of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Association; Samuel Gompers and Frank Morrison; James Short and William J. Spencer, President and Secretary respectively of the Building Trades Department; James O'Connell and A. J. Berres, President and Secretary respectively of the Metal Trades Department; John B. Lennon, President, and Thomas F. Tracy, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department. It was directed

that the disbursement of all moneys should be upon the advice and through Clarence S. Darrow, chief counsel for the defense, who was empowered to employ (subject to the approval of President Gompers and Secretary Morrison) attorneys and assistants for services in the case.

The activity of our enemies was quickly shown in the circulation and publication in the press of exaggerated statements of the immense sums of money which were to be contributed for this defense fund, the transparent purpose being to forestall the collection of the money necessary.

At the conference in Indianapolis, June 29, a large number of officers of international unions were in attendance. The entire subject-matter of the defense of the McNamara brothers and the prosecution of the kidnapers was thoroughly gone into. After the discussion of all the facts of the case developed up to that time, confidence in the innocence of the imprisoned men was felt and unanimously expressed. It was decided that not only should the kidnapers be prosecuted, but that every effort be made to prevent a recurrence of such outrages in the future. The unions were urged to advance the amount equal to 25 cents per member at once to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, reimbursing their treasuries by subsequent collections from the members.

At the regular quarterly meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in June it was decided that the President and Secretary should issue a circular calling on all central labor bodies to arrange for public meetings of protest against the illegal and outrageous kidnapping of the McNamara brothers and the denial to them of the constitutional rights guaranteed to persons suspected of crime. It was also recommended that Labor Day be celebrated more generally than ever by demonstrations and addresses, and that the proceeds of the celebration be devoted to the legal defense fund in the McNamara case and the prosecution of the kidnapers. The following is a paragraph from this appeal of the Executive Council:

"The prosecution, or more properly speaking, the persecutors, have at their back the unlimited wealth and power of corporate interests. The liberty and the lives of our men must not be frittered away for want of ample means. The best legal talent, faithful to their clients and our cause, have been retained. It is easily conceivable that it requires more work and ability, entailing more expense, to unearth and expose false accusations than it requires to manufacture them. Upon labor is imposed a difficult and tremendous responsibility, which it is our purpose not to evade in the slightest degree, but it will be necessary for the great rank and file of the organized labor movement of America to respond in hearty accord, generosity, and promptness with every effort and suggestion made."

For convenience and the record, I quote the following circular letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 27, 1911.

To All Workers:

For right is right, since God is God,
And right the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.—Faber.

From Los Angeles last October came the news that a terrible catastrophe had occurred in that city—that the Los Angeles *Times* building had been destroyed, with the loss of a number of lives. The first word spoken, even before the flames had completed their destruction, by the emissaries of the *Times* contained positive declarations that organized labor was responsible for the disaster. Qualifying statements were conspicuous by their absence. Wide publicity was given, warped and unsupported allegations against the organized workmen of the entire country were featured, vast sums of money were dangled in the faces of unscrupulous men to fasten the crime upon some member or members of the trade unions. The National Manufacturers' Association, flanked by the Erectors' Association, Citizens' alliances, detective agencies, and a hostile press brought their, every influence to bear and appropriated every available circumstance to bulwark and fix in the public mind a mental attitude that the charges made against organized labor had been proven beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

The authors of the charge, after months of intrigue and searching investigations, utterly failed to substantiate the flamboyant and positive accusations that had been made. The public mind was slowly emerging from the hypnotic spell in which it had been enveloped, and mutterings of suspicion began to be heard against the originators of the indictments against labor men. The position of the hostile employers' associations became exceedingly desperate. The *Times* management, with its years of relentless warfare against humanity, fearing that its Belshazzar feast of organized labor's blood

was about to be denied, redoubled its efforts, and demanded that a sacrifice must be furnished that its unholy appetite might be appeased, specifying that some union workman or workmen must be supplied to assuage its unnatural and abnormal hunger.

The record of events is too well known to make it necessary to recount them in detail. That "the end justifies the means" became the slogan, is patent. With all the forces of greed compactly joined, there began a campaign of vandalism, the like of which has never before found lodgment on the pages of our American Republic's history. A prominent member of union labor was selected, J. J. McNamara, and one at whom the finger of suspicion had never before pointed, whose life had been characterized by an uprightness of purpose and loyalty to the cause of labor, and whose activities in every walk had drawn to him the commendation of his fellows. To give the stage the proper setting and to involve other trades than the iron workers, J. B. McNamara, the brother, was selected for the sacrifice.

With intrigue, falsehood, and an utter disregard for all forms of law, applying individual force, conniving with faithless officials, the two McNamaras were rushed in feverish haste to the scene of the alleged crime. The rights of these two men have been trampled upon, wilfully, flagrantly, and wantonly.

Every man, even the meanest, under the constitutional guarantees of our country, is entitled to a trial by a jury of his peers, and every man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty. Thus far the proceedings have been outside the pale of those guarantees. The charge has been lodged against organized labor, and two of its members are now before the bar to answer to these charges. What is the duty of the organized labor movement? What shall be our course? What efforts shall we put forth to see to it that justice shall finally obtain?

The intellect, heart and soul of the men of labor yield to no body or class of citizens in their fidelity in obedience to the law, and their history is replete with instances of sacrifice that humanity may be protected. If within the ranks of labor there are those who commit infractions of the law, then they should be punished, but there should not be instituted a double standard of justice—one for the wealthy malefactor and another for the workman.

The organized labor movement believes that the McNamaras are innocent. Upon that belief there devolves upon us another duty. The accused men are workmen, without means of their own to provide a proper defense. The assault is made against organized labor equally with the McNamaras. If we are true to the obligations we have assumed, if it is hoped to forever settle this system of malicious prosecution of the men of labor, our duty is plain.

Funds must be provided to insure a fair and impartial trial. Eminent counsel has been engaged. Arrangements are proceeding that a proper defense may be made. The great need of the hour is money with which to meet the heavy drains incident to the collection of evidence and other necessary expense.

Every man who was connected with the kidnapping of the McNamaras will be prosecuted to the full limit of the law. It is proposed that the interests of organized labor shall be fully protected, and punishment meted out to detective agencies that assume to be superior to the law. The rights of the men of labor must, shall be, preserved.

The men of labor, unlike the hostile organizations arrayed against us, have not vast sums of wealth to call upon, but they are imbued with the spirit of justice, and are ever ready to make sacrifice for principle.

The trial of the McNamaras is set to commence on October 11. In the name of justice and humanity all members of our organizations are urgently requested to contribute as liberally as their abilities will permit. All contributions toward the legal defense of the McNamara cases and for the prosecution of the kidnappers should be transmitted as soon as collected to Frank Morrison, 804-809 G street N. W., Washington, D. C., who will forward a receipt for every contribution received by him, and after the trials a printed copy of the contributions received, together with the expense incurred, will be mailed to each contributor.

Fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

Attest: FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary*.

Approved by the McNamara Ways and Means Committee.

To raise necessary funds for the defense, the Committee on Ways and Means has devised various projects:

(1) The issuance of a McNamara stamp which might be affixed at the back of envelopes or upon letter-heads for use in official and other correspondence in the trade union movement and by sympathizers generally; these are sold at 1 cent each.

(2) The issuance of McNamara buttons, protesting against kidnapping, sold at \$4 per hundred.

(3) The committee has had made a motion picture, which has been and is being exhibited to convey to the public generally rightful pictorial information as to several instances connected with the outrageous entry into the offices of the Iron Workers and the kidnapping of McNamara, part of the proceeds of the picture to be turned over to Secretary Morrison.

The committee recommends:

That the members of national and international unions contribute liberally through their respective locals and internationals.

That central bodies appeal to workmen and other right-thinking, liberty-loving citizens for voluntary contributions.

That labor and friends of labor and to the cause of justice hold protest meetings against the kidnapping and the persecution of the McNamaras.

That the labor and friendly papers publish and keep standing an appeal for aid and assistance to the defense fund and the kidnapping prosecution; that the names of contributors be published in the labor press and that the proceeds be weekly transmitted to Secretary Morrison.

And, further, by every honorable means within our power, the obligation be met in order that sufficient funds may be at the disposal of counsel and their assistants and for defraying the necessary expenses of experts and witnesses. Every dollar thus far received has been, and all moneys received in the future will be, placed in the hands of counsel in these cases for proper expenditure.

The trial opened at Los Angeles October 11 in impaneling of the jury, the progress of the trial being watched with the closest interest, not only by labor union membership but by the country in general. Any review of the trial, so far as it has proceeded, it is not my purpose to present at this time.

In considering this case, attention should be given to the article "The McNamara Case," appearing in the June, 1911, issue of the *American Federationist*, and the editorial in the July issue under the same title.

THE TRIANGLE SHIRT-WAIST FACTORY FIRE.

In the first week of April last 143 employees of the Triangle Shirt-Waist Company came to their death through the burning of the company's factory in Washington Place, New York. No event ever taking place in this country occasioned severer denunciation of a firm of employers. It came out that the employees working in the two upper stories of the ten-story building were so placed while at work that escape during a panic was almost impossible. Doors which opened inward were locked; barely space for one person to move at a time was left between the rows of sewing machines; the goods being worked up were of a flimsy and inflammable character, and no fire drills had ever been performed by the force. The Chief of New York's Fire Department later testified that it would have taken more than an hour for the employees to make their escape through the fire exits provided.

When the fire occurred most of the employees, of whom nine-tenths were women, were left to the dreadful choice of burning in the workrooms or leaping to their death from the height of the ninth or tenth story of the building.

A public demonstration of labor took place in New York on Thursday, April 6, at the time at which many of the victims were being buried in another part of the city. The number of persons marching at the demonstration was estimated at from seventy-five to one hundred thousand. The procession was one of the largest of wage-earners ever taking place in New York. It attracted half a million spectators along the lines of march, in spite of a heavy downpour of rain and the muddy streets.

In the numerous investigations, official and otherwise, following the burning of these poor wage-earners, the fact was brought to light that very few factories in the clothing trades in New York were fire proof or so arranged as to prevent similar catastrophes. The Legislature of New York created a Commission of nine (to which I have been appointed a member) to act without compensation, for the purpose of making a

thorough investigation of the safety of workers in regard to sanitation, dangerous machinery and fire. The Commission has had several sessions and contemplates thoroughness in its investigation and recommendations.

In view of the cruel and blind selfishness of a class of employers in regard to the health and safety of workers in several parts of our country, it is urgently recommended that our State Federations and city central bodies in industrial centers demand not only the enforcement of existing law in factories, workshops, mills, and mines, but also the promotion of inquiry as to the needed laws for better—aye, humanly considered, absolutely necessary—sanitary home and workshop conditions, including safety from dangerous machinery and from fire and panic.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE.

Cleveland is one of the chief centers of importance in the ladies' garment trade. It being the policy of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to improve and to more nearly equalize conditions all over the country, an attempt was made to so organize the Cleveland workers at that calling as to enable them to support the requirements of the general scale. A combination of rich and powerful employers determined to break down all attempts at organization. The consequence was a strike, which was declared early in June. By the middle of the month the number out was about eight thousand. On the first of August, the number out was still six thousand. For weeks and months since, the strikers stood firm.

The strike has been characterized by oppression by the police, by a stubbornness of the combined employers which puts their business in jeopardy, by the loyalty of the strikers to one another, and by the extraordinary amount given in relief by the wage-workers of the trade throughout the country. The strike has cost the union \$20,000 a week.

Much of the time of the strike has covered a good part of the dull season in the trade.

The Cleveland manufacturers have for years pursued a selfish and dictatorial course toward their employees. It has been the custom elsewhere in the cloak and skirt shops, union or non union, to adjust prices on the various styles of garments through a committee representing the piece workers, known in the trade as a "price committee." The Cleveland manufacturers are the only ones in this country who never have followed that system. The employees were obliged to accept the prices fixed by the employer or leave the shop. They have never known what their wages were until their pay envelope was opened. The Manufacturers' Association on every occasion has rejected the peaceful advances of the officers of the international union. They stood for no collective bargaining in any form. They insisted upon dealing with their employees, who are chiefly women and children, individually.

The demands of the strikers are a fifty-hour week, no Saturday afternoon and no Sunday work; the abolition of charging for use of machines, power and material; the abolition of subcontracting; a minimum scale for week workers, and price committees for piece workers. Regardless of the immediate outcome of this contest, if labor and the sympathetic public will give their moral support to the struggling ladies' garment workers, their cause will surely triumph.

THE BALDWIN STRIKE.

On the 26th of last May, 1,200 of the 14,000 employees of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, in Philadelphia, Pa., were laid off, the cause, as alleged by the managers, being merely a reduction of the working force. But among the 1,200 were sixty out of seventy-five of the shop committeemen of the machinists, together with officials of the dozen other crafts in the Allied Locomotive Builders' Council. Two days afterward (28th), this council called special meetings of all the local unions having members working for the Baldwin Company, and at these meetings (30th) the council, in conjunction with the representatives of the international unions concerned, was authorized to take up the issue, and if necessary to call a strike in the works. A committee representing the various trades and the international officials called on Superintendent John Sykes, of the company (31st), who refused to go into conference with them, but expressed a willingness to meet delegated employees of the company. A committee so composed, on conferring with him, the same afternoon, and again on June 1, found that he would make no promises regarding reinstatement of the men. On June 4, in the afternoon, the international officers, after a three hours' discussion, decided that a strike would be inopportune. The same evening, after a discussion of equal length, the workmen's Locomotive Build-

ers' Council concurred in this decision. Excitement ran high among members, and some of them attempted to call a strike, late the same night, after the conclusions of their two representative bodies became known. For a week afterward some of the Baldwin employes clamored for a strike, and then numbers began quitting the works, until on June 13 about 12,000 of the 14,000 were out. Their spokesmen alleged that the company's system of "espionage, punishments, discharges, and victimization" was beyond human endurance, and that, despite the advice to the contrary of their council delegates and international officers, they had determined to take the risks of a strike. The company (July 8) refused to entertain any committee from the men unless it was understood that the men return as non-unionists. Public sentiment in Philadelphia was strongly with the strikers, and the latter stood by their colors with stubborn resisting power, but as the weeks went by it became plain that their funds were insufficient. By the middle of August the contest was over.

The lesson that was taught by this action of the wage-workers for a great corporation is the necessity for thorough organization, for a large treasury, and for heeding the advice of officials of experience, who possess a knowledge of the state of trade and employment throughout the country. It is true that on occasions, when practically all the workers of a calling may reasonably be expected to respond to the demands of the more outspoken and venturesome, everything may be risked on a general walkout and a complete tie-up of an industry. Enthusiasm, public opinion, financial aid from many quarters—these may, in such circumstances, stand in the place of the usual reliance of established trade unions on their financial resources. Successes, and notable ones, have thus been gained; but the international officers and the local union delegates may usually be trusted to foresee the chances for or against victory.

EFFICIENCY.

The year has witnessed a discussion on a national scale of the doctrines and practice of "Scientific Management." This new economic gospel has its prophets and its policies, and for a brief time had its crusade. While its leaders professed that its objects comprised many reforms in management, arguments in favor of what came to be popularly called "efficiency" principally turned upon the idea of getting more product out of the toil of the laborer. The phases of efficiency presented to the wage-workers were those of systems long known, both to indoor and outdoor workers. Included in the scheme were the bonus and piece systems, together with methods of contracting and of fining which have long been fought by trade unionists, and also a method of sweating, by which if a stated task were not completed the promised bonus for it was entirely lost and wages fell to a point at which they would have stood on the ordinary day's production.

Many absurd or unfounded claims were for a time advanced in support of the so-called "Scientific Management." It was said, for example, that in the course of its application, now extending over more than a decade, it had never occasioned a strike. The truth is that only during the last year its attempted introduction has brought on a series of labor disputes, the employes in the navy yards and on other Government work having struck against it by the means immediately at their hand, namely, an appeal to Congress against the changes, and especially the sweating, the system brings into practice.

As one book after another, or one pamphlet after another, was issued on the subject, numerous public addresses being made meantime by its supporters, it became more and more evident that the men whose names were chiefly associated with it were not in agreement as to the principles of "efficiency" and its application. It is to be said today that the system has been far from uniformly successful. It has been abandoned in some of the largest works where some years ago it was adopted. The fallacy in the statement that wages were increased by the application of scientific management is now generally recognized. For the time being, after its adoption, the wages of a small proportion of a force may be raised, whereas much of the work usually done by skilled men is turned over to unskilled helpers, working far below the wages usually paid to mechanics. It is plain that the system is not adaptable to most of the work done on time. It has been said that in America 50,000 persons were working under the system. If so, the fact can not be proven by any detailed statistics taken by any census, so far as trade unionists have been able to ascertain. It originated in, and has been chiefly confined to, the workshops of certain large companies which have been notorious employers of non-union and freshly-arrived foreign labor. In large shops it has long been known that certain operations which are performed without variation day after day may only require a low-wage

machine attendant, and if the preliminary stages of the work have been systematized, of course the output will be large at a low cost. In small shops, however, and in industries in which the shopwork is not the main factor, the field for the pyramidal labor arrangement, or organization, of scientific management is small. Moreover, the promoters of the system have so extravagantly advertised its claims, and especially their charges of wilful loafing against American laborers, that the general conclusion is that they are mere discoverers of a "mare's nest." They have expected the public to give credence to the absurdity that workmen in general "soldier" to the extent of "one third or even one-half of a proper day's work." The public has refused to believe this slander on the American workman, and the workers themselves have everywhere challenged these traducers to bring forward proofs of their assertions. In view of the fact that America's workers are the greatest producers per man and in the aggregate in the whole world, it is an offense against the common sense of men to ask them to believe that, in shops where foremen are ever on the alert, where the penalty for loafing is discharge, where all the men strive to be among those kept on in dull times, where the great majority of them are responsible fathers or supporting members of families, the workers would by common consent endeavor to deceive and defraud their employers by delivering only half a day's work for a full day's work. All of "Scientific Management" which is built upon this basis of detraction must obviously be disbelieved.

As the discussion now stands, the wage-workers have by far the best of it. The system has not been taken up by employers in general. The number that have shown much interest in it form a very small proportion throughout the country. Railroad managers have treated the estimated possible savings to industry by "efficiency" prophets with contempt. It may also be said that employes have been slow to believe that such wonderful improvements could be made in management as they have proclaimed. In a book issued by one of the authors supporting the system, the statement is made that where one point relating to the wage-earner was to be improved, nine points relating to the employer could be improved. Inasmuch as the advocates of "efficiency" have failed to make much of a success on the one point pertaining to the workshop, we respectfully invite their attention to the nine points in the office department which await their labors.

The verdict on efficiency has been pronounced by society. It has already been relegated to a place on a shelf among the nostrums, sensations, and paraphernalia of magic workers of the past. The American public has not welcomed the spectacle of steel works where, under an inspector, stop-watch in hand, one man is carrying five tons of pig iron where he formerly carried one, or of a bicycle shop where one girl does the work formerly done by three, when she is not carried out fainting, or where in a textile mill a girl is paid for the ordinary day's work after she has striven and strained and almost completed the allotted bonus task of doing two days work in one.

It may be interesting to state that the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives, Hon. William B. Wilson, chairman, is conducting an investigation into the claims of so-called "Scientific Management" or "Efficiency."

LABOR DAY AND LABOR SUNDAY.

Labor Day is now an American continental holiday as well established as the Fourth of July in the United States. No conspicuous new feature is to be recorded in its observance of recent years, although it may be said that the tendency is less to make it a day of devotion to sports, a considerable proportion of the laboring people now devoting the day, or a part of the day, to a serious study of the important social questions before the people. Meetings and parades on a scale seldom surpassed were held in most of the principal cities. The turn-out of the workers was in some of the larger centers of population double what had been expected, and the enthusiasm and determination of the workers in support of trade unionism and in defense of union principles caused unusual comments in the daily press.

Labor Sunday was better observed than ever before. The churches are manifesting a desire to become more helpful to union labor and are certainly coming to a better understanding with its supporters. In many churches in the country, labor men were invited to address the congregations in advocacy of our cause. The number of prominent professional men who contributed articles to the labor periodicals, especially to the *American Federationist*, on the occasion of Labor Day, was noteworthy, which is indicative of the turning tide in favor of union labor even among those who can not be regarded as wage-workers.

ORGANIZERS.

The total number of organizers at present holding commissions issued by the American Federation of Labor is 1,594, an increase over last year of 132, when the number was 1,462. This corps of organizers, of course, does not include those directly representing the local and international unions, but is composed only of men and women working without compensation for the labor movement as a whole under the direction of our Federation.

In their labors our organizers especially illustrate the zeal, courage and intelligent effort which may always be relied upon in movements intended to promote the common good. There is not one of these organizers but has considered the various methods by which he, or she, might aid their fellow-workers, and has selected organization as the most promising in achievement. Most of them have proceeded with their labors year in and year out, asking no remuneration other than the feeling of having performed a duty. They have been unselfish. They are honored by their co-workers, who know and appreciate them. They deserve the sincere thanks of the delegates here assembled, which I take pleasure in expressing on behalf of the great movement in which we are enlisted.

THE LABOR PRESS.

The labor press is yearly becoming more harmonious in its aims, its teachings, and in its strict trade union policy. It is less liable today than ever to drift off into advocacy of movements aside from that of trade unionism, which occasionally succeed, but only for a while, in misleading the working classes. The promotion and maintenance of the organizations of wage-workers and the advancement of our cause being the chief aim of labor editors, the latter, taught by experience, are today fighting a clearer-cut trade union battle. The news matter furnished from the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor has been generally reprinted to a considerable extent in the labor press of the country.

We renew our recommendation to trade unionists thoroughly to support their local labor paper. Every industrial center is the better off for having an organ representing the sentiment of the organized wage-workers, ever ready to be the defender of the trade unionists in any dispute which may break out with the employing classes. The work done for the cause of the trade unions by a good labor paper can never be fully repaid. The labor press of America is a credit to the movement. Without it, education, not only in trade unionism but with respect to all the various classes of social reform, would be sadly incomplete. In a number of instances during the last year, labor papers have been the courageous exponents and champions of the rights of the people. They should not be forgotten by their constituents. Thousands of labor men have been brought into the movement through what they have read in the labor press, and thousands in the ranks could never obtain a correct impression of current labor topics were they to depend on periodicals other than the labor press. It is to be said today of the hundreds of labor newspapers in this country that never were they more deeply united, never had they a better understanding with one another and their readers, and never were they held in higher esteem by the rank and file of the wage-workers in their respective territories.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

I believe we can point with pardonable pride to the contents of the Labor Day edition in September of the *American Federationist*. The number of men prominent throughout the country who contributed articles or sentiments for that edition is remarkable. It is to be remembered that many men of the professional and business classes run the risk of injury to their personal interests in expressing sentiments favorable to trade unionism in the national organ of the trade unions.

The many able articles contributed during the year to the pages of our official organ, taken together, form a body of literature relating to labor topics such as few other publications have endeavored to command. Any one who has read the last twelve numbers must have received a fair education with regard to the labor movements of the world.

It was never expected that the publication of an organ for our national movement would result in declaring dividends. Its purpose is educational. That is, it has been, and is intended to be, the medium by which the earnest and serious reader may be educated in the principles of trade unionism, and may obtain the views of prominent trade unionists and of qualified writers regarding the events of the day.

The splendid work of our organizers from month to month is duly recorded in the *American Federationist*, giving an insight into the details of advancing the cause in all parts of the great territory in which our Federation is at work. It has come to our knowledge that on several occasions the contents of the *American Federationist* during the past year has caused our opponents to change the conduct of their campaign or to give up contemplated moves against trade unionism. We have also been informed quite frequently of alteration in the opinions of employers who have been prejudiced against our movement. It is our endeavor, in conducting our national magazine, to present the cause of labor in such form and in such manner as to commend it to the minds of reasoning men. We feel sure that this policy has been appreciated by our trade union readers.

While it is true that it has never been expected to be a paying venture in the sense of making sufficient money above expenses to add anything to our treasury, the magazine ought at least to pay for itself. The delegates are therefore asked to do what lies in their power on their return home in obtaining new subscriptions for their own magazine, the *American Federationist*.

CONCLUSION.

Despite all opposition of the most relentless kind the American labor movement grows and thrives; its beneficent influence for the common uplift of labor and of all our people extends to all fields of useful activity and is becoming more generally recognized. The power which labor holds within its grasp is understood by our opponents as well as—aye, perhaps better than—by many of the toilers themselves. The fact is that labor's opponents, like the Tories of the past, many of whom are still with us, are afraid to trust the people, forgetful of the fact (and some never learn) that the entire history of the human race has been, as particularly exemplified by the people of our country, that power vested in a free people is safer, more progressive, and humanizing than power vested in a few or in an autocrat. With power in the hands of labor and of the people generally comes a quickening sense of responsibility. And though errors are liable to occur, they bring experience and an avoidance of recurrence. The errors or encroachments of the few or of an autocrat teach them no lessons and are rectified only by the people's revolt. How perfectly safe freedom is, is a truth not yet fully understood.

I have sincere pleasure in reporting that my relations with my colleagues of the Executive Council have continued to be all that could be desired as between men engaged at serious work for an honorable cause. The Council is as one man with respect to the policies and operations of the labor movement as exemplified in the American Federation of Labor. Its sessions during the year have been business-like and harmonious.

I also am enabled by the facts to report that in our work at headquarters we have been gratified throughout the last year at the testimony, reaching us from all parts of the country, of the satisfaction of the masses of the wage-workers with the continual progress of trade unionism. That satisfaction is usually entertained to the highest degree and expressed most emphatically by the veterans whose experience has covered decades; though, on the other hand, the enthusiasm of the newer recruits is frequently boundless in consequence of their sharing for the first time in the helpfulness of their organized fellow-workers. In either case, the recognition and appreciation of our movement is a source of encouragement, than which none could be better in character.

This report, naturally, considering the large number of matters constantly coming up for discussion by the wage-workers on a national scale, leaves many subjects either untouched or inadequately presented under its various headings. A question in preparing it has at every stage been the selection of the more pressing phases of our labor problem. I have endeavored to put before you the points which, to my mind, are most necessary for your consideration. That the task might be better done I am only too deeply sensible. But, in the stress of my daily routine, with the time I am called upon to employ in traveling, and the endless special work of adjudicating cases referred to me in jurisdictional controversies and the like, my days for preparing the annual report are none too many. Such as the report is, I turn it over to your hands for your consideration, feeling that under the circumstances I have done my best to render it worthy of our cause.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW-UNIONISTS—I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1910, and ending September 30, 1911.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I report at the close of this fiscal year \$189,579.56 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand, \$133,782.34 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, and can be used to pay benefits only in the case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$55,797.22, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$15,155.29 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$40,641.93, is divided as follows: In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, and the receipts from the appeals issued for the same purpose, i. e., to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, \$22,433.15. In the fund created by the three-cent assessment for the Hatters' strike, \$226.45. In the fund created by the two-cent assessment levied to take an appeal from the decision rendered against the United Hatters in favor of Loewe & Company, \$17,909.48. In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, for the purpose of placing organizers in Los Angeles and other cities, \$72.85.

The total receipts from all sources are \$182,188.68; the total expenses are \$175,524.08; leaving a balance of receipts over expenditures of \$6,664.60.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1911:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1910.....	\$182,914 96
Per capita tax.....	\$122,968 90
Supplies.....	9,805 44
Interest on funds on deposit.....	4,372 10*
American Federationist.....	18,213 98
Assessment, Los Angeles.....	19 66
Assessment, for legal defense.....	19 00
Assessment, United Hatters three-cent (3-c).....	162 54
Assessment, two-cent (2-c).....	7,638 30
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	16,010 75
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	2,988 55
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$182,188 68
	<hr/>
	\$306,103 64

EXPENSES.

General.....	\$137,973 74
American Federationist.....	20,913 56
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	4,192 00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	1,418 38
Assessment, for legal defense.....	70 78
Assessment, United Hatters, two-cent (2-c).....	10,955 62
	<hr/>
	175,524 08
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....	\$189,579 56

RECAPITULATION.

In general fund.....	\$55,797 22
In defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	133,782 34
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$189,579 56

*Treasurer Lennon collected \$600 additional interest; but his check for that amount, mailed at Bloomington, Ill., Friday evening, September 29, did not reach headquarters until Monday morning, October 2, too late to be included in the receipts of the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911, but it is included in the receipts for October 2, 1911.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

Appropriations:	
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	\$500 00
Union Label Trades Department.....	37 73
Rent.....	4,597 00
Refunds of premiums on bonds and supplies returned.....	27 20
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	1,425 38
Treasurer's bond.....	125 00
Secretary's bond.....	20 00
Fire insurance.....	21 60
Committee on Industrial Education.....	119 90
Expressage, freight, and drayage.....	1,207 71
International Secretariat per capita tax for 12 months on 1,700,000 members.....	608 02
Legislative expenses.....	3,455 27
Newspapers, magazines, and books.....	109 62
Office fixtures.....	21 75
Postage stamps.....	3,420 66
Printing and binding bound proceedings of St. Louis Convention.....	1,571 85
Stamped envelopes.....	900 48
Supplies and printing.....	13,361 66
Telegrams.....	803 61
Expenses American Federation of Labor delegate to St. Louis Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.....	50 00
Expenses American Federation of Labor delegate attending Convention of the International Secretariat, Budapest, and visiting other countries according to instructions of the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.....	860 00
Expenses on account of illness of Miss Z. J. Taylor, delegate from Topeka, Kans., to St. Louis American Federation of Labor Convention.....	17 50
Expenses doctor bill and hospital services to Frank L. Coffey, delegate from Lincoln, Neb., to St. Louis American Federation of Labor Convention.....	180 50
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	426 45
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	951 20
St. Louis Convention:	
Committee rooms.....	232 00
Expenses Secretary attending St. Louis Convention.....	163 95
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary.....	307 07
Printing and supplies.....	121 23
Printing daily proceedings.....	1,320 50
Stenographers.....	965 70
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, baggage, stationery, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs.....	121 25
Salary:	
President.....	5,000 00
Secretary.....	4,000 00
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employees.....	27,063 72
Janitor service.....	23 25
Expenses:	
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	268 05
Executive Council meetings.....	4,018 57
President.....	1,340 20
Secretary.....	564 82
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits.....	4,192 00
Assessment:	
For United Hatters of America (2-cent).....	10,925 62
For legal defense (1-cent).....	70 78
Appeal:	
Legal defense fund.....	11,594 17
Organizing expenses.....	46,962 05
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	20,913 66
Total.....	\$175,524 08

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1911.

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 31 years:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881.....	\$174 00	\$154 00
1882.....	268 20	252 25
1883.....	690 19	352 32
1884.....	357 42	543 20
1885.....	584 03	450 58
1886.....	474 11	635 08
1887.....	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888.....	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889.....	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890.....	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891.....	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892.....	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893.....	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894.....	15,346 48	17,302 08
1895.....	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896.....	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897.....	18,639 92	19,113 83
1898.....	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899.....	26,757 13	30,599 22
1900.....	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901.....	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902.....	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903.....	247,802 96	196,015 57
1904.....	220,995 07	203,991 15
1905.....	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906.....	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907.....	174,330 28	159,990 84
1908.....	207,655 23	196,927 36
1909.....	282,377 64	293,702 07
1910.....	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911.....	182,188 68	175,524 08
Total.....	\$2,430,668 81	\$2,241,089 25

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$2,430,668 81
Expenses.....	2,241,089 25
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....	\$189,579 56

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied on November 29, 1907, to place organizers in Los Angeles, Cal., and other cities where the manufacturers were, and are now, endeavoring to disrupt labor unions. There was a balance of \$53.79 September 30, 1910. There has been received into this fund during the fiscal year \$19.06, and no money paid out; hence there is a balance of \$72.85.

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied November 29, 1907, to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in injunction suits. There was a balance of \$54.33 September 30, 1910. There has been received into this fund during the fiscal year \$19.06, and paid out of it \$70.78 on account of attorneys' fees and expenses to Ralston, Siddons & Richardson; hence there is a balance of \$2.61.

THREE-CENT HATTERS' ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied on February 20, 1909, to assist the protracted strike of the United Hatters of North America. There was a balance of \$63.91 September 30, 1910. There has been received into this fund during the fiscal year \$162.54, and no money paid out; hence there is a balance of \$226.45.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

APPEAL FOR VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

The following is an itemized statement of the amount received from the appeals issued to local unions requesting appropriations to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, and an itemized statement of the moneys paid out of that fund during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1910.....	\$34,024 71
Receipts from October 1, 1910, to September 30, 1911.....	
Total	\$34,024 71

EXPENSES.

On account of attorney fees and expenses:	
Parker, Hatch & Sheehan.....	\$5,562 97
Ralston, Siddons & Richardson.....	5,275 53
Balance for cost of writ of certiorari to Court of Appeals.....	19 40
Cost of appeal from Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia.....	270 92
Cost of reporting arguments in contempt case.....	180 00
Expenses for month of October, 1910, Samuel Gompers, President.....	183 75
Expenses incurred in attending conferences relative to the injunction and contempt proceedings, John Mitchell.....	66 60
Stenographic services in the contempt proceedings against officers of the A. F. of L.,.....	35 00
Total	\$11,594 17

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	\$34,024 71
Expenses	11,594 17
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....	\$22,430 54

TWO-CENT ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied on the membership of all affiliated organizations on April 22, 1910, upon the application of the officers of the United Hatters based upon the instructions of the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the Executive Council to take whatever action was necessary to carry into effect the resolution adopted by that Convention, pledging the moral and financial assistance of the American Federation of Labor in their struggle. The proceeds of this assessment are being used to defray the expenses in taking an appeal from the decision of the Federal Court of the State of Connecticut, under which the Loewe Company was awarded damages against the members of the Hatters in the sum of \$222,000, to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of New York and New England.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1910.....	\$21,196 80
Receipts from unions, October 1, 1910, to September 30, 1911.....	2,280 40
Refund from Anti-Boycott Association of costs incurred in appealing Hatters' case..	5,348 90
Total.....	\$28,826 10

EXPENSES.

On account of attorney fees and expenses:	
Parker, Hatch & Sheehan.....	\$5,014 55
Bristol, Stoddard, Beach & Fisher	2,524 27
Frank L. Mulholland.....	1,975 23
Fee of clerk of Circuit Court of Appeals.....	825 00
Balance for printing appeal in case of <i>Lawlor vs. D. E. Loewe et al.</i>	586 57
Total	\$10,925 62

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	\$28,826 10
Expenses	10,925 62
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....	\$17,900 48

CHARTERS ISSUED.

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1911, there have been issued 326 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, three were granted to the following Internationals:

White Rats Actors' Union of America.

American Brotherhood of Slate Workers.

Western Federation of Miners.

Trade unions, 207; Federal Labor unions, 55.

Sixty-one Central bodies, as follows:

Arizona:	Kentucky:	Oklahoma:
Prescott.	Lexington.	Durant.
Tucson.	Maine:	Henrietta.
Arkansas:	East Millinocket.	Muskogee.
Russellville.	Rumford.	Oregon:
California:	Massachusetts:	Baker.
Petaluma.	Norfolk County.	Medford and Vicinity.
Richmond.	Michigan:	Roseburg.
Santa Rosa.	Ludington.	Salem.
Stanislaus County.	Minnesota:	The Dalles.
Colorado:	Crookston.	Pennsylvania:
Alamosa.	International Falls.	Hazleton.
Silverton.	Virginia.	Point Marion.
Connecticut:	Mississippi:	Quakertown and Vicinity.
Meriden.	Meridian.	Porto Rico:
South Norwalk.	Montana:	Juncos.
Florida:	Cascade County.	Tennessee:
St. Augustine.	Lewistown.	Knoxville.
Georgia:	Nevada:	Texas:
Augusta.	Ely.	Bridgeport.
Illinois:	New Jersey:	Cleburne.
Calro.	Atlantic City and Vicinity.	Paris and Vicinity.
Lincoln.	Passaic.	Temple.
Olney.	New York:	Texarkana.
Indiana:	Hudson Falls.	Washington:
Frankfort.	North Carolina:	Elma.
Iowa:	Rowan County.	Wenatchee.
Mason City.	North Dakota:	West Virginia:
Kansas:	Grand Forks.	Huntington.
Arkansas City.	Ohio:	Wisconsin:
Coffeyville.	East Palestine	Beloit.
Fort Scott.		

CHARTERS ISSUED 1897-1911.

YEAR.	In-ternational.	De-part-ment.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total.
1897	8		2	18	154	35	217
1898	9		0	12	129	53	203
1899	9		1	35	303	101	449
1900	14		5	96	484	250	849
1901	7		4	133	575	207	916
1902 (eleven months)	14		6	127	598	279	1,024
1903	20		3	171	743	306	1,333
1904	11		5	99	179	149	443
1905	3		1	67	143	73	287
1906	6		4	53	167	87	317
1907	3		1	72	204	93	373
1908	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910	2	0	1	83	152	96	334
1911	3	0	0	61	207	55	326
Totals	112	4	39	1,130	4,215	1,961	7,481

International	3
Central	61
Federal Labor Union	55
Local Trade Union	207
Total	326

VOTING STRENGTH.

The following table, shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1903 up to and including 1911. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor by affiliated organizations:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Allied Metal Mech. Intl.	113	70	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	154	162	120	106	110	105	107	127	138
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	208	236	227	231	241	255	255	205	285
Bill Posters	10	13	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.	70	105	100	82	93	106	100	100	100
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.	174	190	134	128	157	152	126	161	190
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	297	320	320	321	320	320	320	325	327
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.	81	65	66	68	89	79	71	78	79
Bottle Blowers' Asso. of U. S. and Canada.	61	66	70	78	80	88	93	100	100
Brewery Workmen, International Union	300	305	340	360	*	400	400	400	450
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers'	55	73	41	64	43	28	25	38	34
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	11	11	10	10	9	8	8	6	7
Brushmakers' International Union	7	7	5	5	5	4	2	2	2
Building Employes of Amer., Intl. Union of	8	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated.	45	50	48	43	58	81	73	71	78
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.	1090	1554	1432	1637	1929	1796	1640	1904	1946
Carriage and Wagon Workers.	49	55	32	31	31	15	15	11	20
Carvers' Union, International Wood.	24	21	16	16	16	13	13	12	12
Car Workers, International Association of.	128	102	50	49	50	44	50	50	46
Cement Workers.	55	44	36	42	58	73	90	90	90
Chainmakers' National Union.	6	6	6	6	6	6	3	2	c
Cigarmakers' International Union.	383	405	414	391	399	409	398	432	436
Clerks, Bro. of Railway							56	50	50
Clerks, Intl. Protective Asso., Retail.	500	500	500	500	500	500	150	150	150
Clerks, National Post-office					9	12	13	14	15
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.	25	20	26	21	23	13	15	21	22
Clothingmakers, Special Order of.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Commercial Telegraphers.	10	20	20	20	35	19	10	10	10
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers'	12	12	13	13	13	13	8	6	6
Coopers' International Union.	72	71	56	55	53	49	41	41	43
Coremakers' International Union	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Curtain Operatives, Amalgamated Lace.	5	6	7	8	8	8	8	8	9
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union.			3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	183	210	210	210	302	321	138	160	189
Elevator Constructors.	21	22	22	22	23	25	20	21	21
Engineers, International Union of Steam.	142	176	175	175	175	168	161	160	160
Engineers, National Bro. of Coal Hoisting.	9	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary.	143	180	122	123	125	173	107	81	80
Fishermen's National Prot. Asso., Lobster.					6	6	7	7	7
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad.	48	33	34	32	63	78	46	47	40
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.	21	21	9	7	7	8	8	3	*
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of.		10	10	10	10	7	5	7	5
Fur Workers, International Association of.		3	4	4	4	4	2	2	c
Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.	15	15	15	17	17	17	17	17	17
Garment Workers of America, United.	457	457	319	240	334	439	534	542	525
Glass Workers' Union, Flint.	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Glass Workers' International Asso., Amal.	20	17	17	16	14	12	11	12	12
Glass Workers of America, Amal. Window.				58	61	**	**	**	**
Glass House Employes' International Asso.	6	6	2	2	17	17	17	17	17
Glass Snappers, Window.	9	11	12	10	6	*	*	*	*
Glove Workers.	20	20	11	8	8	8	8	8	9
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National.	3	3	3	3	5	5	7	7	7
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife.	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade			2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Granite Cutters' International Asso. of A.	94	99	103	113	126	130	131	134	135
Hatters of North America, United.	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	7	7	3	5	5	8	6	5	5
Horsecarriers and Building Laborers.	82	85	47	50	97	112	88	114	127
Horsechoers of United States and Canada.	44	42	42	41	44	61	72	72	49
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.	391	494	387	345	363	386	398	370	430
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	150	135	100	100	100	100	60	80	45
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Asso.	160	115	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Jewelry Workers' International.	24	24	7	4	6	4	3	4	3
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.	30	22	18	13	23	16	18	187	668
Lathers, Int. Union of W. W. and Metal.	44	59	43	40	40	58	50	50	50
Laundry Workers, International Union.	80	65	46	55	31	40	35	29	26
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.	48	46	40	40	40	40	40	37	26
Leather Workers of America, Amal.	36	25	10	10	10	8	8	8	6
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Asso.				30	23	11	13	17	21
Lithographic Pressfeeders.							10	9	9
Longshoremen's Association, International	400	500	478	340	320	315	213	208	250
Machinists, International Association of.	488	557	485	500	500	621	494	509	671
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5
Maintenance of Way Employes, Intl. Bro. of	87	123	120	120	132	135	100	87	100
Marble Workers, Intl. Association of.	12	6	19	17	20	22	24	27	28
Mattress, Spring, and Bedding Workers.		15	15	17	17	17	17	17	17

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued.

ORGANIZATIONS.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	253	344	62	50	53	63	63	54	31
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.	126	153	130	129	153	161	160	162	172
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.	128	128	103	109	100	100	100	100	100
Metal Workers' Intl. Union, United.	87	96	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Mine Workers of America, United.	2173	2577	2619	2379	2549	2525	2670	2337	2504
Miners, Western Federation of.									513
Mine Managers and Assts. Mutual Aid Assn.	4	4	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Mineral Mine Workers, United.	7	a	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	300	300	300	450	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of.	140	220	308	354	375	375	394	400	500
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union, Intl.	4	4	4	††	††	††	††	††	††
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.	536	677	542	555	624	648	596	635	676
Paper Box Workers, International Union of		12	9	7	†	†	†	†	†
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.	107	88	50	35	31	43	10	16	24
Patternmakers League of N. A.	29	37	36	40	50	55	50	52	56
Pavers and Rammersmen, Intl. Union of.			10	12	15	15	15	15	15
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & Can.	9	12	13	15	18	20	28	32	32
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.		17	22	22	28	29	32	35	37
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl.	65	99	90	80	50	50	40	40	40
Pilots' Association.	5	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pilots' Association of the Great Lakes, Lake				10	†	†	†	†	†
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & Can., Oper.							145	152	137
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, etc.	152	165	150	150	160	180	184	200	237
Potters, Stoneware.	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Powder and High Explosive Workers.	7	7	6	6	5	5	5	5	5
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	61	58	56	56	58	59	59	58	59
Potters, National Union of America.		c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Printing Pressmen, International.	144	160	170	166	166	172	178	186	190
Printers, Plate; of U. S. A., Intl. Steel and									
Copper.	9	10	11	12	12	12	12	13	13
Print Cutters' Assn. of A., Natl.	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Printers, Machine Textile.	4	4	4	4	**	**	**	**	**
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers.							10	7	28
Quarry Workers, International.	12	26	36	38	41	45	45	50	35
Railway Carmen of A., Bro.								50	299
Railway Clerks.	13	6	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Railway Employes' Amal. Assn., St. & Elec.	256	300	300	300	320	320	333	367	393
Railway Expressmen.	14	3	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wks.					10	10	10	11	12
Rubber Workers.	10	2	1	†	†	†	†	†	†
Sawsmiths' National Union.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	136	301	195	194	248	255	168	160	160
Shingle Weavers.	13	14	16	17	18	17	18	18	15
Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers.	26	34	24	20	19	16	16	9	5
Slate and Tile Roofers.	5	7	6	5	6	6	6	6	5
Slate Workers.	8	8	9	18	30	27	21	14	7
SpINNERS' Intl. Union.	25	25	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers	*	*	*	54	55	56	56	56	56
Steel Plate Transferrers' Assn. of America				1	1	1	1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of N.A.	21	24	28	28	29	31	35	40	42
Stonemasons' Association, Journeymen.				85	83	89	80	80	86
Stove Mounters' International Union.	16	17	15	15	15	14	10	9	11
Switchmen's Union of North America.				81	92	83	80	80	87
Tackmakers.	1	2	2	††	††	††	††	††	††
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.	138	159	160	165	167	161	132	117	120
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.	320	840	783	402	366	377	320	358	382
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.	95	150	150	150	150	150	150	200	250
Textile Workers of America, United.	150	105	100	100	114	129	100	100	100
Theatrical Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance.	45	50	55	60	60	62	80	91	98
Tin Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.	18	17	14	19	21	19	17	19	21
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.	18	16	14	14	14	14	15	8	3
Tip Printers.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.	52	56	54	55	51	46	43	41	40
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty, Intl.	16	15	13	9	7	5	6	5	8
Tube Workers of United States & Canada.	15	15	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union								13	17
Typographical Union, International.	435	467	467	438	428	440	475	491	518
Upholsterers, International Union of.	25	30	28	26	26	28	28	28	28
Watch-case Engravers, International.	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Watch-case Makers, International.		d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Weavers, Elastic Goring.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
White Rats Actors' Union of A.	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	80
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.			11	12	10	3	7	6	†
Wood Workers, Amalgamated.	273	283	200	150	93	40	41	32	31
Centrals.	549	569	601	538	574	606	594	632	631
Locals.	828	553	1046	759	713	616	608	647	680
State Branches.	29	32	34	36	37	38	39	39	39
Total vote of Unions.	15238	17355	16338	15639	16425	16862	15880	16757	18033

* Charter revoked. † Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. †† Disbanded.

a Merged with Machinists. b Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. ** Withdrawn.

CHARTERS—Reports from the Secretaries of 85 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 2,345 charters have been issued during the past year, and that 1,129 of the charters surrendered were locals of the National and International unions, and 229 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 63 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 117,596.

STRIKES—Reports from 74 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 1,359 strikes, in which there were 170,539 involved. Of that number 104,455 were benefited and 16,179 not benefited. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$4,706,350.69. Adding to that amount \$173,322.06, donations made by local unions to other unions, we have a grand total of \$4,882,822.75 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Char- ters issued.	Char- ters surren- dered.	Gain in mem- ber- ship.	No. of strikes won.	Strikes com- prom- ised.	Strikes pend- ing.	Strikes lost.	No. in- volved.	No. ben- e- fited.	Not ben- e- fited.	Reduc- tion in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	Cost of strikes.	Dona- tions to other unions.
A. F. of L., directly affiliated locals	202	229	6,769	16	6	2	2	711	419	.....	.....	.....	\$4,525 70	\$5,703 57
Asbestos Workers.....	3	3	240	1	6	1	1	35	.....	.....	.....	10%	25,512 00	11,000 00
Bakers.....	3	6	1,154	12	4	4	4	1,250	50	.....	.....	40%	12,800 00	.....
Barbers.....	42	19	2,012	4	4	.....	.....	200	190	20	2	33 3/4%	800 00	.....
Bill Posters.....	45	12	10	6	4	.....	.....	1,800	.....	.....	.....	38 3/4%	18,000 00	.....
Blacksmiths.....	40	40	124	84	41	3	15	2,864	1,259	472	.....	22 1/2%	115,022 15	705 60
Bookbinders.....	11	2	.....	12	5	.....	.....	212	5,000	.....	.....	.....	12,278 50	12,000 00
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	8	6	.....	8	8	.....	.....	212	.....	.....	.....	.....	811 27	16,304 00
Brewers, United.....	16	17	3,052	84	19	3	2	2,900	.....	.....	.....	.....	72,011 00	.....
Bridge and Trestle Workers.....	11	3	1,300	3	1	1	1	200	.....	.....	.....	40%	3,000 00	700 00
Broommakers.....	.....	.....	.....	7	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	249,177 20	125 00
Brushmakers.....	159	154	8,764	88	15	.....	.....	8,000	7,000	1,000	1	2 1/2% to 5 1/4%	9,364 97	2,114 60
Carpenters, Brotherhood.....	24	4	450	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,000	950	50	.....	25%	400 00	.....
Carpenters, Amalgamated.....	8	2	1,160	4	3	.....	.....	250	100	150	.....	40%	11,620 81	.....
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	.....	.....	3,500	6	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	221,044 70	.....
Car Workers.....	20	8	.....	56	24	3	8	9,664	3,895	56	.....	.....	15,769 46	200 00
Cement Workers.....	11	14	.....	26	17	1	8	484	307	127	.....	.....	2,716 85	.....
Cigarmakers.....	69	1	178	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12,000 00	90 00
Clerks, Retail.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,362 50	300 00
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,700 00	4,200 00
Commercial Telegraphers.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,000 00	8,000 00
Commercial Travelers.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	117 00	.....
Coopers.....	12	6	300	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	138,823 07	15,000 00
Corn Processed Air Workers.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	390,000 00	.....
Curtain Operatives, Lace.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,700 00	.....
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.....	31	5	4,500	6	6	.....	.....	7,000	7,000	.....	.....	.....	12,000 00	.....
Electrical Workers.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,800	1,800	.....	.....	.....	2,362 50	300 00
Elevator Constructors.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	286	71	15%	2 to 4	50% to 150%	3,700 00	4,200 00
Engineers, Steam.....	46	6	500	18	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,000 00	8,000 00
Engineers, Marine.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	117 00	.....
Fire Stationary.....	14	4	5,000	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	138,823 07	15,000 00
Fitters, Steam.....	14	3	250	5	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,700 00	4,200 00
Foundry Employes.....	11	4	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	117 00	.....
Freight Handlers.....	11	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	138,823 07	15,000 00
Garment Workers.....	45	7	.....	19	10	.....	.....	36,000	18,000	6,000	.....	.....	390,000 00	.....
Garment Workers, Ladies.....	39	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,952	602	.....	1	.....	3,700 00	4,200 00

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Char- ters issued.	Char- ters in sub- scrip- tion.	Gain in mem- ber- ship.	No. of strikes	Strikes won.	Strikes pro- mised.	Strikes pend- ing.	Strikes lost.	No. in- volved.	No. ben- e- fitted.	Not ben- e- fitted.	Reduc- tion in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	Cost of strikes.	Dona- tions to other unions.
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	6	3	350	2				2	180		180		c	\$5,277 00	\$5,371 50
Glass Workers.....	5	7	50												125 00
Glove Workers.....	7	2	46						2,650	2,650			25*	\$6,880 25	6,300 00
Granite Cutters.....	22	8		19	14										
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade Hatters.....	2	1													
Hodcarriers.....	73	29	1,756	16	12	4	1		4,000	4,000			40*		4,850 00
Horsehoes.....	11	11	22	2	2				00	00				1,300 00	687 67
Hotel Restaurant Employees.....	72	46	5,242	42	28	7	4	2	744	684	210	1	58	20,485 55	13,197 52
Iron and Steel Workers.....	6	15													50 00
Jewelry Workers.....															
Laathers.....	16	19													
Laundry Workers.....	19	17	2,600	1	1				700	700				75 00	
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....															
Leather Workers, Amal.....	3	3	102												
Lithographers.....	100														
Lithographers Press Feeders.....	37	26	5,000	1	1				600	600			3 1/2 p. wk		125 00
Lithographers Pressmen.....													30*		4,000 00
Machine Printers & Color Mixers.....															
Machinists.....	59	29	10,000	60	35	13	13		12,000	20,000			10*	\$85,990 19	
Maintenance of Way Employees.....	6	2		11	7	1	1	2	2,000	730			30*	15,000 00	6,400 00
Meat Cutters.....															
Metal Polishers.....	22	19		5	3		2		1,040	350			50*	30,000 00	1,850 00
Metal Workers.....	17	20	1,000	10	10	1	3	3	1,400	1,400				2,000 00	
Mine Workers.....	112	159	1,247	16	11		5	1	20,000	200			10*	1,942,566 18	
Mine Workers, Western Federation of.....	25	13	3,000	8	3	2	3		3,000	500				228,825 25	16,392 56
Molders.....	20	12					82							329,746 24	
Musicians.....	40	15	1,000												
Musicians, American.....	40	15	1,000												
Musicians, European.....	40	15	1,000												
Painters.....	105	86	4,020	2				1	400				10*	3,000 00	3,000 00
Painters, American.....	12	1	600	8	7		1	1	583	299				16,542 79	3,000 00
Painters, European.....															
Paving Contractors.....	9	3	300	6	1	5			450	450				17,000 00	900 00
Photo-Engravers.....	6	277	4	4	1		3		272	272			1 1/2	52,463 97	450 00
Piano and Organ Workers.....	4	4	1,200						80	80			2-3 to 3-3	2,232 50	960 00
Plate Printers.....													35	408 00	460 00
Plasterers.....	49	20		m 3	2	1	1	1	18	8	10			2,400 00	712 50
Plumbers.....	55	15	108						80	700				66,318 00	
Post-office Clerks.....					37	3	65	3							
Power.....	2		584	d 1			1	1	131					5,382 76	700 00
Powder & High Explosive Wkrs.....	1	1	62				1		32						1 00

CHARTERS. GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

CHARACTERS ISSUED.	CHAR- TERS SURREN- DERED.	GAIN IN MEM- BERSHIP.	NO. OF STRIKES WON.	STRIKES COM- PRO- MISED.	STRIKES PRE- TENDING.	NO. IN- VOLVED.	NO. BEN- EFITED.	NOT BEN- EFITED.	REDUC- TION IN WAGES, PER DAY.	GAIN IN WAGES.	COST OF STRIKES.	DONA- TIONS TO OTHER UNIONS.
Print Cutters.	36	4	3	2	1	125	115	10			\$85,000 00	\$140 00
Printing Pressmen.	4	1,400	3		1	500					9,400 00	9,400 00
Pulp and Sulphite Workers.	4	300	9		2	600	600		1	82%	1,500 00	150 00
Quarry Workers.	3	1	9								4,137 00	
Railway Carriers.	124	31	1								42,084 99	
Railway Clerks.	25	4	18	12	4	10,000	9,000	1,000			21,875 00	10,109 64
Railway Employees, Street.	6	1	3	1	1	212	200	12	1	40%	500 00	500 00
Railroaders, Composition.		145	3		1	75						
Sawsmiths.			2	1	1	12,000	6,000	6,000			18,000 00	600 00
Shoemakers.	3	1										
Shingle Workers.	1											
Shoemakers, Leather.	2	4	3	3	1	150	150			2%		
Slate and Tile Roofers.		50	1		1	200	100	100	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hr.		500 00	800 00
Slate Workers.			1		1	4,500	4,200		$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hr.	25 to 50%	3,500 00	3,500 00
Spinners.	41	11,000	60	54	5						1,004 25	17 00
Stage Employees.												
Steel Plate Transferrers.		907	6		2	61	61				900 50	86 00
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.	21	2,000	66	66		2,650	2,650	72			1,004 25	
Stereotypers.	1	271	6	3	3	119	47				4,670 00	
Switchboard Operators.	9	8										
Switchmen.	20	13	18	7	5	320	139	30		20%	9,931 00	2,324 65
Tailors.	100	64	1,066	8	1	224	224		$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	9,777 00	2,128 90
Teamsters.	29	13	5	1	1	225					1,000 00	500 00
Textile Workers.	5	145	2	1	1	100	69		37%		620 00	700 00
Tile Layers.												
Tin Plate Workers.			10			1	20					
Typing Printers.	1											
Travelers.												
Travelers' Goods and Leather.										3%	400 00	48 00
Novelty Workers.	4	1	250	1		250	50	200		25%	65,051 18	500 00
Tunnel and Subway Constructors.	26	14	80	7		60	60				4,600 00	200 00
Typographical Union.	2	3,247	25	11	7	180	180	67	46%	50%		
Upholsterers.	4	2	3			290	198					
Woolen and Elastic Goods.												
Woolen Workers.												
White Hats Actors.			91	91		480					1,860 00	30 05
Wood Workers.		184										
Totals.	2,315	117,596	1,369	612	90	170,526	104,655	16,179			4,700,550.59	173,202.06

a in one city; *b* for 40 members; *c* \$1 per member per week in one city; *d* lockout; *e* 76 involved in pending disputes; *f* gains in wages for all members totaled \$4,167,724.00; *g* lockout; *h* for 900 men; \$1 to \$3 per week; for 10,000; *k* $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hour; *m* lockouts; *n* 200 returned to work under same conditions; for 1 698 men.

*Per day.

BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR.*

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
A. F. of L. locals	\$2,814 00		\$75 00	\$905 04		\$744 00
Bakers	1,847 85	500 00	\$4,076 50			750,000 00
Barbers	24,955 00		17,499 25			
Boilermakers	3,500 00		40,888 00			
Bookbinders	4,450 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers	11,500 00		75,402 08			
Brick, Tile & Terra Cotta Wkrs.	400 00					
Bridge & Structural Iron Wkrs.	12,300 00					
Broommakers	2,000 00		1,000 00			
Brushmakers	100 00					
Carpenters, Brotherhood	279,107 07	84,775 00		125 00		
Carpenters, Amalgamated	1,450 00		8,970 83	150 25	\$3,029 00	28,800 61
Carriage and Wagon Workers	1,050 00					
Carvers, Wood	2,750 00				1,040 00	
Cigarmakers	226,717 53		180,438 50	30,828 77		39,917 00
Clerks, Retail	10,410 00		25,630 00			
Coopers	3,150 00					
Curtain Operatives, Lace	2,900 00	200 00				
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers	875 00					
Electrical Workers	11,300 00					
Engravers, Watch-case			157 00			
Firemen, Stationary	6,500 00	1,250 00	840 00			
Fitters, Steam	2,500 00					
Foundry Employes	250 00		485 00			
Glass Bottle Blowers	53,664 00					12,854 00
Glass Workers, Amalgamated	425 00					
Hatters	58,164 00					
Hodcarriers	3,150 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Empl's	41,135 78		34,345 75			
Iron and Steel Workers	3,350 00	700 00	8,130 00			
Jewelry Workers			56 00			
Lathers	5,900 00					
Lithographers	12,300 00					
Lithographic Pressfeeders	30 00					
Machinists	55,110 00					
Meat Cutters and But. Work.	1,550 00		135,429 21			
Metal Polishers	5,350 00		156,791 60			25,896 00
Metal Workers, Sheet	11,400 00		12,675 00			
Miners, Western Fed. of	32,711 90		5,170 32		979 70	4,200 50
Molders	72,448 85					
Painters	90,125 00	11,075 00				
Patternmakers	2,800 00					
Paving Cutters	3,200 00					
Photo-Engravers	2,125 00		5,355 14			27,414 00
Piano and Organ Workers	2,400 00	400 00	3,987 56			1,209 60
Plasterers	18,450 00					
Plate Printers	2,000 00					
Plumbers	12,800 00		38,060 00			
Potters	4,325 00					
Powder and High Ex. Wkrs.						68 00
Print Cutters	1,000 00					
Printing Pressmen	18,500 00					
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers						1,000 00
Quarry Workers	850 00					
Railroad Telegraphers	92,500 00					
Railway Carmen	3,217 00					
Railway Employes, Street	24,300 00		20,452 17			
Roofers, Composition	2,500 00		1,000 00			
Shingle Weavers	1,185 00					
Slate and Tile Roofers	1,100 00					
Slate Workers	250 00	50 00				
Spinners	600 00	100 00				20,000 00
Stage Employes	4,000 00	800 00		2,000 00		6,000 00
Steel Plate Transferers				20 00		
Stereotypers & Electrotypers	4,700 00					
Stone Cutters	16,000 00					
Stone Mounters	1,300 00					
Switchmen	129,367 50					
Tailors	11,027 70		21,196 35			
Textile Workers	385 00					
Tip Printers						50 00
Tobacco Workers	350 00		5,993 00			
Travelers' Goods and Leather						
Novelty Workers			300 00			
Tunnel and Subway Con.	1,600 00		500 00	1,600 00		500 00
Typographical Union	47,920 00					
Weavers, Elastic Goring	200 00					20 00
Weavers, Wire	500 00		768 65			
White Rats Actors	217 50		2,000 82	14,155 65		
Totals	1,471,381 37	49,925 00	818,556 88	58,784 71	5,618 70	218,742 71

†Paid locally. *See top of following page for further information.

Your attention is called to the fact that the amounts herein reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year, are those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. A number of international unions have not as yet established benefit features, and others pay only partial benefits. It must be borne in mind that in every trade, local unions have existed independently prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception, they provide death, sick, out of work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of a local union. This system has retarded international unions in establishing and extending benefit features, for the reason that it is difficult to bring locals that have to support their own benefit funds to consent to increase the tax to such an amount as would enable the internationals to secure the means for such purpose. In most instances, benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief, paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 200. Number of strikes, 1; pending, 1. Number involved, 35. No reductions in wages in the past year.
- Bakers.**—Charters issued, 38; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,734. Number of strikes, 12; won, 8; pending, 4. Number of persons benefited, 1,250. Gain in wages averaging 10 per cent per member per day. Hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. Death benefits, \$1,847.86; death benefits, members' wives, \$500; sick benefits, \$17,400.25; unemployed benefits, \$50,000. Donations to other unions, \$11,000. Cost of strikes, \$25,512. As a result of the organization hours of labor have been reduced from 15 to 18 per day to 8 and 9 per day, and wages increased from \$9 to \$10 per week to \$18 and \$20 per week, with better sanitary conditions.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 19. Gain in membership, 2,012. Number of strikes, 4; won, 4. Number of persons involved, 561; benefited, 561. Gain in wages of 40 cents per member per day; one-half hour reduction in the hours of labor per day. Death benefits, \$24,555; sick benefits, \$40,886. Cost of strikes, \$12,200.
- Bill Posters.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 10. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 180; not benefited, 20. Gain in wages of 38½ cents per member per day. Average reduction of hours of labor, 2 per day. As a result of the organization wages have been increased on an average of \$2 and \$3 per week.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 45; surrendered, 12. Number of strikes, 6; won, 4; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,800. Average gain in wages of 2 cents per hour. Gains in other respects, recognition of federated trades and better shop rules. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Secured an eight-hour agreement with the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Cost of strikes, \$13,000.
- Boilermakers.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 40. Number of strikes, 84; won, 41; compromised, 3; pending, 25; lost, 15. Number of persons involved, 2,864; benefited, 1,229; not benefited, 472. Average gain in wages of 22½ cents per day. A number of contracts were signed and agreements secured without strike. Death benefits, \$3,500. Donations to other unions, \$705.60. Cost of strikes, \$115,022.15.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 124. Number of strikes, 12; won, 5; pending, 7. Death benefits, \$4,450. Cost of strikes, \$12,273.50.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 6. Number of strikes, 8; won, 8. Number of persons involved, 212; benefited, 5,000. Secured an agreement, involving 2,500 members, resulting in an increase in wages aggregating \$300,000 a year, without strike. Saturday half-holiday secured in many factories. Death benefits, \$11,500; sick benefits, \$72,252.08; disability benefits, \$3,150. Donations to other unions, \$12,000. Cost of strikes, \$811.27.
- Brewery Workmen.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 3,052. Number of strikes, 34; won, 19; compromised, 10; pending, 3; lost, 2. Advantages gained without strikes, wages increased and hours of labor reduced through contract renewals. No reductions in wages in the past year. Donations to other unions, \$16,304. Cost of strikes, \$72,011.
- Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 17. Number of strikes, 3; compromised, 2; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,900. Attempts were made to reduce wages in some instances, but they were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$400.

- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 1,300. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; compromised, 1. Death benefits, \$12,300.
- Broommakers.—Number of strikes, 7; won, 5; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 200. Increase in wages of 40 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$2,000; sick benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$700. Cost of strikes, \$3,000.
- Brushmakers.—Gain in membership, 20. Death benefits, members' wives, \$100. Donations to other trade unions, \$125. Traveling benefits, \$125.
- Carpenters, Brotherhood.—Charters issued, 158; surrendered, 154. Gain in membership, 8,764. Number of strikes, 38; won, 15; compromised, 20; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 8,000; benefited, 7,000; not benefited, 1,000. From 2½ to 5 cents per hour gain in wages. Average reduction in hours of labor of 1 per day. Death benefits, \$279,107.07; death benefits, members' wives, \$31,775. Cost of strikes, \$249,177.20.
- Carpenters, Amalgamated.—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 4. Increase in membership, 650. Death benefits, \$1,450; accident benefits, \$3,925; unemployed benefits, \$28,899.61; sick benefits, \$8,970.83; tool benefits, \$3,629; traveling benefits, \$150.25; superannuation benefits, \$10,264.31. Cost of strikes, \$3,364.97.
- Carriage and Wagon Workers.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 1,100. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,000; number of persons benefited, 920; not benefited, 80. Average gain in wages of 20 cents per member per day. Successfully resisted piece-work system and open shop. Death benefits, \$1,050. Cost of strikes, \$400.
- Carvers, Wood.—Number of strikes, 6; won, 2; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 100; not benefited, 100. Gain in wages in one city of 40 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$2,750; tool insurance, \$1,040. Cost of strikes, \$11,620.81.
- Car Workers.—No report.
- Cement Workers.—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 8.
- Cigarmakers.—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 14. Number of strikes, 56; won, 24; compromised, 3; pending, 21; lost, 8. Number of persons involved, 9,664; benefited, 3,395; not benefited, 85. Death benefits, \$226,717.53; sick benefits, \$189,438.59; traveling benefits, \$39,828.77; unemployed benefits, \$39,917. Cost of strikes, \$221,044.70.
- Clerks, Retail.—Charters issued, 60. Death benefits, \$10,410; sick benefits, \$25,690.
- Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 178. Number of strikes, 20; won, 17; pending, 1; lost, 8. Number of persons involved, 434; benefited, 397; not benefited, 127. Successful in adjusting prices in a number of instances without strikes. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$15,709.46.
- Commercial Telegraphers.—Seven per cent increase secured for 300 telegraphers. Donations to other unions, \$200.
- Compressed Air and Foundation Workers.—No report.
- Coopers.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 800. In all new contracts signed, an increase in wages was secured, and in some instances reduction of hours. Death benefits, \$3,150. Cost of strikes, \$2,716.85.
- Curtain Operatives, Lace.—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 97. Death benefits, \$2,900; death benefits, members' wives, \$200.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.—Death benefits, \$375. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced 10 per week, and wages increased 25 per cent.
- Electrical Workers.—Charters issued, 31; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 4,500. Number of strikes, 6; won, 6. Number of persons benefited, 7,000. Gain in wages averaging 30 cents per member per day. One local increased wages from \$4.50 to \$6 a day. Death benefits, \$11,300. Donations to other unions, \$90. Cost of strikes, \$12,000.
- Elevator Constructors.—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 68. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,800; benefited, 1,800. Forty members in one city secured an increase in wages of 25 cents per day.
- Engineers, Steam.—Charters issued, 46; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 500. Number of strikes, 18; won, 8; compromised, 3; lost, 7. Number of persons involved, 286; benefited, 71; 300 returned to work under same conditions; number displaced, 15. Gains in wages vary from 50 cents to \$1.50 per day. Working day reduced 2 to 4 hours. Large number of agreements made with employers, without strike, benefiting several thousand. Cost of strikes, \$2,302.50.
- Engravers, Watch-case.—No increases in wages in the past year. Sick benefits, \$157. Donations to other unions, \$200.

- Firemen, Stationary.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 5,000. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 217; benefited, 217. Gain in wages averaging 24½ cents per member per day. Hours of labor reduced 4 per day for 900 men. Death benefits, \$6,500; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,250; sick benefits, \$840. Donations to other unions, \$4,200. Cost of strikes, \$3,700.
- Fitters, Steam.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 250. Number of strikes, 5; won, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 640; benefited, 300. 25 cents per member per day gain in wages. Organization has prevented reductions in wages; secured a minimum scale and increased wages on an average of 5 per cent. Death benefits, \$2,500. Donations to other unions, \$8,000.
- Foundry Employees.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Death benefits, \$250; sick benefits, \$485. Donations to other unions, \$117.
- Freight Handlers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 4. Number of strikes, 1; lost, 1; number of persons involved, 200.
- Garment Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 45; surrendered, 19. 36,000 members were involved in strikes during the year; 18,000 benefited. Gain in wages averaging 10 per cent. Gains in other respects: tailors furnished needles; no charge for damages without showing the tailor or cutter the garments damaged; no charge for spools and oil cans. Donations to other unions, \$15,000. Cost of strikes, \$133,823.07.
- Garment Workers, Ladies.**—Charters issued, 39; surrendered, 7. Number of strikes, 19; won, 10; pending 5; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 15,802; benefited, 902. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. In some cases wages and hours were adjusted by mutual agreement and conferences with employers. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted in most cases, and in others settlement was effected on the basis of a compromise under which union standards were maintained. Cost of strikes, \$300,000.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 350. Death benefits, \$53,664.60; unemployed benefits, \$12,854. Donations to other unions, \$5,374.50.
- Glass Workers, Amalgamated.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 50. Number of strikes, 2; lost, 2. Number involved, 180. Minimum wage increased \$1 a week in one city, without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$425. Donations to other unions, \$125. Cost of strikes, \$5,277.90.
- Glove Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 45. Agreements have been signed with several manufacturers securing an increase in prices and better conditions.
- Granite Cutters.**—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 8. Number of strikes, 19; won, 14; pending 5. Number of persons involved, 2,650; benefited, 2,650. An average gain in wages of 25 cents per day. Half-holiday on Saturday secured for part of the year; full half-holiday will be inaugurated after 1913. Forty branches secured 25 cents increase without strike. Donations to other unions, \$6,300. Cost of strikes, \$66,830.26.
- Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Increased wages and shorter workday were secured in some localities without strike. Organization has just inaugurated a sick benefit.
- Hatters.**—Death benefits, \$58,164.00. Donations to other unions, \$4,850.
- Hodearriers.**—Charters issued, 73; surrendered, 29. Gain in membership, \$1,756. Number of strikes, 16; won, 12; compromised, 4. Number of persons involved, 4,000; benefited, 4,000. Gain in wages averaging 40 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$3,150. Donations to other unions, \$687.67.
- Horseshoers.**—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 11. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Number of persons involved, 60; benefited, 60. Average gain in wages, 50 cents per day. An average reduction of 1 hour per day in the hours of labor. Cost of strikes, \$1,200.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees.**—Charters issued, 72; surrendered, 56. Gain in membership, 5,242. Number of strikes, 42; won, 29; compromised, 7; pending, 4; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 744; benefited, 534; not benefited, 210. Average gain in wages of 5 per cent. Several cities gained a six-day week. Death benefits, \$11,135.78; sick benefits, \$34,345.75. Donations to other unions, \$13,197.52. Cost of strikes, \$20,488.55.
- Iron and Steel Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 15. Death benefits, \$3,350; death benefits, members' wives, \$700; sick benefits, \$8,130. Donations to other unions, \$50.
- Jewelry Workers.**—Charters issued 1. Sick benefits, \$56.
- Lathers.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 19. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$5,900.
- Laundry Workers.**—Charters issued, 19; surrendered, 17. Gain in membership, 2,600. Number of strikes, 1; won; number of persons involved, 700; benefited, 700. Reduction of hours and slight raise in wages secured in some localities without strike. Eight-hour day for several of the western locals through legislation. Cost of strikes, \$75.

- Leather Workers on Horse Goods.**—No report.
- Leather Workers, Amal.**—Charters issued, 3.
- Lithographers.**—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 402. Eight-hour day has been extended almost universally throughout the trade. Death benefits, \$12,300.
- Lithographic Press Feeders.**—Gain in membership, 100. An increase in wages of from 8 to 12 per cent secured for every member, without strike, being second increase in four years. Death benefits, \$800. Donations to other unions, \$125.
- Longshoremen.**—Charters issued, 37; surrendered, 26. Gain in membership, 5,000. Number of strikes, 1; won. Number of persons involved, 600; benefited, 600. An average gain in wages of 30 cents per member per day. Donations to other unions, \$4,000. No reductions in wages in the past year.
- Machine Printers and Color Mixers.**—One strike pending to secure better conditions in a non-union establishment.
- Machinists.**—Charters issued, 59; surrendered, 29. Gain in membership, 10,000. Number of strikes, 60; won, 35; compromised, 12; pending, 13. Number of persons involved, 12,000; benefited, 20,000. Ten per cent increase in wages. Reduction of 1 hour per day in the hours of labor for 10,000 members. Death benefits, \$55,110. Cost of strikes, \$386,990.19.
- Marble Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 11; won, 7; compromised, 1; pending, 1; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 2,600; benefited, 730; balance in strike pending. An average gain in wages of 36 cents per member per day. Union shop and minimum wagescale for three shops secured without strike. One attempt to reduce wages is now being resisted by strike. Where organized, the trade has secured the 8 hour day. Donations to other unions, \$6,400. Cost of strikes, \$15,000.
- Meat Cutters.**—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 19. Number of strikes, 5; won, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons benefited, 1,040. Wages increased 50 cents per day, and hours of labor reduced $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 per day; 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ -hour day secured in two cities. Wages increased \$3 per week in 16 cities, without strike. Death benefits, \$1,550.
- Metal Polishers.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 20. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 15; won, 6; compromised, 1; pending, 2; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 500; benefited, 350; not benefited, 150. Slight improvement in wages and hours. As a result of organization, wages have been increased from \$1.75 per day to \$3.50 and \$4, better blower laws in nearly every State, 9-hour day secured and in some instances 8. Death benefits, \$5,350. Donations to other unions, \$1,350. Cost of strikes, \$20,000.
- Metal Workers, Sheet.**—Charters issued, 36; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 400. Number of strikes, 15; won, 11; pending, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,600; benefited, 1,400; not benefited, 200. An average gain in wages of about 10 per cent per member per day. Good progress has been made in the past year toward establishing the 9-hour day in railroad shops and factory work; 8-hour day prevails for members in the building trades. Death benefits, \$11,400. Cost of strikes, \$24,700.
- Mine Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 112; surrendered, 159. Gain in membership, 1,247. Number of strikes, 8; compromised, 2; pending, 5; lost, 1. Cost of strikes, \$1,942,566.18.
- Miners, Western Federation of.**—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 13. Gain in membership, 3,000. Number of strikes, 8; won, 3; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 3,000; benefited, 500. Advantages gained through legislation in Nevada and Colorado. Wages were maintained against threatened reduction in Ontario; 10 per cent increase in wages in Kansas and Carolina; hours reduced from 10 to 8 in mills in Utah. Death benefits, \$32,711.90; sick benefits, \$136,429.21. Donations to other unions, \$16,262.56. Cost of strikes, \$228,832.25.
- Molders, Iron.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 12. Thirty-two strikes pending. Death benefits \$72,448.85; sick benefits, \$156,791.60. Unemployed benefits, \$25,866. Cost of strikes, \$329,746.24.
- Musicians.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 15. Gain in membership, 1,000.
- Painters.**—Charters issued, 106; surrendered, 86. Gain membership, 4,020. Death benefits, \$90,125; death benefits, members' wives, \$11,075; sick benefits, \$12,675.
- Papermakers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,500. Number of strikes, 2; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 400. Five additional mills adopted 8-hour day. Cost of strikes, \$3,000. From June 1, 1910, to October 1, 1911, increase in wages for all employees in mills aggregates about \$1,000,000. Operation of paper mills making newspaper, hanging paper, and bag paper is quite generally under the 8-hour day, while mills making book, writing, bond and other papers are, with few exceptions, working 11 hours per day and 13 hours per night. Maximum wage, 54 cents per hour; eight years ago, 33 cents per hour.

- Patternmakers.**—Gain in membership, 600. Eight strikes and 5 lockouts; 7 strikes won; 1 strike and 5 lockouts pending. Number of persons involved, 393 in strikes and 96 in lockouts; benefited, 299. Death benefits, \$2,800; sick benefits, \$5,170.32; tool insurance, \$979.70. Unemployed benefits, \$4,200.50. Donations to other unions, \$5,600. Cost of strikes, \$16,542.70.
- Pavers.**—No report.
- Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 300. Number of strikes, 6; won, 1; compromised, 5. Number of persons involved, 450. One hundred and twenty-five secured 15 per cent increase and a slight gain for the balance. Death benefits, \$3,200. Donations to other unions, \$960. Cost of strikes, \$17,000.
- Photo-Engravers.**—Charters issued, 6. Gain in membership, 277. Number of strikes, 4; won, 1; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 272; benefited, 272. Hours of labor reduced, 2-6 to 2 of an hour per day. Increase in wages and apprentice ratio are among advantages gained without strike. Death benefits, \$2,125; sick benefits, \$5,355.14; unemployed benefits, \$27,414. Cost of strikes, \$52,463.97.
- Piano and Organ Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,200. Number of strikes, 1; compromised. Number of persons involved, 80; benefited, 80. Secured a minimum wage scale for day work of 35 cents an hour for Chicago and vicinity. Death benefits, \$2,100; death benefits, members' wives, \$400; sick benefits, \$3,987.50; unemployed benefits, \$1,209.60. Donations to other unions, \$450. Cost of strikes, \$2,322.50.
- Plate Printers.**—Number of strikes, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 18; benefited, 8; not benefited, 10. Three per cent increase in wages. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$2,000. Donations to other unions, \$712.50. Cost of strikes, \$108.
- Plasterers.**—Charters issued, 49; surrendered, 20. Thirty-one locals asked for an increase in wages or better conditions. Three lockouts. Number of persons involved, 800; benefited, 700. Attempt to reduce wages in one instance successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$18,450. Cost of strikes, \$2,400.
- Plumbers.**—Charters issued (to August, 1911), 55; surrendered, 15. Number of strikes, 108; won, 37; compromised, 3; pending, 65; lost, 3. Death benefits, \$12,800; sick benefits, \$38,900. Cost of strikes, \$96,318.
- Post-office Clerks.**—Reports substantial gains during the past year, and bright prospects for steady progress.
- Potters.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 584. Number of strikes, 1; pending. Number of persons involved, 121. Renewed two-year agreement for some branches, with slight increase in wages. Death benefits, \$4,325. Donations to other unions, \$700. Cost of strikes, \$5,382.75.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 32. One lockout; pending. Number involved, 32. Forty-seven members gained an increase in wages without strike. Unemployed benefits, \$68.
- Print Cutters.**—Maintained previous year's conditions. Death benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$140.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 36; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,460. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 125; benefited, 115; not benefited, 10. 12 per cent gain in wages per member per day. Increase in wages secured for 60 per cent of the membership, without strike. Death benefits, \$18,500. Donations to other unions, \$9,400. Cost of strikes, \$82,000.
- Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 300. Number of strikes, 3; pending, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 590. Unemployed benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$150. Cost of strikes, \$1,500. As a result of the organization, Sunday work has been eliminated, 8-hour day generally established, and wages increased 20 per cent.
- Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 9; won, 9. Number of persons involved, 600; benefited, 600. Thirty-two cents average gain in wages per member per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Gains in other respects, time and a-half and double time for overtime and holidays. Twenty-two branches, affecting 1,212 men, increased wages from 1 to 3 cents per hour. Death benefits, \$850. Cost of strikes, \$4,137.
- Railroad Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 3. Death benefits, \$92,500. Increases in wages for members, aggregate \$2,100,000.
- Railway Carmen.**—Charters issued, 124; surrendered, 34. Gain in membership, 9,592. Secured renewal of agreements with several large systems with a substantial increase in pay, averaging 2 cents per hour per man in the United States and from 3 to 5 cents per hour per man in Canada. Death benefits, \$3,217. Cost of strikes, \$42,034.99.
- Railway Clerks.**—No report.
- Railway Employes, Street.**—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 18; won, 12; pending, 4; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 10,000; benefited, 9,000; not benefited, 1,000. Increase in wages varies from 1/4 cent an hour to 5 cents an hour, aggregating over \$2,000,000 per year. Death benefits, \$24,300; sick benefits, \$20,452.17. Donations to other unions, \$10,160.54. Cost of strikes, \$24,875.
- Roofers.**—Composition.—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 145. Number of strikes, 3; won, 1; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 212; benefited, 200; not benefited, 12. Gain in wages averaging 40 cents per member per day. Reduction in hours of labor averaging 1 hour per day. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$2,500; sick benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$500. As a result of organization wages have been raised from \$1.75, \$2, and \$2.25 for a 9 and 10 hour day to an average of \$1 for 8 hours.
- Sawsmiths.**—No reductions in wages the past year. Wages increased, in some cases, 10 and 15 cents an hour.
- Seamen.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 12,000; benefited, 6,000; not benefited, 6,000. An average gain in wages of \$2.50 per member per month. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Other improvements: better food, better quarters. Cost of strikes, \$18,000.
- Shingle Weavers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Sick benefits, \$1,185. Donations to other unions, \$500.

- Slate and Tile Roofers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 50. Number of strikes, 3; won, 3. Number of persons involved, 150; benefited, 150. Gain in wages averaging 25 per cent per member per day. Death benefits, \$1,100.
- Slate Workers.**—Death benefits, \$50; death benefits members' wives, \$50.
- Spinners.**—Number of strikes, 3; won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 100. Hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. Death benefits, \$600; death benefits, members' wives, \$100; unemployed benefits, \$30,000. Donations to other unions, \$80. Cost of strikes, \$500. As a result of organization, the working week for members has been reduced 2 hours.
- Stage Employees.**—Charters issued, 41; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 11,000. Number of strikes, 60; won, 64; compromised, 1; pending, 5; 4,200 members secured a wage increase averaging from 25 to 50 per cent. Reduction in hours secured averaged from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hour. Death benefits, \$4,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$800; traveling benefits, \$2,000; unemployed benefits, \$6,000. Donations to other unions, \$3,500. Cost of strikes, \$3,500.
- Steel Plate Transferrers.**—Wages improved in the past year without strike. Traveling benefits \$30. Donations to other unions, \$17.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—Charters issued, 7. Gain in membership, 267. Number of strikes, 6; won, 4; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 61; benefited, 61. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$4,700. Cost of strikes, \$1,004.25.
- Stone Cutters.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 66; won, 66. Number of persons involved, 2,650; benefited, 2,650; Sixty-six branches secured increases in wages, aggregating \$205,000 a year. Nine additional branches secured Saturday half-holiday. Death benefits, \$16,000. Cost of strikes, \$660.50.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 271. Number of strikes, 6; won, 3; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 119; benefited, 47; not benefited, 72. Death benefits, \$1,300. Donations to other unions, \$80. Cost of strikes, \$4,670.
- Switchmen.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 69. Death benefits, \$129,367.50.
- Tailors.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 13. Number of strikes, 18; won, 7; compromised, 1; pending, 5; lost, 5. Number of persons involved, 330; benefited, 139; not benefited, 30. Gain in wages averaging 20 cents per member per day for members benefited by strike. Price bills were signed in one or more stores in 44 cities, without strike, averaging a gain of 10 per cent in wages. All attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$11,027.70; sick benefits, \$21,196.35. Donations to other unions, \$2,324.65. Cost of strikes, \$6,961.
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 100; surrendered, 64. Gain in membership, 1,666. Number of strikes, 8; won, 7; pending, 1. Number of persons involved 244; benefited, 224. Gain in wages of from \$1 to \$3 per week. Hours of labor reduced one-half to one hour per day. Donations to other unions, \$2,128.90. Cost of strikes, \$9,777.
- Textile Workers.**—Charters issued, 29; surrendered, 13. Death benefits, \$885. Number of strikes, 3; 1 compromised; 1 pending; 1 lost. Number of persons involved, 225. Cost of strikes, \$10,000. Legislation secured in Massachusetts reducing working hours from 56 to 54 per week and prohibiting the firing of weavers for imperfect work.
- Tile Layers.**—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 145. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons benefited, 60. Gain in wages averaging 37½ cents per member per day. Gained union shop and increased wages in several cities without strike. Cost of strikes, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$500.
- Tin Plate Workers.**—No report.
- Tip Printers.**—One lockout; lost. Number involved, 20. Cost, \$620. Unemployed benefits, \$50.
- Tobacco Workers.**—Hours shortened and wages raised from 3 to 7 per cent in several instances. Death benefits, \$950; sick benefits, \$5,968. Donations to other unions, \$700.
- Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 250. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 250; benefited, 50; not benefited, 30. Gain in wages averaging 3 per cent. Hours of labor were reduced in some instances from 10 to 9, others from 9½ to 9. Donations to other unions, \$18. Cost of strikes, \$40.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 80. Number of strikes, 1; won, 1. Number of persons involved, 60; benefited, 60. Gain in wages of 25 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$1,600; sick benefits, \$500; traveling benefits, \$1,600; unemployed benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$500. Cost of strikes, \$150. As a result of organization conditions have been improved from \$2.50 a day for 10 hours to \$3.50 for 8 hours, and on all new contracts, \$3.75.
- Typographical Union.**—(Year ending June 1, 1911.) Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 3,247. Number of strikes, 25; won, 7; pending, 11; lost, 7. Number of persons involved, 189; benefited, 67; not benefited, 46; 76 involved in pending strikes. Local No. 6 of New York City secured two notable settlements; namely, with the Butterick Publishing Company and the DeVinne Press, both disputes of five years' standing, as a result of the general movement of the I. T. U. to inaugurate the 8-hour day. Local unions in 166 cities secured substantial increases in wages, for their members, under new agreements. Gains in wages for the members for the year total \$1,167,724. Death benefits, \$47,920. Defense expenditure, \$65,651.18. Old-age pensions, \$128,042.53.
- Upholsterers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 108. Gain in wages of 50 cents per member per day. 1,500 men secured increase in wages of 50 cents per day, without strike. Donations to other unions, \$260. Cost of strikes, \$4,600.
- Weavers, Elastic Goring.**—Death benefits, \$200; unemployed benefits, \$30.
- Weavers, Wire.**—Death benefits, \$500; sick benefits, \$768.65.
- White Hats Actors.**—Gain in membership, 5,000. Number of strikes, 91; won, 91. Number of persons involved, 480; benefited, the entire membership. Death benefits, \$217.50; sick benefits, \$2,000.82; traveling benefits, \$14,155.65. Donations to other unions, \$30.05. Cost of strikes, \$1,800. Organization has succeeded in practically abolishing arbitrary cancellation of contracts.
- Wood Workers.**—No report.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911, are \$18,213.98, which is \$2,699.58 less than the expenses. Notwithstanding that fact, the receipts from the *American Federationist* for the past eight years has come within \$985.05 of paying expenses. To offset that amount there are \$3,478.15 unpaid bills due the Federation for advertisements that have been published prior to September 30, 1911.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1911:

RECEIPTS.	
Receipts.....	\$18,213 98
EXPENSES.	
Commissions on advertising contracts.....	\$9,478 19
Contributions.....	75 00
Cuts.....	40 85
R. G. Dun & Company.....	75 00
Hauling.....	30 75
Postage stamps.....	316 91
Postage pound rate.....	296 30
Printing <i>American Federationist</i>	7,611 02
Printing Bulletins.....	22 60
Printing and supplies.....	46 00
Refunds.....	1 00
Salaries.....	2,919 44
Total.....	\$20,913 56
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$18,213 98
Expenses.....	20,913 56
Excess of expenses over receipts.....	\$2,699 58

The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Surplus.	Deficit.
1893-04.....	\$2,418 30	\$2,684 66		\$266 36
1894-95.....	3,184 21	2,675 98	\$508 23	
1895-96.....	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97.....	3,408 39	3,094 87	313 52	
1897-98.....	2,287 83	2,541 75		253 92
1898-99.....	3,171 00	4,083 19		862 19
1899-00.....	4,162 03	4,496 91		304 88
1900-01.....	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02.....	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03.....	27,718 43	42,883 68		15,165 25
1903-04.....	32,639 89	30,699 92	1,939 97	
1904-05.....	25,726 57	24,929 86	796 71	
1905-06.....	25,912 87	26,868 12		955 25
1906-07.....	25,310 56	23,590 70	1,749 86	
1907-08.....	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09.....	20,148 73	22,703 57		2,554 84
1909-10.....	21,326 50	20,621 19	706 31	
1910-11.....	18,213 98	20,913 56		2,699 58

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HEADQUARTERS.

The following statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1911, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 1,522 letters, circular letters, and packages per day, as follows:

Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post.....	3,667
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others.....	155,969
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes.....	64,772
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes.....	241,271
Total.....	465,669

ORGANIZING EXPENSES.

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended for organizing work during the past twelve months \$46,962.05. Of this amount, \$2,020.15 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$5 to \$50, for organizing central bodies and local trade or federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor:

NAME OF ORGANIZERS.	STATE WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount received.
1. Hugh Frayne.....	New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	\$3,225 63
2. Stuart Reid.....	Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, District of Columbia.....	8,118 38
3. J. D. Pierce.....	New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania.....	3,057 76
4. Cal Wyatt.....	Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York.....	2,969 85
5. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Oregon.....	2,882 16
6. T. H. Flynn.....	Pennsylvania and Ohio.....	2,818 52
7. E. T. Flood.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan.....	2,808 61
8. H. L. Eichelberger.....	Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware.....	2,703 28
9. W. E. Terry.....	Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, District of Columbia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida.....	2,594 00
10. J. A. Plett.....	British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Canada; New York.....	2,589 43
11. Jacob Tazelaar.....	New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire.....	2,384 20
12. J. J. Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois.....	1,806 00
13. M. G. Hamilton.....	Pennsylvania, Missouri, Florida, Colorado, District of Columbia, Washington, California, Oregon, Idaho.....	1,641 65
14. Santiago Iglesias.....	Porto Rico.....	1,561 00
15. Wm. Bork.....	Pennsylvania.....	1,096 10
16. Joseph Tytkoff.....	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut.....	885 00
17. C. A. Miles.....	New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts.....	818 45
18. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts.....	676 20
19. J. J. Cunningham.....	Massachusetts, Rhode Island.....	608 90
20. J. B. Lennon.....	Iowa, Illinois, Michigan.....	539 52
21. P. J. Shea.....	North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia.....	490 30
22. J. D. Chubbuck.....	Minnesota.....	345 03
23. Arthur Hickland.....	New Jersey.....	314 00
24. Cornelius Ford.....	New York, New Jersey.....	240 98
25. C. D. Seals.....	District of Columbia.....	238 85
26. E. C. Davison.....	Virginia.....	182 55
27. O. C. Wilson.....	New Jersey, Iowa.....	169 33
28. Philip Jago.....	New York, Vermont.....	158 23
29. F. M. Moody.....	Tennessee, Arkansas.....	158 24
30. S. A. Bramlette.....	Kansas.....	152 85
31. Abraham Sheines.....	New York, Massachusetts.....	137 85
32. Jerome Jones.....	Georgia.....	133 13
33. H. M. Walker.....	Texas, Oklahoma.....	111 65
34. J. F. Anderson.....	Illinois, Kansas, Missouri.....	100 00
35. O. F. Nelson.....	Illinois, Minnesota, Indiana, Ohio.....	89 73
36. Frank Paquin.....	Pennsylvania.....	84 01
37. A. Bernard.....	New York.....	84 00
38. E. N. Nockels.....	Missouri.....	84 00
39. A. E. Ireland.....	Pennsylvania.....	80 55
40. M. M. Donoghue.....	Montana.....	80 00
41. R. P. Pettipiece.....	British Columbia, Canada.....	80 00
42. C. C. Zeigler.....	Oklahoma.....	80 00
43. J. O. Walsh.....	California.....	71 80
44. C. W. Woodman.....	Texas.....	68 50
45. F. L. Rist.....	Ohio.....	67 00
46. John Mitchell.....	Pennsylvania.....	66 00
47. G. B. Howley.....	Minnesota.....	64 80
48. J. E. Galligan.....	Pennsylvania.....	55 00
49. A. A. Roe.....	Kansas.....	50 00
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$50.....	2,020 15
Total.....		\$46,962 05

LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

On September 30th of this year we had 680 local trade and federal labor unions with a membership of 28,579 in good standing, and a defense fund of \$133,782.34 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout. Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the unions.

DEFENSE FUND.

The following is an itemized statement of amounts received from and paid to our Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911:

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund..... \$16,010 75

EXPENSES.

	Average membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Plate and Sheet Glass Glaziers, No. 12836, New York, N. Y.	104+	7	\$2,920 00
Bed Spring Makers, No. 12103, New York, N. Y.	29+	5	596 00
*Tobacco Strippers, No. 12722, Bayamon, P. R.	13	6	312 00
Readers' Protective, No. 12841, Tampa, Fla.	25	2	200 00
Banders' Protective, No. 12866, Caguas, P. R.	6	6	144 00
Ladies' Felt and Straw Hat Workers, No. 12815, Boston, Mass	5	1	20 00
Total.....			\$4,192 00

Returned and redeposited in Defense Fund:

Tobacco Strippers, No. 12722..... \$168 00

RECAPITULATION.

Balance on hand in Defense Fund, September 30, 1910.....	\$121,963 50
Received in Defense Fund.....	16,010 75
Paid out of Defense Fund.....	\$137,974 34
Balance in Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, September 30, 1911.....	\$133,782 34

There was received into the Defense Fund \$16,010.75 and paid out \$4,192, thus adding a small but substantial amount to the fund already on hand. The fund is large enough to give ample protection to the members provided a great number are not on strike at any given time. It is probable that the strike of the Machinists Helpers and Laborers on the Illinois Central and Harriman lines, which was called on September 30, may be of sufficient duration to materially reduce the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions. Even if such is the case, it will demonstrate clearly to the members the necessity for such a fund and the great assistance it is to maintain their struggle until such time as an adjustment is reached with the representatives of these railroads.

The following table will show that since the time the fund was inaugurated in 1902 up to and including this fiscal year there has been received into the fund \$207,766.70 and paid out \$73,984.36:

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Balance on hand.
1902.....	\$30,123 00	.....	\$20,423 00
1903.....	49,663 40	\$6,690 00	63,396 40
1904.....	33,722 55	15,972 00	81,146 95
1905.....	16,966 63	3,197 18	94,916 40
1906.....	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907.....	17,143 65	10,863 78	103,078 89
1908.....	14,327 20	12,124 00	105,282 09
1909.....	11,383 05	788 00	115,877 14
1910.....	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,963 59
1911.....	16,010 75	4,192 00	133,782 34
	\$207,766 70	\$73,984 36	

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS, AND RESTORED.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS. Suspended 2; International Union of Shipwrights and Joiners, membership 903; International Union of Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers, membership 600. Revoked: International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes, membership 319. Surrendered 2; on condition that local unions would receive charters direct from the American Federation of Labor: Fur Workers' International Union, membership 159; Chainmakers' International Union, 200.

Charters have been issued by the American Federation of Labor to local unions of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes, Fur Workers, and Chainmakers, whose total membership is 596, being 73 less than the membership of the three international unions when their charters were taken up.

STATE BRANCHES. Disbanded, 1; South Carolina State Federation of Labor.

CENTRAL BODIES. Revoked, 8; disbanded, 10; suspended, 43; charters restored, 4.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS. Disbanded, 24; suspended, 110; joined international, 1; merged with other unions, 4.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS. Disbanded, 19; joined international unions, 2; suspended, 60.

VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1911.

Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.
1897.....	2,747	1902.....	10,705	1907.....	16,425
1898.....	2,881	1903.....	15,238	1908.....	16,892
1899.....	3,632	1904.....	17,383	1909.....	15,880
1900.....	5,737	1905.....	16,338	1910.....	16,737
1901.....	8,240	1906.....	15,621	1911.....	18,603

MEMBERSHIP.

A résumé of the growth of the American Federation of Labor, numerically, during the past thirty-one years can not but encourage the trade unionists to redouble their efforts to educate, organize, and federate the wage-workers of the world. The growth of the American Federation of Labor from 1881 to 1893 was gradual. During that time it increased from 50,000 to 275,000, and remained about that number up to 1899. In 1899 it reached very nearly 320,000; in 1900 it passed the 500,000 mark; in 1901 750,000; in 1902 it passed the million mark, and in 1903 very nearly reached the million and a half point, and in 1904 shot up above the million and a half, reaching a membership of 1,676,200. Thus the growth of the American Federation of Labor from 1899 up to and including 1904 was phenomenal. This marked increase in membership could not occur other than by organizations being formed rapidly within a short period, and as a natural consequence it must be expected that in adjusting the membership of the unions the membership must decrease somewhat from the high-water mark which it reached while the organization wave held sway.

There was a decrease in the membership in 1905 and 1906 from the high-water mark of 1904. This decrease was almost entirely caused by internal strife which led to secession and a number of ill-advised and unsuccessful strikes of a few international organizations.

During 1907 and 1908 the membership climbed up over 1,500,000 and receded again to a little below the 1,500,000 mark, when the tide again changed, and in 1910 it passed the 1,500,000 mark, and this year the increase in the membership of the international organizations and the addition of the 51,300 which came with the affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners, forced the average paid-up and reported membership of the international organizations to 1,761,835, which is an increase of 199,723 over the membership of last year, and 85,635 members over the high-water mark of 1904.

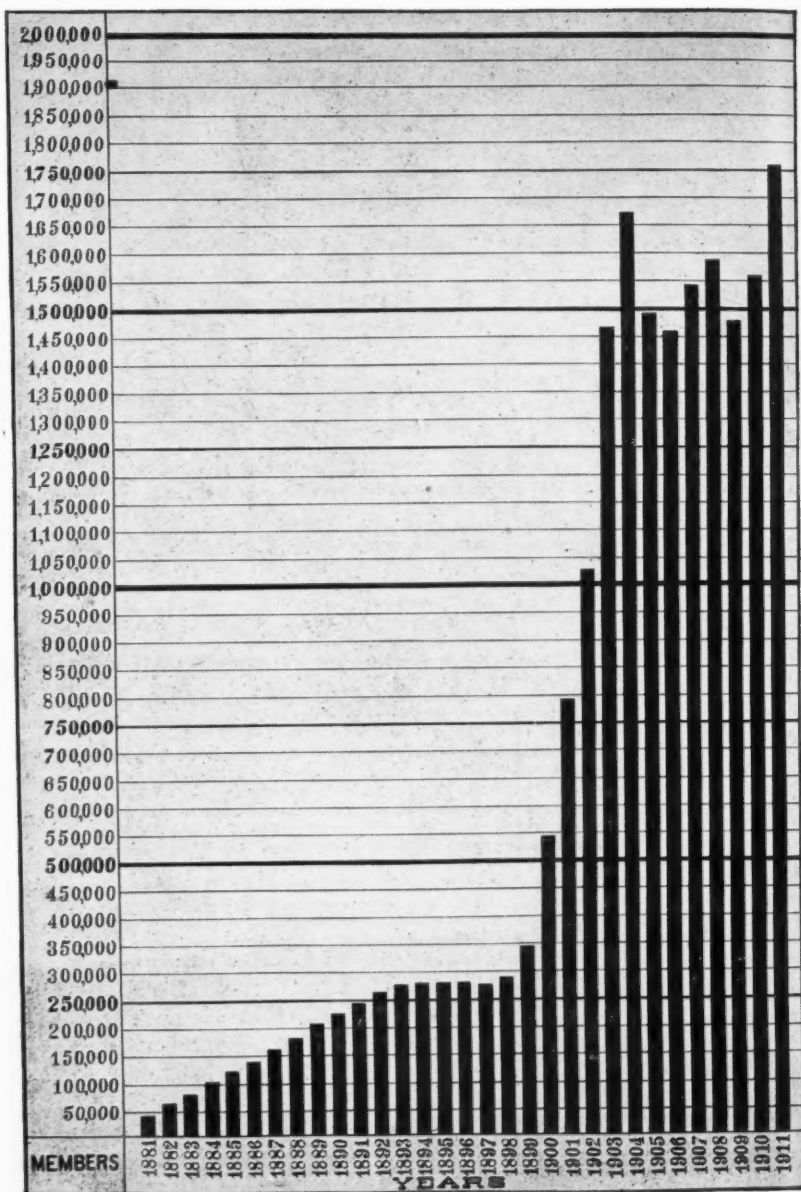
That the membership of the International Unions is steadily on the increase is indicated by the fact that the paid-up and reported membership of the directly affiliated local unions and international organizations for the month of September of this year is 1,768,614, which indicates that notwithstanding the hostile forces that are working against the labor unions, that the coming year will show an increase over the membership reported upon this year.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past fifteen years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1905.....	1,494,300
1898.....	278,016	1906.....	1,454,300
1899.....	349,422	1907.....	1,538,970
1900.....	548,321	1908.....	1,586,885
1901.....	787,587	1909.....	1,482,872
1902.....	1,024,399	1910.....	1,562,112
1903.....	1,465,800	1911.....	1,761,835
1904.....	1,676,200		

So that the delegates and the membership at large may, at a glance, realize the marvelous growth in membership of the American Federation of Labor, I have prepared a chart, to indicate the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1911—thirty-one years. The column for 1911 has passed over the 1,750,000 mark, and has started on its way upward to the 2,000,000 mark, which I feel sure will be reached within a few years.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS



UNION LABELS.

There are now 58 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations, which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.	Glass Workers.	Papermakers.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Glove Workers.	Photo-Engravers.
Bill Posters and Billers.	Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.	Piano and Organ Workers.
Boilermakers.	Hatters.	Plate Printers.
Blacksmiths.	Horseshoers.	Powder Workers.
Bookbinders.	Jewelry Workers.	Pressmen, Printing.
Boot and Shoe Makers.	Lathers.	Print Cutters.
Brewery Workmen.	Laundry Workers.	Sawsmiths.
Brickmakers.	Leather Workers.	Shingle Weavers.
Broommakers.	Leather Workers on Horse Goods.	Slate Workers.
Brushmakers.	Lithographers.	Stove Mounters.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brotherhood.	Machine Printers and Color Mixers.	Tailors.
Carriage and Wagon Workers.	Machinists.	Textile Workers.
Carvers, Wood.	Marble Workers.	Tip Printers.
Cigar makers.	Metal Polishers.	Tobacco Workers.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.	Metal Workers, Sheet.	Travelers' Goods and Leather
Coopers.	Molders.	Novelty Workers.
Engravers, Watch-case.	Painters.	Typographical.
Garment Workers, United.		Upholsterers.
Garment Workers, Ladies.		Weavers, Wire.
		Wood Workers.

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Actors.	Firemen, Stationary.	Musicians.
Barbers.	Hotel & Restaurant Employees.	Stage Employees, Theatrical.
Clerks.	Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.	Teamsters.
Engineers, Steam		

The followings crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers, Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water), Canvas Gloves, Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers, Nail (Horse-shoe) Workers, Neckwear Cutters and Makers, Paper Box Makers, Suspendermakers, Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers, Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, Soapmakers, Turpentine Workers.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK MORRISON.

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

At the close of this, my twenty-second year as Treasurer of the Federation, I submit my annual report, with a high appreciation of the favors that organized labor has for so many years conferred upon me. I have served as best I knew, with no object in view except to be helpful in promoting the social, intellectual, and industrial uplift of the wage-workers of our great continent. The minds of the world's workers are full of unrest and discontent, and if "righteous discontent be indeed the mother of progress," then, indeed, may we be hopeful for the future; for surely the righteousness of the discontent of the working classes with the restrictions and impositions they so unjustly have to bear is not open to question. Children of tender years are still to be found in industrial life. Women are still exploited, simply because they are women and have to do a man's work for a wage far below that paid to men for the same employment. Thousands and tens of thousands still work more than eight hours a day, depriving them of opportunities of pleasure and of home life that are essential to the production of the best citizenship.

Within our jurisdiction, wage-workers beyond number are paid less than a living wage, and because of this character growth is made largely impossible.

The industrial world does not yet understand and appreciate the truth of the trade union's contention that no industry has a right to live that pays less than a living wage; and by a living wage we mean not merely existence. We mean childhood, womanhood, and manhood of the best and highest type. These things, as well as many others, cause the general discontent and unrest. We are proud of the fact that our movement has been the great factor in stirring the masses to think and then to become discontented with industrial injustice, and then, by means of the practical methods of the trade union, work and fight for their abolition, and when I look back over the period that I have served as your Treasurer, I am proud of what has already been accomplished, and when I look forward, am filled with hope and confidence that the future has in store victories and progress greater than any that the past has known. This discontent and unrest, caused largely by the injustices perpetrated upon the toilers, finds a safe and evolutionary means of relief in the trade union; there they find the force that has made their burden lighter; in it they find that practical brotherhood of man which is ever working for human uplift. Here we find a field of effort that produces results that all can see and know to be permanent and effective. We extend to all men and women of labor a cordial invitation to join with us in the trade union for the gradual, but sure, emancipation of labor. To you, one and all—officers, delegates, and members at home—I extend my regards and my assurance that during the years that may still remain to me, I shall give, as my judgment and conscience dictate, the best service of which I am capable to the great principles of right and justice as promulgated by our Federation.

I herewith submit a statement of receipts and expenses for the year ending September 30, 1911.

INCOME.		EXPENSE.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Paid warrants:	
1910.		1910.	
October 31.....	\$14,271 08	October 31.....	\$12,024 73
November 30.....	10,061 10	November 30.....	15,378 14
December 31.....	16,023 43	December 31.....	17,499 91
1911.		1911.	
January 31.....	14,228 95	January 31.....	16,412 31
February 28.....	12,277 12	February 28.....	17,571 32
March 31.....	14,113 72	March 31.....	12,771 34
April 30.....	16,162 62	April 30.....	17,369 16
May 31.....	13,884 85	May 31.....	15,163 64
June 30.....	13,700 62	June 30.....	12,081 72
July 31.....	13,133 84	July 31.....	12,558 00
August 31.....	14,359 46	August 31.....	11,140 24
September 30.....	20,971 80	September 30.....	14,354 48
Oct. 1, 1910, balance in hands of Treas.....	180,914 96	Total expenses.....	\$175,524 08
Total funds.....	\$363,103 64		
Total funds.....	\$363,103 64		
Deduct total expenses.....	175,524 08		
Leaves in hands of Treasurer.....	\$187,579 56		
Leaves in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00		
Total funds, September 30, 1911.....	\$189,579 56		

The funds of the Federation in possession of the Treasurer are deposited in the following banks at Bloomington, Ill. All certificates draw 3 per cent interest; the amount of interest collected during the year and forwarded to Secretary Morrison was \$4,972.10.

In Peoples Bank on certificates.....	\$30,737 24
In State National Bank on certificates.....	45,000 00
In First National Bank on certificates.....	35,000 00
In German-American Bank on certificates.....	25,000 00
In McLean County Bank on certificates.....	30,000 00
In McLean County Bank subject to check.....	21,842 32

Total funds in hands of Treasurer..... \$187,579 56

Amount of funds handled during my twenty-two years incumbency..... \$2,390,980 35

Trusting that the performance of my duties as Treasurer will meet with your approval, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

JOHN B. LENNON,

Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., October 1, 1911.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 14th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: Conway, Smith (Fred), Dubinsky, Williams (John), Roach, Price, Lewis (T. L.), McCullough (E. S.), Hedrick, Dold, Gallagher (John J.), Taber, Connors, Gavjak, Coffey, Kelly (William E.), Hurley, Conner (T. J.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schneider (John), Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Donnelly, Saum, Schaub.

President Gompers stated that an error had been made in the announcement of the appointment of committees, and stated if there were no objections the name of John Mitchell would appear in the permanent proceedings as chairman of the Committee on Organization, instead of chairman of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

On the protest of Andrew J. Kennedy, President of the Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers' International Association, against the seating of Thomas J. McNamara as a delegate from that organization, the committee recommended that the protest be entertained and that Andrew J. Kennedy be seated with 8 votes.

On motion of Delegate Carey (D. A.) the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that John J. Mallin, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers be seated, with 28 votes.

On motion of Delegate Carey (D. A.) the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Andrew J. Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union of America, be seated, with 80 votes.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Johannsen—I understand action was deferred on my credential and that it was laid over until I could be here.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.)—I want to know whether Brother Johannsen can tell this Convention whether the local union of Shoe Workers illegally suspended from the San Francisco Labor Council will be reinstated at once?

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.)—Two weeks ago the union referred to was notified to send its delegates, and was given full re-affiliation with the Labor Council of San Francisco.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.)—That is satisfactory. I move the seating of Delegate Johannsen as a delegate from that body. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams, which were made part of the proceedings of the Convention:

"Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 13, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Atlanta, Ga.:

"The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks extends to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled its congratulations upon rapid growth made during the year, wishes for it a most harmonious and profitable gathering and assures the delegates of its regrets that, due to the fact it is fighting to maintain the American citizenship of its members on the Illinois Central Railroad, it cannot be represented at this Convention.

"R. E. FISHER,
"Grand Sec'y-Treas."

"Butte, Montana, Nov. 13, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., New Kimball Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.:

"Organized labor of this county and state extends congratulations to Thirty-first Annual Convention in session assembled, and urges consideration of Butte for next convention. Thirty-five thousand union men and women to welcome you.

"R. M. PARTELOW,
"Secy. S. F. of L."

"Omaha, Neb., Nov. 13, 1911.

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.

"Personal congratulations. We trust your convention will act conservatively for the best interest of the wage-earners and the industrial and public utility enterprises of the nation. The laborer should be equitably compensated for his toil. Accept best wishes.

"J. C. ROOT.

"President Woodmen of the World."

"Sacramento, Cal., Nov. 9, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary Convention

American Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.

"Brothers, Greeting:

"The Sacramento Strike Committee of the System Federation send their best wishes in your deliberations on the questions before you. Trusting that harmony will prevail and that you will take speedy action on resolution sent you regarding the strike on the Harriman lines.

"Fraternally yours,

"Strike Committee."

"New York, Nov. 13, 1911.

"Convention Hall, American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, President, Atlanta, Ga.

"Best wishes for successful Convention. Three cheers for the Labor movement under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. Remember our innocent McNamara brothers.

"District Council No. 1, New York,

"J. HARRIS LAVNER,

"Secretary United Garment Workers of America."

"Cleveland, O., Nov. 13, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Atlanta, Ga.

"Extend greetings. May your labors be pleasant and all legislation be for the best interest of organized labor throughout the country. With hope that the efforts for freedom and liberty McNamara brothers will be with success.

"I. HASKINS,

"General Auditor United Garment Workers of America."

Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Carey (J. T.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

We, your Committee on rules and order of business, beg leave to submit the following report:

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the Convention.

Rule 1. The Convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m., and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30.

Rule 2—If a delegate, while speaking be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3—Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4—No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks except it be to call him to a point of order.

Rule 5—A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6—A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the Convention.

Rule 7—Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the Convention.

Rule 8—A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9—At the request of five members, the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10—When a question is pending before the Convention, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11—Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12—A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13—That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the Convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14—Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the Convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15—It shall require at least 30 members to move the previous question.

Rule 16—All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17—No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

Rule 18—No resolutions shall be received after Thursday's session, November 16, without unanimous consent of the Convention.

Rule 19—When a roll-call vote has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20—When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21—Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 22—The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

Order of Business.

- 1—Reading Minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.
- 2—Report of Committee on Credentials.
- 3—Report of Officers.
- 4—Report of Regular Committees.
- 5—Report of Special Committees.
- 6—Unfinished Business.
- 7—New Business.
- 8—Election of Officers.
- 9—Selection of next meeting place.
- 10—Good of the Federation.
- 11—Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,
T. A. RICKERT, Chairman;
J. T. CAREY, Secretary;
JEROME JONES,
JOHN SULLIVAN,
WM. H. O'BRIEN,
PETER HASSENPFUE,
GEORGE H. ULLRICH,
WM. J. PFLEGER,
D. G. BIGGS,
T. J. CAROLAN,
J. W. BRIDWELL,
M. M. DONOGHUE,
JOHN J. GRANEY,
WILLIAM A. DAVIS,
ROYAL DANO.

In the report of the Committee as read Rule 16 did not provide for the introduction of resolutions in duplicate. On motion of Vice-President Duncan the rule was amended by adding "and shall be submitted in duplicate."

The report of the Committee was adopted as amended.

Vice-President Duncan, for the Executive Council, read the following report:

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GA., NOVEMBER 14, 1911.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

GREETING: We, your Executive Council, following the custom of years, submit to you herein our annual report for the fiscal year of 1911.

The Executive Council held meetings during the year as follows:

At St. Louis on Sunday and Monday immediately after the adjournment of the St. Louis Convention:

At headquarters in January, 12 days.

At headquarters in June, 6 days.

At headquarters in October, 6 days.

At Atlanta since our arrival here.

Our president submitted by mail to the Executive Council during the year, 93 documents, dealing with various matters, some of the most important of which we shall make part of this report.

No doubt it will be necessary for meetings of the Executive Council to be held from time to time during the sessions of this convention. Each year the work of the annual conventions seems to increase in volume and to become more engrossing, the necessity for close attendance upon committee meetings more urgent. In view, therefore, of these facts, it is hoped that wherever and whenever possible matters requiring our consideration will be held in abeyance until our meeting immediately after the adjournment of this convention.

New Unions Chartered—Organization.

The reports already made to you by our President and Secretary have indicated in detail the number of unions, national, international, state, city central, directly affiliated local and federal, which have been chartered during the year, and what has been the gain thereby to our Federation. In some instances the international unions have temporarily disbanded owing to adverse conditions in the trade, the locals becoming directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. until such time as circumstances may so change as to warrant the reorganization of the international. In one instance it was found advisable upon investigation to withdraw the charter of an international

union, that of the Flour and Cereal Mill Workers. This was done in conformity with instructions given by you at our St. Louis convention.

Where an international union has from inherent weakness disbanded, the local unions are directly chartered by the A. F. of L. without cost to them, and where theretofore they used an international union label, the label of the A. F. of L. is granted. Under the stimulus of direct affiliation the membership of such disbanded international unions has increased and we entertain the hope of an early restoration of such international unions.

Whenever and wherever possible during the year, representatives of the A. F. of L., attended the conventions of international unions, as well as the annual meetings of the State Federations of Labor.

It should further be stated that efforts were continued during the year to bring about the affiliation of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union with the American Federation of Labor. It was contemplated that a representative of the Executive Council should attend the convention of that organization, but we were advised that no convention would be held this year.

A representative of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association was present at one of the sessions of our meeting in January in regard to the matter of the affiliation of that body with the American Federation of Labor.

Organizer David Kreyling of St. Louis attended the Convention of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association on January 16, with the object in view of placing before that convention the advantages of affiliation with the A. F. of L. as per Resolution No. 135 of the St. Louis Convention. Although the Convention Committee, to which the matter was referred, reported favorably on the proposition to affiliate, yet it was negatived by the convention.

Secretary Morrison attended the Convention of the Masters, Mates and Pilots and explained to that body the laws of the American Federation of Labor and the relationship between it and affiliated international unions.

We recommend that efforts to secure the affiliation of these two organizations, be continued during the coming year.

We have also endeavored to bring about

the affiliation of the National Association of Letter Carriers with the A. F. of L.

The application of the Post Office Clerks for extension of jurisdiction so as to include the letter carriers did not commend itself to us as being feasible, advantageous, or practical.

Our endeavors along this line should not cease until every unaffiliated international union and every wage-earner of the North American continent have thrown in their lot with our great American Federation of Labor.

Organizers.

The special corps of organizers continued from year to year rendered valuable services which have been supplemented by that of the organizers who were appointed either permanently or temporarily during the year.

Requests and recommendations for the appointment of special organizers have been many. Necessarily in view of the very limited funds available for such work, it was not possible to comply in every instance.

We recommend the continuation of the organization work as far as warranted by the state of the federation funds. We further recommend to our international unions and to all organized labor, that every effort be made to bring within the beneficent fold of our movement all workers who are as yet unidentified with the unions of their respective trades and callings.

In view of the constantly increasing demand for the assistance of special organizers, the extension of special organization work and the need for funds with which to conduct not only this work, but the fulfillment of our great uplift mission, we further recommend an increase in per capita tax from one-half cent to two-thirds cent per member.

Building Trades Department—U. B. of Carpenters—Steam Fitters.

The Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. at its convention in St. Louis just after the close of the A. F. of L. Convention, suspended from representation therein the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.

At our meeting in January, the officers

of the Buildings Trades Department made application for the revocation of the charter of affiliation with the A. F. of L. of these two organizations. Action upon the application was deferred until our June meeting, President Gompers in the meantime, being authorized by us to co-operate with the officers of the Building Trades Department for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment of the trouble with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the amalgamation of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers with the United Association of Plumbers. Efforts along this line, however, were without success.

At our meeting in June, the following letter was received:

"Washington, D. C., June 13, 1911.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"Pursuant to the Instructions of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, I herewith transmit to you for submission to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the following statement and request:

The Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, in convention in St. Louis, November 28th to December 5th, inclusive, approved a recommendation made by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of which the following is a copy:

"That the grievance against the International Steam Fitters and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be referred to the coming convention with a recommendation that, if the organizations still refuse to obey the mandates of the Tampa Convention, they be suspended from the Department. It is further recommended that like action be taken by the A. F. of L."

The substance of the foregoing action is that of the unions named therein failed to comply with the decisions reached by the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department, and for such failure or refusal as the case may be, the unions in question were suspended by the Department and like action requested by the American Federation of Labor.

As you are aware, this subject-matter was transmitted to you and by you to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the occasion of your last meeting, but as we understand the matter, sanction of the recommendation has not been given; instead a proposition in the case of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers to amalgamate with the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers has issued, and in the case of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated

Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, a conference was proposed.

The result is that more than four months have elapsed without any definite action having been taken, which in large measure has rendered the work of the Department ineffective, causing in addition distress among the several locals and a wilful and deliberate manifestation to ignore the subsequent decisions rendered by the Executive Council of the Department, especially in the case of minor jurisdictional disputes. This action is regrettably working great havoc on the welfare and progress of the Department, which to say the least augurs no good for the future; indeed unless some definite, positive stand is taken to uphold the decisions of the department in the respect outlined in the foregoing quotation, then the affiliated organizations might just as well consent to abandon the effort of protection that the Department in reality carries with it through the present form of organization; so much so is this the case that it becomes absolutely essential, indeed imperative, that we have a decision from your council forthwith, upholding the action of the St. Louis Convention of the Building Trades Department with respect to the two organizations herewith named.

There are before the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department at this time several questions of an intricate nature that of necessity should be settled once and for all, and that will redound to the credit, strength and prestige of the Department, but as before stated it is useless to proceed in these matters unless we are to have a confirmation by your council of the action taken by the St. Louis Convention in the case previously referred to.

We therefore earnestly appeal to you to give the cases complained of the attention they deserve without delay and render a positive and final opinion in the premises, so that the future course of the Department may be determined.

Anxiously awaiting the same on behalf of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, I have the honor to remain,

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) Wm. J. SPENCER,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Building Trades Dept."

President Short and Secretary Spencer presented the letter in person, requesting that definite action be taken thereon. We gave much time, consideration and discussion to the subject and thereafter we sent the following reply, embodying therein the decision of the Executive Council relative to not only this but kindred matters involved:

Washington, D. C., June 17, 1911.
Mr. William J. Spencer, Secretary,
Building Trades Dept., A. F. of L.,
Curay Building, Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir and Brother:

The letter which you at the direction

of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., handed me, was submitted to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for its consideration. As you know, at a joint meeting of the Executive Council of the Department with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the subject matter of the requests contained in the letter, as well as those questions which led up to the present situation, was gone over in detail, at length, and comprehensively, and inerefore much of that which was orally conveyed as the expression of our views upon the matter is not necessary to be recounted here.

We have, however, given further attention to the laws of the A. F. of L., and of the Department, and have taken into consideration the present situation of the Department, and its local councils, as well as the unsatisfactory conditions which obtain in the building trades in many centers of the country; and with all we have had in mind the desire to be helpful to the Building Trades Department for its success and perpetuity.

At the St. Louis Convention of the Building Trades Department, November-December, 1910, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America were suspended from the Department, and these international unions are not now a part thereof. The action of the Department in suspending these two international unions carried with it also the request that they be suspended by the American Federation of Labor, and your Executive Council through you has made that request.

In connection therewith, we desire to express our belief that to carry into effect the advice, conclusions, or decisions in the Building Trades Department and in the local building trades councils, it is not only desirable but most helpful that the organizations affiliated to the Department, and to its councils, shall yield a ready compliance thereto, of course having in mind that such advice, conclusions and decisions are in conformity with fundamental principles of labor and of the organic laws and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Executive Council asks the American Federation of Labor to suspend therefrom the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America. In connection therewith your attention is called to Article 9, Section 12, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., which reads as follows:

'The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds' majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.'

You will readily observe that under this law the Executive Council has no power to suspend an international union,

(which carries with it the revocation of its charter). The fullest limit to which our authority extends is to make such report and recommendation to the forthcoming convention of the A. F. of L. at Atlanta, November, 1911, and this course we shall pursue, as in our judgment the circumstances warrant, with the hope that our respective executive councils and conventions may work out an adjustment of this and similar contentions which will tend to retain and cement still more the bonds of unity and fraternity of all our affiliated organizations and members as fully in harmony as the movement in which we are engaged will permit.

We present to your consideration the fact, which the history of the labor movement demonstrates beyond cavil or doubt, that to revoke charters, suspend organizations, enforce compulsory obedience to edicts and decisions have invariably led to a rebellious spirit resulting in bitter conflict, relentless antagonisms, and disintegration and dissolution. While realizing the necessity that discipline in the labor movement must be observed at least to some degree, yet this fact is self-evident; that the best, most enduring and advantageous discipline in the organized labor movement is that discipline which comes with time and experience and is suggested and later self-imposed. It is something not yet generally understood how perfectly safe freedom is, and this truism applies to the administration of the organized labor movement as much as it does to any government on the face of the earth.

Imbued with this experience and conception, we have great apprehensions of the advisability of the suspension or revocation of charters of international unions based upon the contentions over trade jurisdictional disputes. We submit that such contentions can better be adjusted by the contending parties being in affiliation with the general organizations of labor than by being in enforced suspension with their charters revoked.

It is a truism that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and it is also true that so long as the chain is retained intact, even its weakest link may be strengthened. In the effort to maintain the chain of unity among the rank and file of the organized labor movement if it is unwise to cast aside a weak link, how much more injurious is it to cast out the stronger?

The cause which has brought about this contention, is first, the jurisdictional dispute between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. The Tampa convention of the Building Trades Department decided that the work in dispute should come under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. That decision was confirmed by the department convention at St. Louis, 1910. Upon the U. B. of Carpenters declining to yield obedience to the decision, it was suspended from the department. It is not our pur-

pose to here discuss the merits of the award. We find the situation as it is; that the U. B. of Carpenters is now unattached to the Building Trades department, where it properly belongs, and we are constrained to repeat the thought we have already expressed, that enforced compulsory obedience to edicts and deceptions has never proven either advantageous or successful, and that suspension of international unions and revocation of charters are not calculated to harmonize existing differences, nor bring the members of an international union so suspended into a better frame of mind in order that an award may be accepted by them. We urge upon the consideration of your department that in any event the opportunity to secure compliance with the expressed judgment of duly constituted authorities in the labor movement, is increased when the international unions most vitally interested are in affiliation and fellowship with the department of which they are a material part.

We, therefore, recommend that the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., at its first opportunity, reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in full affiliation to the Department; that in the meantime and thereafter, every effort be exerted by that organization, the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the Building Trades Department, and the American Federation of Labor, by correspondence, conferences, and by every moral suasion within our power, to bring about an adjustment of the matters in dispute to the satisfaction and advantage of the organizations primarily in interest. We assure the Department that the good offices of the executive council and of the American Federation of Labor will be continued to be exerted and renewed to assist the Department and the organizations involved to effect a solution of the trade jurisdictional dispute between the two organizations.

In the second case, that is, in the controversy between the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada, and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, we recognize a matter of dispute entirely different in character as compared with the dispute between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; a dispute which has existed for years, to the detriment not only to the immediate organizations involved, but to the entire building industry. This dispute has passed through all the channels of mediation, arbitration, investigation and decisions by the American Federation of Labor, and by the Building Trades Department, without satisfactory results. These investigations, arbitration awards and decisions, have been uniformly to the effect that there ought not to exist two distinctive, separate organizations in the pipe fitting trades; that the best results to the workers in the industry would be best conserved by all being united in the one

general organization of these trades, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada, for general purposes, yet each branch of the pipe fitting trade to have as much autonomous administration as is consistent with the general interest of all.

The views which we have expressed to you orally, the opinions expressed herein, and the recommendations which we submit to your Department and to the two organizations named, we earnestly hope will be taken into favorable consideration and prompt action by all, and will form the basis of our report and recommendations to the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor.

While it should not be necessary, yet we do take advantage of this opportunity to again assure you, and through you, the Building Trades Department, and the great rank and file of labor, that we will go to the limit of our opportunity, authority and power in supporting your department in doing the best possible for the general betterment of the organizations and members in the Building Trades.

With earnest wishes for the greatest success, we have the honor to remain,

Yours fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.

JOHN MITCHELL, Second Vice-President.

JAMES O'CONNELL, Third Vice-President.

D. A. HAYES, Fourth Vice-President.

WILLIAM D. HUBER, Fifth Vice-President.

JOS. F. VALENTINE, Sixth Vice-President.

JOHN R. ALPINE, Seventh Vice-President.

H. B. PERHAM, Eighth Vice-President.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

JOHN B. LENNON, Treasurer.

Secretary Spencer informed us that the matter would be submitted to the executive board of the Building Trades Department. He then, on July 7th, wrote President Gompers as follows:

July 7, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir, and Brother:

By direction of the executive council of the Building Trades Department, I write to inform you that the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the case of the request of the Building Trades Department for the suspension of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was

laid before the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department at its session in the city of Indianapolis, June 29, 1911, and after mature consideration, the opinion was reached that since the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department is not vested with authority to override or subordinate a decision of the Building Trades Department rendered in convention assembled, and again since the constitution of the department does not confer powers upon the Executive Council to reinstate an organization that has surrendered its membership because of refusal to comply with the laws of the organization, unless the law shall have been conformed to, the Executive Council finds itself without power to reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, and Joiners in accordance with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

You are, therefore, advised that the decision as rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will be referred to the next convention of the Building Trades Department, which will convene at Atlanta, Ga., November, 1911.

Trusting that this will be satisfactory, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. J. SPENCER,
Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades
Department.

The two subjects brought to the attention of the Executive Council from the Building Trades Department are not similar in any particular excepting that both organizations were suspended by the Building Trades Department.

In the contention involving the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, it was an instance of jurisdictional dispute between two affiliated organizations which, excepting in this instance, had no other direct trade relationship, the one to the other, than one building trade has to other building trades.

The relationship of affiliated building trades to the American Federation of Labor and Departments is dual, and therefore in fundamental law, suspension of charters primarily rests with the American Federation of Labor. This, and the fact that in the American Federation of Labor revocation of charters has not been considered a cure for jurisdictional contentions, prompts our recommendation to this convention that the application of the Building Trades Department to revoke the charter of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be not concurred in, and instead that the Building Trades Department be informed that for the above reasons and in the interests of harmony to reinstate the United

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to full affiliation therein; and that all efforts and influence of the American Federation of Labor and of the department should be applied to adjust the jurisdictional contention in interest, thereby making for the best interests of the disputants and for the progress and solidarity of the labor movement.

In the instance of the contention affecting the pipe fitting industry the interests directly involved raise the following questions:

First: Concentration of effort and efficiency in one general pipe fitting organization; or,

Second: Segregation of certain portions of the industry into separately managed and distinctly administered associations.

In regard to the latter question, the segregated portion of the industry does not, and for many reasons cannot, cover or comprehend in all parts of North America, the portion of the industry it essays to govern in largely populated cities and their immediate environments.

Therefore, in this instance, the Executive Council holds that both for harmony and for practicability, the pipe fitting trade should be represented in the A. F. of L., also in the Building Trades Department, by one general association of the pipe fitting industry—the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada; and, further recommends that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., be instructed, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department be requested to carry this into effect.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers.

In our report to you at the St. Louis convention, when taking up this subject, we said:

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the adoption of the recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, namely: "That unless the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union comply with the decision of the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor, and become amalgamated with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, on or before April 1, 1911, the action and decision of

the Toronto convention shall become effective on that date."

That report was referred to the adjustment committee which, after due consideration, made the following report to the convention:

United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers.

The Toronto convention endorsed an agreement for the amalgamation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union into one organization and instructed your Executive Council to carry into effect the details of the proposed agreement. At our meeting last March we directed our president that if either organization failed to ratify the agreement, he should call a conference of the executive officers of both organizations in conjunction with the member of the Executive Council for the purpose of carrying out the instructions of the Toronto convention.

President Gompers immediately entered into correspondence with the executive officers of both organizations with that purpose in view. The Executive Board of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters gave the opinion that as the plan of consolidation as authorized by the Toronto convention is practically the same as previously adopted by the Minneapolis convention and approved by a referendum vote of the entire membership of the United Brotherhood, under date of May 13, 1907, that that vote still stands, and that a matter once disposed of by referendum vote of the entire membership becomes the action of the entire organization unless ordered by the next general convention to be re-submitted for a vote. Later, after the national convention of the United Brotherhood, we were advised that the convention accepted the plan of consolidation with the Amalgamated Wood Workers as proposed by our last annual convention, the consolidation to take effect November 1, 1910.

The delegates from the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union, as shown by the official proceedings of the Toronto convention, opposed the passage of the report of the committee on adjustment on this subject. The General Executive Council of the Amalgamated Wood Workers and the membership at large approved this action. The officers of the Amalgamated Wood Workers therefore expressed themselves as willing and ready to confer with the representatives of any body of organized workers with a view to the settlement of controversies, but they declined to enter into any conference with the U. B. of Carpenters with the object of effecting an amalgamation of the two organizations.

We were reluctant to exercise the implied power contained in the action of the Toronto convention, in so far as concerned the revocation of the charter of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, inasmuch as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters has accepted the Toronto agreement of amalgamation and the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union has rejected it, we recommend that unless the latter organization complies with the decision of the Toronto conven-

tion of the American Federation of Labor and becomes amalgamated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters on or before April 1, 1911, the action and decision of the Toronto convention shall become effective on that date.

After thorough discussion of the entire matter at St. Louis several motions were made. That convention then decided that the same course be taken in regard to the Amalgamated Wood Workers and Carpenters as was taken in regard to the Elevator Constructors and Machinists, that is, that it be referred to the Executive Council and a further effort be made to bring about an honorable adjustment.

When these matters were under consideration at our January meeting, we directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to enter into correspondence with both organizations and endeavor to bring about amalgamation.

When the action of the St. Louis convention and your Executive Council was officially conveyed to the executive officers of both organizations, the officers of the U. B. of Carpenters expressed themselves as being ready and willing to bring about amalgamation of the two organizations immediately and at the same time suggested that amalgamation could be more quickly effected by conference than by correspondence.

The officers of the Amalgamated Wood Workers referred the matter to their general council. The action of that body was, by the secretary, conveyed in a letter to President Gompers as follows:

Under date of April 19th, you were advised that your communication of April 4th last, in reference to the decision of the St. Louis convention, would be referred to our general council for their consideration.

The subject matter was considered by our general council through correspondence, and I am instructed to again advise you that because of the definite instructions of our last convention held in Chicago, March 15-20, 1909, our general council is prevented from meeting in conference or delegating authority to a committee to meet in conference with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters that has for its purpose the consideration of amalgamation.

I am instructed to say, however, that in deference to the action of the A. F. of L. St. Louis convention, our general council is willing to agree to submit the plan of amalgamation, designated by that convention and mentioned in your communication, to a vote of our membership for their disposition.

This proposition is contingent on the other organizations in interest also agree-

ing to submit to their membership for action the plan of amalgamation as recommended by the St. Louis convention.

When this information was conveyed to the officers of the U. B. they in turn stated:

The terms proposed by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America were given us by authority of the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor. These terms were agreeable to and accepted by our general executive board, and later by our sixteenth biennial convention held in Des Moines, Iowa, in September of last year, without opposition. It is therefore not necessary to submit said propositions to our membership for referendum vote.

As it is plainly evident to us that the Amalgamated Wood Workers do not want to comply with the orders of the St. Louis convention and as that convention authorized, instructed and empowered the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take such action as will bring about amalgamation of the two organizations, we demand that a amalgamation shall take place immediately, or that the Wood Workers' International Union be suspended immediately from the American Federation of Labor.

As directed by us at our June meeting, President Gompers continued his efforts to bring about a conference with the officers of both organizations and finally brought them together at Indianapolis on June 30th. There was no definite action taken at that conference, except that an understanding was reached that President Gompers should draft a proposition based upon the principle of the St. Louis convention decision, the members of the general council of the Wood Workers who were present agreeing to submit such a proposition to the entire general council, the general council in turn to decide whether the proposition should be submitted to the membership for a referendum vote.

The proposition, as drafted by President Gompers, is as follows:

Washington, D. C., Aug. 16, 1911.
Mr. John G. Meller, General Secretary,
Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America, 3538 North Albany Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother:

You will recall that at the conference held in Indianapolis, at which were represented the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the representatives of your organization, it was agreed that I would submit a proposition based upon the principle of the St. Louis convention decision, to be submitted to your general council. On account of being absent from the office a great deal on official business, and other matters pressing upon me, it was impossible for me to

give this matter my attention until the present time, and in accordance therewith, the following proposition is hereby submitted to you, and through you to your general council:

1. The Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America shall be known in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as District No. —. Said district to have jurisdiction over all men engaged in their industry at the present time who are members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers.

2. The present International officers of the Amalgamated Wood Workers shall be the district officers and conduct the affairs of the district in accordance with the laws of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The salary of the officers to be the same as now paid.

3. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners will grant charters and supplies free of cost to all unions in good standing in the Amalgamated Wood Workers and assign them numbers in accordance with the list of unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

4. All money in the treasury or in hands of other officers, or in any way held as the money of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, shall become the treasury and money of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, District No. — and be held for the purpose of conducting the financial affairs of that district.

5. All members engaged as shop or mill men in the wood working industry who are now members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, shall carry their membership in the union connected with said district. Members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who may be employed now or in the future in shop or mill work, shall transfer to the union having jurisdiction over this work, where the member or members may be employed in the Amalgamated Wood Workers' District No. —.

6. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners agrees to pay 50 per cent of the legitimate salary and expenses of all business agents now paid by and under salary of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, and in accordance with the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, said business agents shall have their offices in the same office as the business agents of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in order that the unnecessary expenses of conducting two offices may be avoided.

7. All per capita tax due to the A. F. of L. and to the Building Trades department and to such other departments or organizations as the consolidated organization may become attached to, shall be paid out of the general fund of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

8. The Amalgamated Wood Workers, District No. — of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, can hold conventions, adopt laws to govern the district and carry on the affairs of said district practically on the same lines as is now

being done by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, with the exception that all rules, regulations and laws adopted by the Amalgamated Wood Workers, District No. — shall be in conformity with the general constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

9. All members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, District No. — affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, shall pay to their local union the same amount of dues per month as is paid by the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the same per capita tax shall be paid by said district to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as is now paid by the local unions of that organization, each union affiliated to conduct its financial business in accordance with the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

10. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners agrees to give all members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers in good standing at the time of amalgamation a credit of six months' good standing membership, so that they will be entitled to the death benefits of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as soon as the amalgamation takes place.

11. All unions of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, District No. — of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall be entitled to send delegates to the convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on the same basis as all other unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are entitled to.

12. It is hereby agreed that all members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers transferring to and becoming a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, shall be entitled to all benefits, privileges and assistance of the Brotherhood and its general officers as are given to all members and unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

This proposition as submitted is almost identical with the proposition endorsed by the St. Louis convention in the matter of the Amalgamation of the Elevator Constructors with the International Association of Machinists. The only matter omitted from the original proposition as adopted at St. Louis is the one specifying amounts to be paid to strike and victimized members. The other clause as left out from the agreement provides for an assessment which does not have any bearing on the subject of wood workers and carpenters.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Meller, of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, later submitted the following terms of amalgamation for that organization with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners:

1. The Amalgamated Wood Workers'

International Union of America shall be known in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, as Department of Factory Wood Workers. Said department to have jurisdiction over all men engaged in said industry.

2. The present international officers of the Amalgamated Wood Workers shall be the officers of said department and conduct the affairs of said department, in accordance with the laws of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The salary of the officers to be the same as now paid.

3. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners will grant charters to all unions in good standing in the Amalgamated Wood Workers and assign the numbers in accordance with the list of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

4. All money in the treasury or in hands of other officers, or in any way held as money of the amalgamated Wood Workers, shall become the treasury and money of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners' Department of Factory Wood Workers, and be held for the purpose of conducting the financial affairs of that department.

5. It shall be agreed that all factory wood workers shall transfer to unions of this department; wherever there are seven or more wood workers in a center, they shall form a Local Union, under the jurisdiction of said department.

6. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners agrees to pay 50 per cent of the legitimate salary and expenses of all business agents now paid by and under salary of the Amalgamated Wood Workers and in accordance with the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; said business agents shall have their offices in the same office as the business agents of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in order that the unnecessary expense of conducting two offices may be avoided.

7. All per capita tax due to the A. F. of L., to the Building Trades department and to such other departments or organizations as the consolidated organization may become attached to, shall be paid out of the general fund of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

8. The Department of Factory Wood Workers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners can hold conventions, adopt laws to govern the department and carry on the affairs of said department practically on the same lines as is now being done by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, with the exception that all rules, regulations and laws adopted by the Department of Factory Wood Workers shall be in conformity with the general constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

9. All members of the Department of Factory Wood Workers shall pay to their local union the same amount of dues per month as is paid by the members of the

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the same per capita tax shall be paid by said Department of Factory Wood Workers' local unions to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as is now paid by the local unions of that organization each union affiliated to conduct its financial business in accordance with the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

10. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners agrees to place all members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers in full benefits, as soon as amalgamation takes place, according to their membership in the Amalgamated Wood Workers.

11. All unions of the Department of Factory Wood Workers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall be entitled to send delegates to the convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on the same basis as all other unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are entitled to.

12. It is hereby agreed that all members of the Department of Factory Wood Workers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall be entitled to all benefits, privileges and assistance of the Brotherhood and its general officers as are given to all members and unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

13. It is hereby agreed that a separate fund be provided out of the per capita tax paid by the members of the department of Factory Wood Workers into the general treasury. Said fund to be in the custody of the officers of the Department of Factory Wood Workers.

Secretary Duffy, for the General Executive Board, of the United Brotherhood and in its behalf, demanded revocation of the chapter held by the Amalgamated Wood Workers.

Having been unable to secure the amalgamation of the Carpenters and Wood Workers, the entire matter is again placed before you for instructions as to what further action you desire taken.

U. B. of Carpenters—Amalgamated Carpenters.

The Executive Council submitted to the St. Louis convention a comprehensive report regarding the subject matter of the long continued dispute between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. The same can be found on pages 105, 342 and 343, of the printed official proceedings of the St. Louis convention. That report was referred to a special committee which in turn reported to the St. Louis convention, and the entire subject matter was referred to the Executive Council to bring

the representatives of both organizations together. It embraced also Resolution No. 31, introduced at the St. Louis convention by the delegates from the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

We regret to be compelled to report that the situation is practically the same as it was at the adjournment of the St. Louis convention insofar as concerns the amalgamation of the two organizations, despite our efforts to carry out the instructions given us.

Therefore, the Executive Council holds that both for harmony and for practicality the carpentry trade should be represented in the American Federation of Labor, and also in the Building Trades Department by one general organization of the carpentry industry, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and we further recommend that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department requested, to carry this into effect.

Electrical Workers.

Again we are compelled to report that the controversy between the affiliated and unaffiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers remains unadjusted. The St. Louis convention referred the entire matter to us. At our meeting in January the representatives of both branches of the Electrical Workers were present. The situation was thoroughly gone over. Every opportunity was afforded the representatives of both sides for the expression of their respective opinions and beliefs. We, as an Executive Council in executive session, gave to this subject our very best thought and prolonged discussion. We finally decided upon a specific course providing for the amalgamation of the two bodies as follows:

The St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor referred to the Executive Council the matter of the division existing among the Electrical Workers, with directions to make every possible effort in its power to amalgamate the warring factions into a united and harmonious organization.

After hearing the representatives of the Electrical Workers, and giving much consideration to the directions and actions of the St. Louis convention of the Federation,

The Executive Council finds that by constitutional provision the regular conventions of the Electrical Workers officered by Frank J. McNulty, president.

and Peter W. Collins, secretary; and the Electrical Workers officered by J. J. Reid, as president, and J. W. Murphy, as secretary, will be held at the same time, to wit, September 14, 1911.

The Executive Council, therefore, requests that both conventions be held in the city of Minneapolis, or such other city as may be agreed upon by both organizations.

The Executive Council urges all parties interested to make every possible effort to bring about thoroughly representative conventions, and that President Gompers shall upon receipt of the necessary information as to date and place of holding conventions, issue a circular to all local unions of Electrical Workers submitting this document and urging them to be represented by their proper and legal number of delegates.

The Executive Council directs that after the proper organization of the two conventions for the transaction of business that each convention shall elect a committee of five to meet jointly together with the President of the American Federation of Labor, the President of the Building Trades Department and the President of the Metal Trades Department, or representatives appointed by them, to consider and devise rules and plans for amalgamation. As soon as this joint committee has completed their work, the committee shall report their conclusions and recommendations to each convention for ratification.

Upon ratification by both conventions, the two conventions shall unite and meet as one convention of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and shall be governed, as to procedure by the rules and recommendations of the joint committee on amalgamation, proceeding to transact all business that should properly come before the Brotherhood convention.

The funds in bank in hands of the officers and property of both organizations, shall at the close of the convention be placed so as to be subject to the disposal of the newly elected officers of the amalgamated Brotherhood in accord with such directions as shall have been made by the joint convention.

The members of the Executive Council, or their representatives, shall remain with the convention acting in an advisory capacity, rendering every assistance in their power to permanently unite the organized Electrical Workers into one harmonious Brotherhood, and shall immediately report upon the result of their efforts to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council urges and expects the officers of both factions of the Brotherhood, the one unaffiliated with the Federation, as well as the one that is a part of the Federation, to work steadfastly and earnestly toward the end which the St. Louis convention had in view when it referred the matter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, namely, the amalgamation of all organized Electrical Workers into one solid and harmonious organization fitted to accomplish the great work

of trade union activity in the interest of the Electrical Workers of America.

It was further provided by our decision that a preliminary meeting should be held between the representatives of both organizations of Electrical Workers with President Gompers for the purpose of carrying into effect the proposed plan of amalgamation.

In compliance with our directions, President Gompers communicated with President McNulty, of the affiliated Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and with President Reid, of the unaffiliated Brotherhood, conveying to them our directions and the plan of amalgamation. He then entered into correspondence with them for the purpose of arranging for the preliminary meeting for the representatives of both organizations. Mr. Reid stated that his executive board would hold itself in readiness to send their representatives to attend the conference at any time and place that would be indicated. President McNulty stated that the matter had been referred to his executive board for a decision. President Gompers, on May 4th, definitely designated May the 29th, at the Washington headquarters as the time and place for holding the preliminary conference, and so notified both parties. On May 13th and on May 19th, Mr. Reid and Mr. McNulty wrote to President Gompers as follows:

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Springfield, Ill., May 13, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother: I visited you at Washington, April 5th, and at that time you stated that you had again written Mr. McNulty for a statement relative to his attitude on the decision of the Executive Council of January 16. You advised me to wait until you had received a reply therefrom and up to this time I have waited patiently to hear from you should you hear from Mr. McNulty or not.

This month we have to submit a referendum to our members to decide the place of holding our International convention next September. Now I am waiting to learn whether Mr. McNulty and his membership are to hold such a convention at Minneapolis as your Council decision mentions unless another city was mutually agreed upon.

I request such information from you as to any knowledge you have, or procure, on the subject of city in which the

McNulty faction are to hold their convention.

Any advice you may give me on the subject will be appreciated.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) J. J. REID,
General President.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Springfield, Ill., May 19, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L. and Executive Council of A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I beg leave to reply to the communication received from you some time ago, referring to the controversy among the electrical workers.

In view of the very great principle involved in this matter, the interests of all Electrical Workers, the history of the attempts by the seceders to disrupt and disorganize our Brotherhood, and particularly in view of your own very great interest in the whole controversy, our executive board, who were authorized by our convention to deal with the matter, has very carefully considered the entire situation. They have given great consideration to your recommendations and like wise to the interests of our Brotherhood, and have instructed me to send the following reply to you.

We beg leave to point out that the situation has in no way changed except that we are now very much nearer a trial, since the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. went on record stating that as soon as the law suits were disposed of you would tender your friendly offices to bring about an amalgamation.

The questions raised in this law suit can never be settled until they are settled rightly. Until they are settled in court, any member or local union of our Brotherhood could file a law suit and raise the same issues. This will be impossible, however, when said issues are settled by the courts. The history of this law suit is ample proof of that fact.

Knowing the things the seceders have done in the past we are warned of the things they might and could do in the future, and it would not serve the best interests of our Brotherhood or its future welfare if we entered again into negotiations with them pending the decision of the court on the issues raised by themselves.

A very short memory will recall that the seceders violated grossly every agreement they entered into with us, and undertook by a sham or subterfuge, to create the impression that they were dismissing this law suit in May, 1910, on the pretext that you were holding a conference between the seceders and our officers in New York city. You know that such was not the case and the seceders knew that, but still they endeavored to mislead both the court and yourselves. They also, at that time, wrote letters to the banks threatening them with law suits if they paid this money out to the Brotherhood. Your Executive Council at their meeting in June, 1910, recognized this fact and

stated in this connection that "Good faith in this or any similar proceeding is in doubt."

The seceders, instead of carrying out any agreement entered into with us, have made every effort to complicate the situation and to postpone a trial of this case, and are still preventing these questions from being decided by the courts, which alone have the power to forever settle the issues that are now raised, and the question that anybody else might raise along the same lines in the future.

We earnestly hope for an early trial and full disclosure of all the questions raised by the seceders in this law suit, so that organized labor in general can know the falseness of the claims made by the seceders. Such decision is necessary for the continuance of the principles upon which our Brotherhood is founded, and without such a decision any number of disgruntled members or disappointed office-seekers can impede the progress of our organization as some of them are doing now.

Under the circumstances we cannot agree to your suggestions, and respectfully request that you will co-operate with us to the end that nothing will be done that will tend to further delay the trial of the law suits of Cleveland, which now stand at the head of the calendar, as that and only that will produce unity and harmony in our Brotherhood and guarantee freedom from legal entanglements in the future.

In closing we beg to state that we sincerely appreciate your good offices so kindly tendered to us, and assure you that we will be glad to further co-operate with you as soon as the legal rights of our Brotherhood are established, which will be at the time the court decides the questions raised by the seceders.

With best wishes, I beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) F. J. McNULTY,
International President.

The conference for May 4th therefore was not held.

On August 4th President Reid wrote President Gompers as follows:

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Springfield, Ill., Aug. 4, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Complying with the recommendations of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor held in Washington, D. C., January 16-27, inclusive: "In re * * * the matter of the division amongst the Electrical Workers * * * which recommendations and decision you communicated to me February 18, 1911, I advise you that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have amended their laws to comply as far as possible with the recommendations of the Executive Council, to-wit: "The executive council therefore requests that both conventions be held in the city of

Minneapolis or such other city as may be agreed upon by both organizations.' We will meet in convention September 18, 1911, in the city of Rochester, N. Y. I am interested that the McNulty-Collins faction will convene in Rochester, N. Y., on the same date. I direct your attention to that part of the Executive Council's decision of January 16-27th as follows:

'The Executive Council urges all parties interested to make every possible effort to bring about thoroughly representative conventions, and that President Gompers shall, upon receipt of the necessary information as to date and place of holding conventions, issue a circular to all local unions of Electrical Workers, submitting this document and urging them to be represented by their proper and legal number of delegates.'

To further co-operate with you our general secretary is mailing you under separate cover the addresses of the secretaries of our local unions.

I have the pleasure at this time in extending to you an invitation to address our convention and sincerely trust you will find time to attend.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,
J. J. REID,
General President.

President Gompers then wrote to President McNulty as follows:

August 18, 1911.
Mr. F. J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, Plerick Bldg., Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed you will please find a copy of a letter which has been received from Mr. J. J. Reid, representing the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor. You will note that the unaffiliated organization of Electrical Workers has decided to hold its convention at the same time and place as the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of which you are president, that is, at Rochester, New York, September 18, 1911.

Enclosed you will please find a copy of the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the Electrical Workers' case, as directed by the St. Louis convention. You will notice that the Executive Council directed that at the city where the conventions of the two bodies of Electrical Workers are to be held, that the president of American Federation of Labor, the president of the Building Trades department, and the president of the Metal Trades department shall go there to aid in considering and devising rules and plans for the amalgamation of the two bodies of Electrical Workers.

Of course, before I advise the presidents of the departments to be present at Rochester for the purpose of carrying into effect the instructions of the A. F. of L. convention, I want you to advise me whether you, on behalf of your Brotherhood, will so conform your course to the end that the presidents of the de-

partments or their representatives, and the president of the A. F. of L., or his representatives, can carry into effect the instructions given and as more fully set forth on pages 2 and 3 of the enclosed action of the Executive Council. You will please advise me in regard to the above on or before September 1st.

Trusting that I may hear from you at your earliest convenience, and that your reply will be favorable, and that unity may be established, I am

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

To that letter Mr. McNulty replied:

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF
ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Springfield, Ill., August 30, 1911.
Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Ouray Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your favor dated August 16, 1911, awaited my arrival at our international office today. In reply beg to call your attention to our letter sent you in answer to your favor of April 3, 1911, which makes the position of our Brotherhood clear in the premises.

A joint convention previous to the trial of the suits in Cleveland is impossible and can never be held, regardless of who may desire it, as any effort to hold such a convention would result in a multiplicity of law suits which would complicate the situation more than it is at the present time. No one knows this better than Messrs. Reid, Murphy, Sullivan, etc.

Every effort made by us to bring about an adjustment was made sincerely. The opposition took advantage of those efforts to further complicate the situation. Now that they must come into court and face the issues they themselves raised, they desire to sidestep by urging a joint convention, but as a joint convention can not determine the legal rights of individual members, or prevent them, in the future, from tying up the funds of our Brotherhood, making it impossible for us to use the funds for the purpose for which they were created, we do not intend to enter into any other negotiations with the seceders until the suits at law are settled in Cleveland, which will settle once and for all the legal rights of dissatisfied and disgruntled members, and prevent them from destroying the usefulness of our Brotherhood by keeping us in continual litigation similar to the litigation that confronts our Brotherhood at this time.

We recognize and realize that your good offices are tendered to us in good faith, and I assure you that we would be pleased to co-operate with you in carrying out your suggestions if the same were practicable and would bring about the desired end.

We sincerely thank you and your colleagues for the services that you tender and assure you that the same is appreciated, but we must decline them for

the above mentioned reasons.

With best wishes, I am,
Fraternally yours,
(Signed) F. J. McNULTY,
International President.

In view of the above correspondence, it was deemed an entire waste of time to have either our president or the presidents of the Building and Metal Trades departments of the A. F. of L. proceed to the convention city. Despite the declarations, however, the affiliated and the unaffiliated organizations of Electrical Workers of their own volition appointed committees to confer with a view of reaching an adjustment of their differences. The agreement they reached, with the names of the joint committees signed, is as follows:

We, a joint committee, recommend for adoption, by each convention lawfully and under constitution assembled, the following recommendations as a result of our deliberations:

FIRST: That each convention lawfully assembled, does immediately place their attorneys representing them in the Geib suit directly under control and direction of their respective committees, whose signatures are attached hereto.

SECOND: That each committee be empowered to proceed at once to Cleveland, Ohio, with credentials signed by the general officers of each organization and under seal, for the purpose of taking up the matter of the Geib suit with court in charge, and from court each side shall ascertain the standing and record of the case, and further shall learn why, from said court, the Geib case cannot be tried immediately. After ascertaining what these obstacles are, these representatives shall remove same through attorneys, and inform the court that it is the wish and earnest desire of each convention, that suit be decided at once upon its merits.

THIRD: That it be the sense of each convention, lawfully assembled, that absolutely no obstacles nor interference shall be tolerated from any officer or member of either organization, but that all officers and members of each organization shall, upon demand, co-operate with their respective committees, that their instructions may be carried out to the letter.

FOURTH: Upon a decision being rendered by the court, that organization being ruled against shall immediately upon such decision being rendered, adjourn and affiliate with successful litigant, under such provisions as shall be recommended by the respective committees.

FIFTH: In event each or either organization is adjourned at time court decision is rendered, that respective committees are and will be retained, and empowered to use any and all means necessary to bring about unity among all the Electrical Workers affected, and shall continue so until same is accomplished.

Respectfully submitted,
EUGENE E. SMITH,
W. J. DYSON,

HARRY A. FREED,
WM. F. KELLY,
GUY T. WHITE,
H. W. RAVEN,
L. C. GRASSER,
M. BIRMINGHAM,
M. P. GORDON,
CHAS. P. FORD,
M. BIRMINGHAM,
Chairman of Joint Committee.
EUG. E. SMITH,
Secretary of Joint Committee."

September 26th, 1911.

The unaffiliated organization adopted the report but burdened it with the condition that its system of District Councils in cities must be adopted by the organization affiliated, a system which had been in vogue before the division and which had been discarded by the affiliated Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as being ruinous.

Our affiliated organization adopted the agreement with a declaration that it waived no legal rights it held before the courts. This was interpreted by the unaffiliated organization as in conflict with the provision in the agreement that no appeal should be taken from the decision rendered in the pending case before the court. To remove that impression the affiliated organization's convention thereupon and without reservation declared its approval of the agreement as drafted and agreed upon by the committees from both organizations and continued its committee. The unaffiliated organization's convention withdrew and discharged its committee from further conferences and adjourned.

At our meeting at headquarters during the week of October 16-21, desirous of having these matters authentically placed before us, we invited Mr. McNulty, president of the affiliated Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Mr. Reid, president of the unaffiliated organization, to meet with us and present the facts, the facts elicited being as we have just stated them. We finally asked this question of both Mr. McNulty and Mr. Reid: "Are you willing to recommend the settlement of the differences between the affiliated and unaffiliated brotherhoods of Electrical Workers upon the exact terms of the agreement drafted and reported by the joint committee of the representatives of both organizations at the Rochester conventions?"

President McNulty replied that he would recommend to his organization and the committee representing it a settle-

ment on the exact terms contained in the joint committee's report.

President Reid replied to the same question that the matter is not in his hands but he would submit to the membership of his organization anything the Executive Council would furnish him.

Inasmuch as Mr. McNulty for his Brotherhood regards the agreement reached by the joint committee at Rochester as binding upon his organization and Mr. Reid has answered that he would submit to the membership of his organization any recommendation made by the Executive Council,

We urge that this convention recommend to Mr. Reid that the joint agreement reached at Rochester be submitted to a referendum vote of his membership, and that the unaffiliated organization authorize and direct a committee to meet with the committee of the affiliated organization with the view of carrying the provisions of the Rochester agreement into effect, and thus amalgamate the two organizations into one comprehensive brotherhood of electrical workers, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Machinists—Elevator Constructors.

The amalgamation of these two organizations, despite the efforts of your Executive Council, has not been affected. In the official printed proceedings of the St. Louis convention, on pages 101-5, and pages 155-57, and pages 279-281, will be found the entire proceedings of that convention in dealing with this subject, which by the convention was referred to the Executive Council. At our meeting at headquarters in January, we devoted much time to the consideration of this subject. The representatives of the two organizations were present, and were afforded the fullest opportunity for discussion. It was agreed that a conference should be held between the representatives of the two organizations on the second Monday in March, 1911, in which President Gompers and another member of the Executive Council should participate. The officers of both organizations were duly notified to that effect. In reply to that notification, Secretary Young, of the Elevator Constructors, sent Presi-

dent Gompers the following letter:

Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 27, 1911.
Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Yours of the 18th instant received informing us that President O'Connell has arranged for a meeting with his board during the week of March 13th in Washington, and you suggest that our representatives arrange to be present. I acquainted our representatives of your plan, and they have informed me, that it is impossible for them to be present on the week mentioned as they have been elected to attend our State Federation meetings.

They will be most pleased to arrange for a meeting at any other time that will meet the approval of all concerned, and which you will advise us of the same.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM YOUNG,
Secretary-Treasurer.

In his reply thereto, President Gompers said:

February 28, 1911.

Mr. William Young, Secretary International Union of Elevator Constructors, 1952 N. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Dear Sir and Brother:

Your favor of the 27th instant to hand and contents noted. In it you say you have acquainted the representatives of your organization with my "plan" and they inform you that it is impossible for them to be present on the week mentioned (March 13), as they have been elected to attend the State Federation meetings.

First, let me say that neither the conference nor the suggestion of the conference is due to any plan of mine. It was the result of an agreement between the representatives of your International Union and of the International Association of Machinists.

I submitted the information you impart to President O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists, and he expressed the utmost surprise thereat, and declared that your International Union is in honor bound to have its representatives present at the conference in this city on March 13th.

Your attention is called to the fact that the Executive Council meeting of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters, January 16-27, President Jas. F. Murphy of your International Union, and Brother Frank Feeney were here and in conference with the Executive Council and with President James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists. The subject matter of the conference was discussed and on behalf of the International Association of Machinists, President O'Connell urged the meeting of the conference at a very early date. Brother Feeney of your organization stated that it was his desire to go south for several weeks, and that inasmuch as he was to be a participant in the conference it should be deferred until some later date. It was

then agreed by Brothers Murphy and Feeney, for your International Union, and President O'Connell for the International Association of Machinists, that conference should be held in Washington, March 13. Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Council show this clearly and that the Executive Council was made a party to the agreement.

Having all these matters in mind, President O'Connell issued a call for a meeting of the Executive Board of the I. A. of M. to meet in Washington for the purpose of meeting with the representatives of your organization, and so that the Executive Board being in session, could make the most liberal terms possible and to make them effectively. President O'Connell called attention to the fact that members of the Executive Board are:

Mr. James A. Reynolds, State Senator, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Hugh Doran, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Edward L. Tucker, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Robert Cook, Seattle, Washington.

Mr. A. E. Ireland, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

Two of the members of the Executive Board are employed in the navy yard and arsenal and have applied for, and obtained from their departments, leave of absence for the week of March 13. The members of his Executive Board will therefore travel long distances for the special purpose of attending this conference and he says that the Executive Board meeting cannot and will not be called off.

Of course I do not underestimate the importance of attending the meetings of State Federations, but I submit that after an agreement has been made to hold a conference of such tremendous importance as the one under discussion that when the date of the conference is reached to suit the convenience of the representatives of your organization, attendance at this conference overshadows the attendance at a meeting of a state federation convention.

In view of all these matters, I again advise you that the conference of the representatives of the International Union of Elevator Constructors and the International Association of Machinists will be held in Washington, D. C., beginning Monday morning, March 13, 1911, in accordance with the agreement as to time, date and place, entered into between the representatives of your international union and the representatives of the I. A. of M. You will therefore kindly invite and notify the representatives of your International Union to be present at the conference.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.
N. B. I am sending a copy of this letter to President Murphy of your international union, and to Brother Frank Feeney.

In his reply on March 4th, Secretary Young said:

I feel that Brother Feeney overlooked the appointment he made with President

O'Connell on January 16th, when he accepted the duties as delegate to the State Federation convention of Pennsylvania. Now knowing that special arrangements have been entered into by some of the members of the Machinists' International Executive Board, our representatives will at once leave for Washington after the State Federation convention has ended. The convention will not last over three or four days. Trusting that you will inform us if President O'Connell and the members of his executive Board can make it convenient to meet our representatives according to above proposition.

A conference was thereupon held on March 17th at the A. F. of L. headquarters. President Gompers represented the Executive Council. Secretary Morrison was also to be present but was unavoidably called out of the city on that date. After full and free discussion of the entire matter, an agreement was reached as follows:

Washington, D. C., March 17, 1911.

Realizing the necessity for the thorough organization of the working people and the closer unity of the organized workers, and despite the fact that the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Elevator Constructors are powerful and effective forces in the interests of the workers of their respective trades, it is nevertheless a self-evident truism that because of the close kinship of these trades, that amalgamation of these two organizations would accomplish greater results to protect and promote the rights and interests of the workers thereof, and for the furtherance of the great uplift work for all the workers, the undersigned, representing their respective organizations, agree upon the following terms of amalgamation:

1. On and after June first, 1911, the International Union of Elevator Constructors shall become part of the International Association of Machinists, and shall be known thereafter as "Elevator Constructors' District No.—." Said district to have jurisdiction over all men engaged in elevator construction work on buildings or wherever elevators may be erected.

2. The present international officers of the I. U. of E. C. shall be the district officers and conduct the affairs of the district in accordance with the laws of the I. A. of M. The salary of the officers to be the same as now paid.

3. The I. A. of M. will grant charters and supplies free of cost to all unions in good standing in the I. U. of E. C., and assign them numbers in accordance with the list of lodges of the I. A. of M.

4. All money in the treasury or hands of other officers or in any way held as the money of the I. U. of E. C. shall become the treasury and money of Elevator Constructors, District No.—, and be held for the purpose of conducting the financial affairs of that district.

5. All members engaged in the con-

struction of elevators in buildings, or elsewhere, where same is to be used, shall carry their membership in a lodge connected with Elevator Constructors, District No.—. Members of the I. A. of M. who may be employed now or in the future in the erection or construction of elevators, holding membership in another lodge, shall transfer to the lodge having jurisdiction over this work in the locality where the member or members may be employed in Elevator Constructors, District No.—.

6. The I. A. of M. agrees to pay 50 per cent of the legitimate salary and expenses of all business agents now paid by and under salary of the I. U. of E. C. in accordance with the constitution of the I. A. of M.; said business agents who have their offices in the same office as the business agents of the I. A. of M. are located in order that the unnecessary expense of conducting two offices may be avoided.

7. Whereas, the constitution of the I. A. of M. requires that members, to be entitled to strike or victimized benefits of \$6.00 per week to single men and \$8.00 per week married men, shall be in three months' good standing to be entitled to same; it is hereby agreed that upon the amalgamation of the two organizations all members of the I. U. of E. C. transferring to the I. A. of M. shall be immediately placed in good standing and entitled to strike and victimized benefits as provided for in the constitution of the I. A. of M.

8. All per capita tax of the A. F. of L. Building Trades department, and such other departments or organizations, as the consolidated organization may become attached to, shall be paid out of the general fund of the I. A. of M.

9. The Elevator Constructors, District No.—, of the I. A. of M., can hold conventions, adopt laws to govern the district, and carry on the affairs of said district practically on the same lines as now being done by the I. U. of E. C., with the exception that all rules, regulations and laws adopted by Elevator Constructors, District No.—, shall be in conformity with the general constitution of the I. A. of M.

10. All members of the I. U. of E. C., affiliated with the I. A. of M. shall pay to their local union at least \$1.00 per month dues, and each local lodge shall pay to the grand lodge the standard rate of per capita tax prescribed by the constitution of the I. A. of M., as follows: Journeymen initiation stamp, \$1.50; apprentice initiation stamp, 75c; reinstatement stamp, \$1.50; monthly due stamp, 55c; apprentice monthly due stamp, 25c; unemployed stamp, 20c; It being understood that the above per capita tax covers the subscription to the monthly journal, the same to be supplied to each lodge in proportion to the number of members in good standing. Each lodge affiliated to conduct its financial business in accordance with the constitution of the I. A. of M.

11. The I. A. of M. agrees to give all members of the I. U. of E. C. in good standing at the time of amalgamation a

credit of six months' good standing membership, so that they will be entitled to the death benefits of the I. A. of M. as soon as the amalgamation takes place.

12. All lodges of the I. U. of E. C. becoming part of the I. A. of M. shall be entitled to send delegates to the convention of the I. A. of M. on the same basis as all other lodges of the I. A. of M. are entitled to.

13. It is hereby agreed that all members of the I. U. of E. C. transferring to and becoming a part of the I. A. of M. shall be entitled to all benefits, privileges and assistance of the association, and the general officers of the I. A. of M. as is given all members and lodges of the I. A. of M.

14. The above agreement being mutually accepted, can be altered only with the consent of both parties thereto, that is, the International Association of Machinists on the one hand, and Elevator Constructors, District No.—, on the other.

15. The representatives of the International Association of Machinists (being the general executive board thereof), having power conferred upon them, do accept this agreement upon attaching their signatures thereto.

16. The representatives of the International Union of Elevator Constructors agree to submit this agreement to the membership of their organization for ratification.

17. The representatives of the International Union of Elevator Constructors agree to notify the president of the American Federation of Labor on or before May 1, 1911, of the result of the referendum vote of the membership of the International Union of Elevator Constructors upon the ratification of this agreement.

18. The president of the American Federation of Labor, by direction of the convention and of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., agrees in the name of the American Federation of Labor to guarantee the faithful enforcement of the conditions in this agreement provided.

For the International Association of Machinists,

(Signed) JAS. O'CONNELL,
(Signed) A. E. IRELAND,
(Signed) HUGH DORAN,
(Signed) ED. L. TUCKER,
(Signed) R. G. COOK,
(Signed) JAS. A. REYNOLDS.

For the International Union of Elevator Constructors,

(Signed) J. F. MURPHY,
(Signed) FRANK FEENEY,
(Signed) A. EAGAN.

For the American Federation of Labor,
(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS.

In conformity with paragraph 16 of the agreement, Secretary Young on April 19th advised President Gompers as follows:

"As per instructions of the recent conference held in Washington relative to the amalgamation of the Elevator Constructors with the Machinists, I herewith forward you the result to date of the referendum vote taken.

The following locals voted unanimously not to amalgamate, with the exception

of Philadelphia and Denver, which reported one vote each for amalgamation:

- Local No. 1, New York.
- Local No. 2, Chicago.
- Local No. 3, St. Louis.
- Local No. 4, Boston.
- Local No. 5, Philadelphia.
- Local No. 6, Pittsburg.
- Local No. 7, Baltimore.
- Local No. 9, Minneapolis.
- Local No. 10, Washington.
- Local No. 12, Kansas City.
- Local No. 14, Buffalo.
- Local No. 15, Milwaukee.
- Local No. 17, Cleveland.
- Local No. 19, Seattle.
- Local No. 21, Dallas, Texas.
- Local No. 25, Denver.
- Local No. 27, Rochester.
- Local No. 31, Houston.
- Local No. 32, Atlanta.
- Local No. 33, Des Moines, Iowa.
- Local No. 34, Indianapolis.
- We have yet to hear from—
- Local No. 8, San Francisco.
- Local No. 16, New Orleans.
- Local No. 18, Los Angeles.
- Local No. 23, Portland.
- Local No. 24, Birmingham, Ala.
- Local No. 26, Vancouver, B. C.
- Local No. 28, Omaha.
- Local No. 30, Memphis.

My reason for forwarding to you at the present time the vote taken is so that you may be advised of the ultimate results, inasmuch as the present records show an overwhelming vote against amalgamation, the locals not yet heard from, amount to not more than 254 members. Immediately upon receipt of the vote of the locals not yet heard from, I will forward the result of their vote to you. The present status is 1856 against amalgamation and two for amalgamation.

In reference to the above contention between the organizations in interest, your Executive Council recommends that the subject matter be left with the Executive Council to take such further action as may be helpful to bring about full understanding and adjustment between the two organizations.

Blue Stone Cutters—Granite Cutters—Pavers and Rammermen.

In making our report upon this case to the St. Louis convention, the convention in view of the recommendation we made, ratified the agreement entered into in New York city November 11, 1910, between the Granite Cutters' International union, the Blue Stone Cutters, and Organizer Hugh Frayne, representing the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades department. The report of the committee and the action of the convention thereon will be found upon pages 108, 109, 136, 165, 289, 290, and 291 of the official printed proceedings of the St. Louis convention. It was re-

ported to us at our January meeting that the Blue Stone Cutters had failed to conform to the provisions of the agreement of November 11th and that neither the Pavers and Rammermen nor the New York C. F. U. had complied with the conference proceedings for the amalgamation of the Blue Stone Cutters with the Granite Cutters' International Association. We thereupon called upon the officers of the Pavers and Rammermen's International Union to immediately dissociate from membership therein the Blue Stone Cutters in question and also upon the C. F. U. of New York that in conformity with the action of the St. Louis convention, the Blue Stone Cutters should be either denied representation in the C. F. U. or become part of the Granite Cutters' International Association as provided by the agreement and the St. Louis decision. After conferences and much correspondence, both the Pavers and Rammermen's International Union and the C. F. U. officially notified President Gompers that the Blue Stone Cutters had withdrawn from the C. F. U. and had been denied affiliation by the Pavers and Rammermen's International union. We regret to say, however, that the affiliation of the Blue Stone Cutters with the Granite Cutters has not been effected.

Painters—Car Workers.

In conformity with the instructions of the St. Louis convention and dealing with the subject matter of resolution No. 119 a conference was finally arranged between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America. This conference was held at headquarters in Washington on April 20, President Gompers and Secretary Morrison representing the Executive Council.

It affords us much pleasure to be able to report that though no written agreement was made, yet an understanding was reached by which the organizations will co-operate in furthering the interests of the Carmen without prejudice as to the claims to which each organization is entitled.

Teamsters—Bakers.

At the St. Louis convention, the delegates from the International Brother-

hood of Teamsters introduced a resolution, No. 136, requesting that the convention should instruct the officers of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to turn over to the Brotherhood of Teamsters all drivers who are now members of the former organization. The convention directed that inasmuch as no conference had been held between the representatives of the two organizations that the President of the A. F. of L. should arrange a conference at the earliest possible date, with the object in view of bringing about a satisfactory agreement.

After considerable correspondence, a date and place for the conference mutually satisfactory to both organizations was arranged, that is the headquarters of the A. F. of L. in Chicago, on April 7th. The representatives of the Bakers were present at the time and place stated; the representatives of the Teamsters were not on hand. President Tobin thereafter stated that the general Executive Board of his organization was in session; that he could not leave to attend the conference; that he delegated certain representatives of his organization in Chicago to represent the International Union; that the representatives of the Bakers refused to meet with the Chicago representatives of the Teamsters, claiming that they had agreed only to meet with President Tobin.

Mr. Tobin then suggested another date when it would be possible for him personally to meet in conference, but the officers of the Bakers stated that their general Executive Board considered the case closed so far as their organization and the St. Louis convention decision was concerned, and that their Executive Board would not hold another meeting until April, 1912.

The matter is submitted to you and your advice is requested as to what further steps shall be taken.

Western Federation of Miners—Charter Granted.

The discussion upon the application for charter of affiliation made by the Western Federation of Miners to the American Federation of Labor consumed much time both prior to and at the St. Louis convention. That convention thereupon decided: "That the whole question at issue be referred to the Executive Coun-

cil with instructions to try to bring about an amicable adjustment, to the end that the Western Federation of Miners may obtain a charter without over-riding the principles of the American Federation of Labor."

After comprehensive correspondence and extended conferences with representatives of all the organizations in interest, the Executive Council, having in mind the statements made to the St. Louis convention of the A. F. of L. and to the Executive Council by the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, which were substantially that the Western Federation of Miners had for years not interfered with mechanical workers, not members of the Western Federation of Miners and who were members of international unions, and that they could see no reason for such interference in the future, urged that the policy of the Western Federation of Miners as indicated by the declaration of its representatives would be continued, and therefore directed:

That a charter be issued to the Western Federation of Miners on the basis of the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America. It was found that there was some difference between the coal mining and the mineral mining organizations in respect to the organization and employment of machinists which did not relatively apply to other trades, and, therefore, it was made a provision of the issuance of the charter that members of machinists' locals now existing in mining camps are not to be required to join the Western Federation of Miners in order to follow their trade in the mining camp.

The charter was issued May 9, 1911. Since the issuance of the charter several protests have been entered. We have endeavored to meet them and to overcome them. President Gompers, on his Pacific Coast trip, held conferences at Butte with representatives of several of these organizations and with the Western Federation of Miners, but the results have proven of little or no avail. Our actions were prompted by the direction of the St. Louis convention, and we can but express our hope that the declarations made at that convention and the moral obligation that all trade unionists must feel to be fair and considerate of the rights and interests of their fellow-

workers, will have their influence upon the course pursued now and for the future, recognizing that after all our duty is to unite, to federate, and to instill the spirit of fraternity and solidarity.

Sheet Metal Workers—Stove Mounters.

The St. Louis convention had under consideration the application of the Stove Mounters' International Union for change in title so as to read "Stove Mounters and Range Workers' International Union." The committee to which this matter was referred recommended that the title of the Stove Mounters be so changed as to read "Stove Mounters, Malleable and Cast Iron Workers' International Union." The convention directed that both organizations should appoint a committee of two each, for the purpose of holding a conference and determining the several disputed points of jurisdiction. The conference was held on February 24-25, but no agreement was reached, the Stove Mounters maintaining that they should continue to conduct the organization in accordance with the understanding reached between the Stove Mounters' International Union and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, immediately after the Toronto convention. Inasmuch as no agreement was reached and nothing accomplished by the conference and the St. Louis convention not conceding the proposed change in title of the Stove Mounters' International Union, that organization continues to conduct its business under the old title.

Carriage and Wagon Workers—Blacksmiths—Upholsterers—Painters.

In connection with the subject matter of resolutions Nos. 22 and 81 of the St. Louis convention, dealing with the disputed claims of jurisdiction between the Blacksmith's, Carriage and Wagon Workers', Upholsterers', and Painters' organizations, as directed by that convention, a conference was arranged between the representatives of the respective organizations. We are pleased to report that an agreement was reached as follows:

Headquarters American Federation of Labor.

Washington, D. C., April 19, 1911.

The St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, acting upon the report of the committee on adjustment in reference to resolutions Nos. 22-

81, directed that the entire subject matter covered by these resolutions be referred to the executive Council with instructions to call a conference of all parties with a view to clearly defining the lines of jurisdiction.

The Executive Council directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to act for the executive Council in the matter. In compliance therewith, the officers of the various organizations named were invited to participate in a conference to be held on this 19th day of April, 1911, at the offices of the American Federation of Labor.

The undersigned, representing their respective organizations, realizing the difficulty of maintaining jurisdiction, and while it may not be expedient or advantageous here to insist on our jurisdictional claims, therefore, for the purpose of endeavoring to assist in organizing the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, the following agreement is hereby made, the purpose thereof to be liberally, rather than technically, construed and complied with:

1. It is the right and the privilege of any workman employed in any carriage, wagon, or automobile establishment, to belong to his respective trade or organization or the Carriage and Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union.

2. It shall not be necessary for any worker employed in a carriage, wagon, or automobile establishment, to belong to more than one organization party to this agreement.

3. The bona fide cards of good standing membership in any one of the organizations to this agreement shall be recognized as all-sufficient in carriage, wagon and automobile establishments; the choice of membership in either of the organizations, parties to this agreement to rest with the workman.

4. Initiation fee in localities where unions now exist shall not be less than \$3.00, unless by mutual consent.

5. In any carriage, wagon, or automobile establishment where there are employed members of more than one of the organizations, parties to this agreement the matter of an agreement relative to wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment, shall be made by a joint committee of the employees of the establishment, or a joint committee of the locals whose members are or may be affected.

6. The officers of the organizations, parties to this agreement, shall meet not less than once each year, for the purpose of perfecting, amplifying, or modifying this agreement, and they shall have power to delegate the functions herein provided for themselves to the local unions in the several respective localities.

7. The representatives of the organizations, parties to this agreement, pledge themselves to co-operate for the more thorough organization of the workers in the carriage, wagon, and automobile establishments, and to take such action as shall best protect and promote the

rights and interests of the workers in this industry.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS' UNION.

(Signed) WM. P. MAVELL,
(Signed) L. F. MAIRE, Per M.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS.

(Signed) J. W. KLINE,
(Signed) ED. J. RYAN.

FOR THE UPHOLSTERERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA.

(Signed) WM. KOHN,
For the American Federation of Labor.

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
(Signed) FRANK MORRISON.

The representatives of the Brotherhood of Painters, however, did not sign the agreement, stating that they did not care in any way to modify or hamper the jurisdiction accorded to the Brotherhood and upon which the Brotherhood would at least in theory, still insist. They stated, however, that no aggressive move would be made by them to impede the efforts of the Carriage and Wagon Workers to organize the trade.

Printers—Bookbinders—Single Wrapping.

By Resolution No. 37, of the St. Louis convention, introduced by the delegates from the International Typographical Union, the resolution requesting that the convention should go on record as declaring that single wrapping is part of the mailing trade and under the jurisdiction of the I. T. U., your Executive Council was instructed to make a ruling and render a decision in the matter.

This matter was taken up at our January meeting and the presidents and other representatives of both organizations were present. After considerable discussion it was decided that a conference should be held between the representatives of the two organizations, President Gompers to represent the Executive Council, for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment. This conference was held on March the 21st. At that conference representatives of both parties insisted that inasmuch as they were unable to come to an agreement, it was incumbent upon the Executive Council to render a decision in conformity with the instructions of the St. Louis convention. Therefore, at our next meeting in June, when the representatives of both organizations were again present, and after still further efforts on our part

to secure an agreement between them, we gave the following decision:

After examining the evidence and hearing the oral arguments, and until the two organizations interested effect a mutual agreement on the subject, it is the sense of the Executive Council that "single wrapping" where now performed in commercial bindery houses by members of the Bindery Workers' Union should not be disturbed, and that there should be no interference with the right of the Bindery Workers' Union, to organize non-union workers engaged at single wrapping in commercial binderies. But when the work in question is performed in purely printing offices, it comes under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers—Jurisdiction Over Moving Picture Machine Operators.

There is little that we are enabled to report to this convention in addition to the report which we made to you at St. Louis, as follows:

As directed by the Toronto convention, President Gompers continued his efforts during the year to secure an agreement between the representatives of the Theatrical Stage Employees and the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the matter of the disputed question of jurisdiction over moving picture machine operators. He met in conference with the representatives of both organizations on February 21. After a general discussion by representatives on both sides, it was mutually agreed that the entire matter should be referred to the Executive Council, whose decision would be final and binding upon both parties; and that the representatives of both organizations should file a brief of their respective cases within thirty days from the date of the conference. The brief of the Theatrical Stage Employees was duly filed. The Electrical Workers failed to file their brief and the matter still remains unsettled.

The officers of the Theatrical Stage Employees submitted their brief during the St. Louis convention. President Gompers repeatedly endeavored during the year to arrange a conference between the representatives of the two organizations in conformity with the directions of the St. Louis convention. June the 10th was finally agreed upon by both sides as a satisfactory date for the conference to be held at the headquarters in Washington. The representatives of the Theatrical Stage Employees came to Washington for that purpose. The representative of the Electrical Workers was unavoidably detained beyond the hour set for the conference. The repre-

representatives of the Stage Employees, owing to pressing engagements in New York, were unable to remain longer than the time agreed upon for the conference. Since that time the representatives of the two organizations have been unable to agree upon a mutually satisfactory time and place for holding a conference.

It should be stated that during the year, the secretaries of central bodies in various localities have written to the Washington headquarters requesting advice as to the organization under the jurisdiction of which the moving picture machine operators should properly be placed, as the local unions of Electrical Workers and of Theatrical Stage Employees were in conflict in regard to the matter.

We recommend that efforts be continued during the coming year to adjust the questions of difference between these two organizations.

Photo-Engravers' Strike and Injunction.

The members of the International Photo-Engravers' Union were engaged in a difficulty with their employers in Boston by reason of their endeavor to establish a forty-eight hour week, the payment of overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays, a minimum wage scale, and the protection of their right of association and organization. The employers, through the aid of the courts, declared this strike illegal and prevented the organization from paying strike benefit to its members. Injunctions were issued to this effect. The Photo-Engravers, however, began paying out-of-work benefit to their members who were out of employment. As a result of this they were summoned into court at the instance of the employers to show cause why they should not be punished for contempt, for violating the terms of the injunction. However, the court did not sustain the contention of the employers, and, as a result, shortly after the decision was rendered, an agreement was entered into by the employers in this industry in the city of Boston with the Photo-Engravers' Union, whereby the question has been amicably adjusted and in the direction of favoring the contentions of the members of that union.

Cigarmakers' Strike, Tampa.

For a considerable period of time prior

to and during the last convention, some 9,000 cigarmakers were engaged in what was called a strike in Tampa, Fla., but which was really a lockout. The Cigar Manufacturers' Association of that city inaugurated this difficulty by systematically "laying off" a large number of cigarmakers each week until practically all of the members of the Union were locked out. This condition of affairs continued about seven months. Every effort was made by those who were engaged in this difficulty locally, as well as by the officers of the Cigarmakers' International Union, to bring about a conference with the cigar manufacturers of Tampa, so that an amicable adjustment of the matter might be reached.

The manufacturers refused at all times to meet either the committees of the local unions, or the representatives of the International Union, claiming that the whole matter had been left in the hands of an organization known as the "Citizens' Association." This so-called "Citizens' Association," whose avowed policy was the establishment of the so-called "open shop" in Tampa, likewise refused to meet with the committees. This so-called "Citizens' Committee" established a reign of terror in Tampa and endeavored to coerce the locked out cigarmakers to return to work. High-handed proceedings were carried on by this "Citizens' Committee." They armed themselves with rifles and revolvers, paraded the streets, and in automobiles, and went so far as to refuse to permit the officers of the unions in Tampa to carry on the business of their organizations. They raided the halls in which the members of this organization were meeting in a peaceful, lawful manner, and compelled them to disperse these meetings. They also raided the offices of the local unions and had several of the officers arrested. In violation of all law and rights they deported and forced out of Tampa men who were innocent of any wrongdoing, legal or moral.

The Mayor of Tampa (the editor and proprietor of the leading paper for that city), was the head and front of the so-called Citizens' Committee, and the brutal course pursued by him and his associates, which was clothed with his official action as mayor, was lauded in his newspaper. Under these circumstances no relief or protection could be

had at the hands of the local government. President Gompers upon direction of the Executive Council thereupon appealed to the governor of Florida to make an investigation and to protect the rights, the liberties and the lives of the men who were so grossly abused and outraged.

The contest was continued for a considerable period of time, but finally, under a truce the cigarmakers returned to work as union men. After having returned to work, three of the officers of the Cigarmakers' Union were indicted under an old and obsolete statute in which it is declared that they were engaged in a conspiracy, because they advised their fellow workers not to return to work until an adjustment of the difficulty had been made. These proceedings were continued in the courts, and as a result of the enforcement of this statute, Messrs. Dela Campa, Bartlum and Russell were convicted of conspiracy and each was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

The cases were fought vigorously by the Cigarmakers' International Union in the courts of Florida, but under the law it was impossible to appeal these cases to the supreme court of that state.

A short time after the men above mentioned were sentenced, public sentiment was of such a character, believing that the men were unjustly convicted, that the matter was brought to the attention of the Board of Pardons of the State of Florida, who after giving the matter their consideration, issued a pardon or parole, to Bartlum and Russell, pending their good behavior. A similar pardon or parole was granted to Dela Campa, which, however, contained a provision that before it became operative he must consent to leave the state and not return within its borders for a period of six years. This additional parole was refused by Dela Campa, and he is still confined to the turpentine camps of Florida serving out the sentence originally imposed, and all because he stood by and assisted his fellow workmen in their efforts to obtain right and justice.

We should not only demand the unconditional pardon of Dela Campa, but also insist upon the future guarantee of all the rights to which the people of Florida are entitled under the con-

stitution of our Republic. Outrages of the character as they occurred in Tampa tend to intensify the feeling among our people that equality before the law is a sham and a delusion. Your attention is called to the article and correspondence in the December, 1910, American Federationist under the caption, "The Attempt to Drive Union Labor From Tampa."

Los Angeles Situation.

For several years we, as an Executive Council, have devoted a section of our report to the situation in the labor movement in Los Angeles, this by reason of the fact that the metropolis of Southern California has been made the special target of those who seek to crush out and ultimately destroy our labor movement.

Wholly apart from the Los Angeles situation as particularly referring to the trial of the McNamara brothers now in progress there, and which is dealt with fully in President Gompers' report, we are pleased to be able to say that there has been an increase in the number of unions formed and an increase in membership in the unions of more than 7,000; all this within the past year.

Our President reports that upon his visit to Los Angeles he was greatly gratified to find that the spirit of the men of labor of that city is undaunted by the many obstacles and the bitter opposition confronting the labor movement.

Transportation Department.

There was some discussion during our last convention as to the advisability of forming a transportation department of the A. F. of L. The entire subject was referred to us for conference with the representatives of the several transportation organizations as to the practicability of organizing such a department. The officers of each organization eligible were consulted, and the final conclusion reached was unfavorable to the proposed project for the present.

Organized Farmers.

At the time of our meeting at headquarters in January, the Executive Board of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America was also meeting in the city of Washington. Four members of that body, representing the

states of Colorado, Texas, Georgia and Washington, were present during one of our sessions to officially convey to your Executive Council that it was the expressed wish of the Farmers' Executive Board to co-operate in every possible way with organized labor to bring about more satisfactory conditions to the wage-earners of our country and to inquire in what way the Farmers' organizations could be of assistance to further the cause of all labor. It was stated that the Executive Board of the Farmers' organization had decided to institute a campaign for the purpose of educating their members to work for the securing of remedial legislation, and that Washington's birthday, February 22d, had been decided upon as Farmers' Day. Needless to say, the farmers' committee was most cordially received, and a most interesting conference ensued during which the committee was fully advised as to the particular matters of legislation, the enactment of which organized labor seeks.

The St. Louis convention gave authority to the Executive Council to send a representative of the A. F. of L. to attend the next annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union. That convention was held at Shawnee, Okla., September 5th, and for several days thereafter. Mr. Henry M. Walker, of El Paso, Texas, was duly appointed as the representative of the A. F. of L., and attended that convention. His report substantially is as follows:

Aside from the many problems apparently of particular interest to the actual farmer the convention accorded to numerous representatives of organized labor opportunities to address it.

The convention unanimously adopted the following:

Resolved, That the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, recommends a closer co-operation between the union men of the farm, railroads, mines, mills, factories and shops, to the end that a greater good may result to the masses.

Resolved, That the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America stands firmly for the enforcement of and compliance with the laws of our states and nation; more especially by those who occupy an apparently semi-official position.

We demand the punishment of crime through the enforcement of law.

We denounce the act of kidnapping

a citizen of one state (regardless of the crime of which he may be charged), and spiriting him away to another state without due process of law, is of itself a crime that strikes at the very foundation of our civilization. A crime which if permitted to go unpunished and unpunished must inevitably have a far-reaching effect in lessening respect for law, and encouraging further acts of anarchy and vandalism. A crime that will go far towards destroying the security, not only of our property, but of our homes and the lives of ourselves and families.

From information gathered through personal conversations with delegates from the various states, it was ascertained that co-operation in some form or other, between the union farmers and the union laborers is meeting with success in a number of the states and that in either case the farmers favor closer co-operation.

In one of the Southern States the Farmers' State Union and the State Federation of Labor publish a state paper, in which they jointly keep their principles, purposes and policies before their members and the public-at-large.

In one state, it was learned, that thirty-seven co-operative stores are successfully conducted. In other states, in which other lines of business are carried on by the mutual co-operation of farmers and laborers, success has crowned the work. The farmers are demanding the initiative, referendum and the recall.

It was ascertained that the Executive Committee for the Farmers' State Union of Oklahoma adopted the following:

We feel that it is appropriate, as well as our sacred duty, to give an expression against the outrageous kidnapping of J. J. McNamara, Secretary of the Iron Workers' Union, by a hired detective agency, without due process of law. We join our protest with the millions of toilers who feel this outrage most keenly and we denounce this kidnapping as villainous, un-American, and a burning disgrace to modern civilization. The weakness of the cause of plutocracy is clearly shown by this unlawful outrage.

We recommend that the work in co-operation with the Farmers' organization shall not only be continued, but that as far as practicable, advisable and advantageous, that it shall be extended. We further recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to have a representative of the A. F. of L. attend the next annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union. We

take this occasion to express our appreciation of the action taken by those conventions of the organized farmers, and we recommend that they be invited to send regular fraternal delegates to our conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Union Label Law Digest.

We are pleased to be able to report that the compilation and printing of the Digest of the Union Label laws have been completed and the volumes distributed to the various organizations which contributed to the fund to defray the expenses of the work.

Union Label Leagues.

Considerable misapprehension or misunderstanding seems to exist among some of the central labor unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor as to the rights of the locals of the Women's Union Label League to be represented in the central bodies, with the same rights and privileges as locals of affiliated national and international unions.

In all such cases the central bodies in interest have been fully advised as to the laws, policy and practice of the American Federation of Labor governing such matters, and that these locals should be allowed representation by fraternal delegates only just as organizations of a similar character are allowed representation by fraternal delegates in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. In some instances the central bodies have insisted that these locals should be granted the privilege of a voice and vote in the meetings in as much as the constitution of the American Federation of Labor does not specifically declare otherwise.

Central bodies, like the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, are made up of the representatives of organized wage-earners, legislated by wage-earners for wage-earners. While we realize the value of the services rendered by Union Label Leagues for the cause of union label agitation, yet, in the matter of legislation determining the course which organized labor should pursue in any given set of circumstances, the best interests demand that any matters upon questions affecting the course of labor, those who are primarily affected must, of necessity,

determine that course by their votes. This is not a reflection upon the Union Label Leagues, nor is it a denial of any of their rights or under-valuation of the effective services they render, but if our labor movement is to maintain its character of a wage-earner's movement, its course and policy must be determined by the organized wage-earners themselves.

We would, therefore, recommend that this convention should make a specific declaration upon the subject for future guidance of affiliated city central bodies.

Counterfeiting A. F. of L. Union Label.

One of the organizations, through its delegates, made complaint to the St. Louis convention of several manufacturers in New York city who were counterfeiting the union label of the American Federation of Labor, this matter being through Resolution No. 56.

President Gompers visited New York and together with the A. F. of L. official representative of that city, had a long conference with the District Attorney who promised his full assistance in the prosecution of the counterfeiters. In fact, an arrangement was made whereby a detective and an assistant district attorney were assigned to the particular work of the detection and prosecution of those who undertake to secure contributions from business men and employers of labor in the name of organized labor and who counterfeit the union label.

This action on the part of the District Attorney has been greatly helpful in protecting the good name of labor in New York and also protecting the business public against such imposters. It should be further stated that some arrests have been made and the parties who thus fraudulently used the name of organized labor are now serving the sentences imposed upon them by the proper legal authorities.

American Federation of Labor Office Building.

There is little that we are able to report to you at this time in addition to our report at St. Louis. A number of additional sites have been submitted to us which we have considered and the feasibility of which we have discussed, but we are not now prepared to make any report of a specific plan for an office building.

We recommend, however, that consideration of this matter should be continued during the coming year, and the Executive Council authorized to carry into effect any plan for the erection of the A. F. of L. office building within the limits of the instructions of the previous conventions.

A. F. of L. News Letter.

Pursuant to action taken by the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, directing the Executive Council to prepare and distribute a weekly news letter, free of cost, to all publications devoted to the cause of labor, or of a reform character, arrangements were completed and the service was inaugurated on April 8, 1911, on which date the first letter was forwarded to the publications for which it was intended. We are gratified to report that the news letter has been of immense value to all publications issued in the interests of labor.

Careful attention has been given to the amount of matter printed by the various publications receiving the news letter. The number of columns published of the first letter sent out reached in the aggregate approximately 140 columns, distributed over a very fair per cent of all the labor, reform and other publications receiving the service. The use of this matter has been continually on the increase until the maximum amount of matter published reached over 500 columns per week. Computing on the basis of the number of publications received and checked at headquarters, this is an average of over four columns per labor paper for each issue. It must be understood that these figures cover only the weekly labor and reform press, not including the official journals of national organizations. The latter journals are using a large amount of matter in addition to that already noted. It must be remembered, however, that the national journals from their very character contain in the main official matter of the organization issuing same, but it is a noticeable fact that many of the national journals have, since the inauguration of this service, gradually increased their publication of the same.

There have been launched this year, since the inauguration of the news let-

ter, about twelve new weekly labor publications.

As a result of the dissemination of this news much correspondence has ensued relative to the service, not alone coming from the labor and reform press, but from daily, weekly and other publications not devoted exclusively to labor. Many of these communications make application for the service and, where it does not conflict with the labor press, the news has been furnished. It is notable that the weekly labor press as a whole has been beneficially affected by the furnishing of this news service, many of which publications have increased in size.

Without question, if it be possible in the future to extend this service to the point where it will be possible to maintain at headquarters a general publicity bureau, there are many avenues through which trade union news can be disseminated. For your information it can be stated that there are a very large number of weekly papers distributed throughout the entire country, that would, if possible, print a limited amount of trade union news. This is called to your attention from the fact that in a number of instances weekly papers not connected in any manner with labor are publishing portions of the news letter.

It is suggested and urged that the weekly news letter be continued and that efforts be made looking toward the furnishing of this service to all publications in every part of the country that are not in conflict with those devoted exclusively to labor. It will require a considerable period of time to obtain the full effect of a general publicity news letter, but the results thus far have been gratifying and the experience gained thus far, if continued along the same lines, will be inestimable value to our labor movement of the future.

We have sent the weekly news letter to a few labor publications of Europe and have received highly commendatory letters from these sources. In two instances it has been suggested that we extend the issuance of the weekly news letter for the International Labor movement. However, since at our suggestion the International Secretariat at its meeting in Budapest in August, empowered the executive officer to issue bulletins of this character, we have deemed it unwise to undertake the new obligation.

Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Laws.

The St. Louis convention instructed the Executive Council to investigate the entire subject matter of liability and compensation and report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor such recommendations relative to legislation, as in our judgment will secure just laws on these subjects along the lines of uniformity.

In our President's report to the St. Louis convention he stated that up to that time thirty-seven states had enacted some form of Employers' Liability law; very few of which, however, had been liberally or humanely interpreted for the workers by the courts. This failure is accounted for because of the peculiar judicial reasoning of the judges in their determination to follow earlier decisions on the defenses of "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence," and "fellow servant" rulings; with the addition of another employers' defense termed "waiving of rights."

Up to that time, however, seventeen states had abrogated the defense of "fellow servant" responsibility in liability laws applicable to transportation service.

Colorado eliminated this defense in all employments.

Seven states had modified the "fellow servant" rule without abrogating it.

Some others had modified the rulings of "contributory negligence."

This is referred to, to call attention to the complications with these vicious obstacles which have been employed by law-makers and law administrators to maintain the burden of accidents upon the injured person, his family or other dependents. Each and all of these defenses were devised in the past years before employment had become so diversified, extensive or intensified as modern industry and transportation have now developed.

It must be remembered that the American Federation of Labor has for years called public attention to the need of effective remedies. It has registered its protest in a formal but emphatic way before Congress and the officials of the government, calling specific attention to the need of satisfactory Employers' Liability laws, and urging the enactment of workmen's automatic compensation laws. This agitation has been

persistently carried on since, finally developing a great educational system by which the American Federation of Labor has been practically the clearing house for information to the people on detailed information covering these subjects.

Some good results in the way of legislation have also been secured. First, the sixtieth Congress enacted a law covering inter-state employment on railroads, intended to cover the deficiencies of the act of 1906, which was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in February, 1908. The same Congress enacted an automatic compensation law in behalf of government employees engaged in hazardous occupations. While it is true the benefits attached to this law for death and permanent injury are far from being sufficient, yet we can congratulate ourselves for the high standard modern automatic principle established on this subject, and that the benefits of this law have been a blessing to many workers in the government service.

The sixty-first Congress further amended the Federal Employers' Liability law, making it still more advantageous to employes on inter-state railroads.

During the past two years the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Kansas and Missouri, together with the Federal Government, have had commissions at work making exhaustive inquiries and reporting to the several legislatures the results of their findings upon these two subjects, with the result that, up to our latest advices, the states of Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, California, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin, have, during the recent sessions of their several legislatures, either amended their present statutes or enacted new ones that will prove great blessings to the workers in the states mentioned, and in addition, which will be an incentive for the people of neighboring states to follow along similar lines. For instance, the state of Mississippi removed the defense of "contributory negligence" as a bar to recovery. Ohio abrogated all of the old defenses, namely, "fellow servant," "assumption of risk," "waiving of rights," and modified the "contributory negli-

gence" defense to one of "comparative negligence" to be submitted to the jury, the law to cover all employments in the state. Ohio also passed an elective compensation act, by which any employer who refuses to accept the provisions contained in it is denied any of the defenses to which we have already referred.

New Jersey, Illinois, New Hampshire, California and Vermont passed measures substantially on the same lines as Ohio, insofar as the "defenses" in employers' liability are concerned.

Florida enacted a moderate bill as a first step.

Kansas amended its Employers' Liability Act to conform to the Federal Act.

One of the laws enacted by New York was by its highest court declared unconstitutional, but steps have already been taken by the people of that state to so amend the constitution or the law that the courts will be deprived of the prerogative to set aside the will of the people.

Wisconsin has enacted a very satisfactory measure.

The Massachusetts Commission submitted its recommendation to the courts of that state for examination before recommending the legislature to enact it. The court gave its approval to the proposed measure.

The state of Washington enacted possibly the most progressive compensation act of all the states, in that it created a state insurance department, through which every industry is taxed a percentage of its payroll, the entire funds thus collected therefor going to pay for injuries received in the course of employment, the state bearing the burden of the administration. A case under this act was speedily carried to the courts of the state, and on September 27th, under decision of Justice Fullerton, concurred in by the full court; this excellent measure was declared as being constitutional, the last words of the decision reading: "We conclude, therefore, that the question violates no provision of either the state or the Federal constitutions."

The compensation laws herein referred to that have been adopted by the several states, have embraced the feature of being compulsory as applied to the state and municipalities within the state, but

permitting them to be elective on the part of private employers. Where the acts have been accepted as compulsory in all cases the former liability laws have been repealed. Under the elective* system the doctrine of the common law, on this subject remains in full force; consequently, parties involved may elect to operate under the compensation measure, or may take it into court and sue under substantially the common law for the recovery of full damages, but where the employer refuses compensation, the injured workman or his dependents may then sue under the existing liability laws in which the defenses of the employers are largely abrogated.

In Kansas, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Minnesota, Illinois and Ohio, the compensation laws are elective, which form permits employers and employees to contract with each other for the substitution of the liability for compensation in the place of liability for damages obtained in court under an Employers' Liability Act.

In California, Wisconsin and Minnesota, they are elective as applicable to private parties, but compulsory to the state and its sub-divisions. The compulsory form gives the injured workman the right to compensation in every case (except where the injury is caused by his own serious and wilful misconduct), and this compensation must be accepted to the exclusion of all other remedies except in cases of injury resulting from the employers' serious and wilful misconduct; in which cases the remedy would be allowed under the regular file in court.

The Washington law carries with it a compulsory insurance feature.

The Minnesota law embraces an elective, co-operative insurance plan. Co-operative insurance is a scheme by which the fund is obtained by premiums from both the employer and employees or from the employer alone.

In Maryland the law only applies to two counties, namely, Allegheny and Garrett, and only two industries are included; namely, coal and clay mining.

*The use of the term "elective" is technical and applies to the choice of workers or their families in choosing to trial by courts for damages or to avail themselves of compensation.

During the consideration of these laws in the several states, one of the subjects that perplexed the commissions most was, to what extent the law should apply in the matter of industrial occupation; consequently, local conditions influencing industrial activities in a state naturally guided the legislatures on this point.

In Kansas, New Hampshire and Washington, an enumerated list was compiled as to what were considered especially dangerous or extraordinarily hazardous.

In New Jersey and Ohio all industries are covered (as they should be).

In Illinois, California and Wisconsin, the application is general, but an exception is made against "casual employees."

The Phillip's Act, of the State of New York, Section 2, Chapter 352, laws of 1910, has been described as an elective law in its purest form, and it is advised that this statute must not be confused with the Compensation Act, Chapter 674, of the laws of the same year, which was declared unconstitutional, and in which the New York Court of Appeals held that under the fourteenth amendment and the "due process of law" clause in the Federal constitution, that employers should not be held liable for damages or compensation unless fault on their part is proven to be conclusive and convincing. The court held that "if it is competent to impose upon an employer who has omitted no legal duty and has committed no wrong, a liability based absolutely upon legislation that his business is inherently dangerous, it is equally competent to visit upon him an especial tax for the support of hospitals, etc., upon the theory that they are devoted largely to the alleviation of ills primarily due to his business. In its final analysis that is equivalent to taking the property of one man and giving it to another, and that cannot be done under our constitution."

This much of the New York court decision is quoted in order to familiarize you, and all others interested, in part as to what that decision covered. Therefore, it is deemed wise that provision should be made in ample time to forestall any repetition of such extraordinarily strained judicial reasoning. Consequently, as a supplement to adequate compensation, legislation and efficient Employers' Liability laws, due consider-

ation should be given, if necessary, to suitable amendments of state constitutions, so as to prevent similar decisions as in the New York case from being repeated. Such amendments might read as follows:

Proposed Amendment to the State Constitution.

"The legislature may impose such conditions on any contracts of employment as shall be designated to protect the health or promote the safety or well being of any of the parties thereto or the public, or to make provision for the payment of compensation with or without the right of trial by jury and with or without regard to fault of employees injured by accidents of employment, or to persons dependent upon them, either by or employers by employers and employees or otherwise, in such manner as the legislature may prescribe, and in the exercise of the powers herein conferred the legislature shall not be limited under any other articles or sections of the constitution."

The agitation of such a proposed amendment to a state constitution wherever necessary would in some cases be sufficient moral influence to render favorable decisions already pending in courts.

It is our opinion that in all cases where an effort is being made to amend the present Employers' Liability laws in a state or an effort being made to enact new ones, that these uniform demands should be made:

1. A complete and total abrogation of all the old common law defenses enumerated under the heads of "fellow servant," "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence," "waiving of rights," with this additional suggestion:

2. That in compensation laws the right of the workman to sue for full damages should be reserved.

3. The feature of benefits is liable to be for some time a vexed question, and, in our opinion, is one that will develop according to experiences met with in the various jurisdictions, and which as time goes on will be easy to add to a measure by amendment when once the humane principle of automatic compensation is written into the statute books of the states.

In accordance with the directions of

previous conventions, the Executive Council prepared sketch models of Employers' Liability laws and Workmen's Compensation Acts and plentifully distributed them among the affiliated organizations. In addition we also furnished these tentative drafts for use by the commissions which had these subjects under consideration. We feel confident that these drafts of proposed laws have had their fair meed of influence.

From the foregoing you will observe that the several States legislating on the subject of workmen's compensation have enacted laws in many respects dissimilar in character, and inasmuch as valuable information has been secured since our last report on this subject to you, which would be of advantage in drafting a bill reflecting the needs and desires of our fellow-workers, we recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to draft a new bill and urge its passage by the several State Legislatures which have either not acted at all or which have not passed adequate compensation measures.

Industrial Accidents.

It is to be regretted that the great work of establishing a national system for the prevention of industrial accidents is as yet in its preliminary stage. This is our reluctant verdict, though we have in mind the laborious efforts in this respect made not only by the A. F. of L. as such, and by other trade unions, but by various civic bodies, employers' trade associations, and some large industrial corporations. The whole subject still requires special study, the public needs instruction with regard to it, and co-ordination in the work of the several agencies now giving it attention is desirable. We suggest that a national association for the prevention of accidents should be formed. Together with representatives of trade unions, it should be composed of such men from the professions and from those departments of the industries, other than the wage-earners, who from their knowledge and training could assist in the work to the best advantage. The association could avail itself of the reports, and the printed matter in general, which have already appeared, and may in future appear on the subject, it could make plain the difficulties to be encountered in the reform, and it

could lay out a program through which the most direct work might be accomplished by the entire association, especially avoiding duplication of effort.

Industrial Education.

Most unfortunately for the cause of the vocational education and trade training bill, advocated by labor, Senator Doliver passed away before his ambition and our great hopes of speedy legislation in this direction could be realized. His great loss, combined with many other obstacles constantly taking place in both Houses during the 61st Congress, prevented the bill from being advanced.

During the present Congress, Senator Page of Vermont, who is favorably inclined towards this measure, and who is a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, introduced the bill S. No. 3, on the first day the senate was in session during this Congress. Largely on account of the great interest Senator Page has taken in industrial education, the Senate Committee on Agriculture recently passed the following resolution, which, in our estimation, is a matter of great encouragement:

RESOLVED, That Senator Page, as a sub-committee of one, be instructed to correspond with leading educators and others interested in the purposes of the proposed measure, and to report to the full committee the result of his investigation, and to submit a bill amended to conform to the suggestions he might receive from such correspondents, or any he might have to make, and that the committee approves the general purposes of the bill.

The United States Bureau of Labor has completed the investigation it undertook at our request. Copies of this report are now ready for distribution, the contents of which we believe will be helpful in the prosecution of this very desirable effort.

We are pleased to say that many influential organizations are working in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, as evidence of which we herewith include in our report the communication recently received from the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education:

New York, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1911.
To the President and Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.
Gentlemen:

The executive committee of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education wish to lay before you

the following suggestions, looking towards further co-operation of the A. F. of L. in the work of forwarding measures for industrial education in the United States.

It is the judgment of the undersigned that state legislation providing for state supervision and state assistance must necessarily precede any large development of industrial education in this country. If this be the fact, it is obvious that it is a matter of much importance that such legislation be framed with care and intelligence, and a full knowledge of the situation.

Furthermore, the experience of the past six years shows that the surest guarantee of this result is the agency of a representative state commission to study the special conditions presented by the industrial and educational situation in each state, and to report a program for legislative consideration.

We urge, in consequence, that the influence of the Federation be exerted through its State Branches in co-operation with other agencies, towards the creation, in states where the situation warrants provisions for industrial education, of such investigating commissions, and towards the inclusion in these commissions of representatives of the employers, of organized labor, and of education.

We further urge that in states where branches of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education exist, the State Branches of the Federation seek to co-operate in this movement with such branches.

In urging such co-operation it should be understood that in the judgment of the undersigned the legislation to be aimed at is such as places emphasis upon

First, Continuation schools, both of the part-time day type for the younger boys and girls, and of the evening type for more mature workers; and,

Second, Upon the all-day trade preparatory school for boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age.

In the matter of federal legislation looking to national aid for industrial education, it is urged that the influences of the American Federation of Labor be exerted towards the appointment, preliminary to such legislation, of a national commission on which the Commissioner of Labor, the Commissioner of Education, and a representative of the Department of Agriculture shall have places, together with perhaps four other members representing education and the manufacturing, labor and agricultural interests.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) JAMES P. MUNROE, Pres.

(Signed) HOWELL CHENEY,

(Signed) JOHN GOLDEN,

(Signed) A. LINCOLN FILENE,

(Signed) ARTHUR L. WILLISTON,

(Signed) C. R. RICHARDS.

Representative Wilson, of Pennsylvania, has introduced bill H. R. No. 12156, which is identical with S. No. 3, introduced by Senator Page. Both of these bills are

before the Committees on Agriculture, and it is our purpose to urge the enactment of same as speedily as possible.

We trust that the same co-operation which has been forthcoming in the past from the State Federation, and from all of our forces, will be continued in future until effective federal and state legislation has been enacted for the purpose of advancing genuine and beneficial industrial vocational trade training.

As you know, the Special Committee on Industrial Education appointed by the American Federation of Labor, submitted to the Toronto Convention of 1909 a report which, after due consideration, was incorporated in the official printed proceedings of that Conventions. That report, together with the declarations of the Convention on that subject, was printed and widely distributed as an American Federation of Labor document. The committee asked for further time, which was accorded. The purpose the special committee had in mind was to have the Bureau of Labor of the United States undertake an investigation of the general subject of industrial education and vocational training, not only in the United States but in other countries. Inasmuch as we have been successful in having the Bureau of Labor make that investigation and the results thereof have been printed and are obtainable without cost to the men of labor and others, we recommend that the special committee be requested to submit to the 1912 Convention of the American Federation of Labor a full report upon this subject.

Pure Foods—Pure Drugs.

Due to untold greed, the health and the lives of the people of our country have been placed in jeopardy through adulterations and substitutes in the foods and the drugs sold to the masses of our people. The Congress of the United States has enacted laws for the better protection of the people in regard to this traffic by the passage of what is known as the pure food law, five years ago. Those who have profited, and still profit, by the imposition upon the people of impure foods and drugs, have become more active in the recent past; they have perfected combinations by reason of the great profits resulting from their traffic and have endeavored to circumvent the

law, even to the extent of trying to remove a faithful public officer who has stood between them and the people. When such men in their greed for profit alone endanger the health and the lives of myriads of men, women and children—the workers—the duty devolves upon our movement to take such action as shall safeguard our own.

With this object in view, taking cognizance of the efforts made by other associations of men to be of service to the people in regard to this movement, the Executive Council at its recent meeting adopted the following:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council appoint a committee of three to meet with representatives of all bodies and persons having for their object the securing of legislation or administration to secure pure food and pure drugs for the people of this country.

We have selected President Gompers, Vice-President O'Connell, and Secretary Morrison as the committee.

New Mexico's Constitution.

From many quarters in New Mexico urgent requests have come for our cooperation in securing needed amendment of the proposed constitution for the prospective state of New Mexico. It will be recalled that the convention which formulated the constitution of that prospective state contained a provision which would make it practically impossible to amend the constitution after that state would have been admitted to the Union. It was to secure for the people of New Mexico the opportunity for the amendment of the constitution of New Mexico whenever deemed necessary or advisable by them, having aided in this respect both with the progressive constitution of Oklahoma and of Arizona, that we deemed it our duty also to comply with the requests from New Mexico. We have heretofore placed three of our organizers in that field to aid to the fullest in securing immediate change in the constitution of that prospective state. Our latest information is, we are pleased to report, that the amendment to the constitution has been adopted.

International Secretariat—Budapest Congress.

The International Secretariat held its congress in Budapest, Hungary, August 10-13. At our January meeting we adopted the following as instructions to Vice-

President Duncan, as delegate from the American Federation of Labor to that congress:

1. We do not favor anti-patriotism or anti-militarism in the sense as proposed by the representatives of the Confederation General du Travail of France;

2. We do not favor the general strike as proposed by the Confederation General du Travail of France;

3. We favor the organization of an international federation of labor, the representatives of the International trade union centers not to be confined to the secretaries thereof;

4. That every means be taken to prevent the exportation of strike breakers from one country to another, whether a strike is in actual existence or contemplation;

5. For legislation in the several countries more uniform in character, governing hours of labor of women and men in dangerous trades, and for the abolition or restriction of the labor of children under the age of fourteen in any gainful occupation;

6. For safety appliances, sanitary conditions of labor, housing reform and improvement of the workers;

7. The publication of an official monthly journal or bulletin by the International Secretariat or International Federation of Labor in several languages in which shall be given the state of trade in each country, conditions of labor, progress in legislation and all other matters affecting the labor movement in the various countries.

At our June meeting we adopted the following resolutions for Vice-President Duncan to present to the International Secretariat:

RESOLVED, That the International Trade Union congress recommends to the trade union centers (General Federation of Congresses) of all countries the discussion of the proposition of establishing an international federation of labor, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being ordained and guaranteed, the purpose of the federation being for the protection and the advancement of the rights, interests and justice of the wage-workers of all countries and the establishment of international fraternity and solidarity.

RESOLVED, That it shall be the purpose of the labor movement of all countries to endeavor to the fullest extent to prevent the workers from one country being induced to emigrate to other countries during periods of industrial depression, or when trade disputes exist, or are in contemplation; that it shall be the duty of the recognized representatives of the labor movement of the country affected to notify the international secretary, who in turn shall at once communicate the situation to the representatives of the trade union movement of each country.

RESOLVED, That the International Secretariat when receiving any document

from any source other than an affiliated national centre in which the integrity or character of the loyal party of a particular national centre is assailed, that copy of the document shall be forwarded to the official representative of the National centre in interest. In the event of an answer being made by the proper authorities of the national centre and received by the International Secretariat, the latter officer shall retain the same. If the proper authorities of the national centre in interest enter valid objection to the dissemination of the original document it shall be held by the International Secretariat and reported to the next conference of the International Secretariat which may order both documents sent to the various affiliated national union centres with such opinion or judgment as the conference of the International Secretariat may determine.

We further authorized Brother Duncan to extend an invitation to the International Secretariat to hold its meeting in 1915 in San Francisco, California, and that Mr. Carl Legien, president of the Trade Union Federation of Germany and general secretary of the International Secretariat, be invited to visit the United States and deliver a series of addresses here under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

We have been informed the Budapest meeting was harmonious, progressive and successful, and quite fully attended by delegates from the several countries affiliated therein. The propositions put forward for consideration by the Secretariat by your representative were all discussed and favorably received. A synopsis of the proceedings will be made to this convention by delegate Duncan along with comments on the action taken also on some phases of the European labor movement, and which we commend to your attention.

Boy Scout Movement.

Within a few years a movement has grown, known as the "Boy Scout" movement. Some discussion of the subject has been had through the literature issued by the advocates of that movement, and through the press. A division in its ranks arose, so that there are now two forms, as well as administrators and policies. The members of the Executive Council have been approached by the representative of that movement with a view of its clearer presentation to and approval by us. On the other hand, a number of our fellow unionists and some

of our affiliated organizations, have expressed their disapproval with the movement, and some of its purposes and policies. In consequence of the fact that we have been so completely engrossed in other work requiring our constant attention, we have been unable to give the subject investigation, and therefore have been unable to form a clear judgment as to the merits or demerits of that movement. We therefore recommend to this convention that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to make an investigation into the boy scout movement, to afford all parties an opportunity for the presentation of their views and aims upon the subject, and that the Executive Council after full and fair investigation be authorized to express its judgment and the position of the American Federation of Labor toward it, or if in the opinion of the Executive Council the matter should first be reported to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for action that that course be pursued.

Conservation Natural Resources.

The third annual Conservation Congress met at Kansas City, Missouri, September 25, 26, 27. Mr. John T. Smith, Secretary of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, was appointed to represent the A. F. of L. Committee on conservation of Natural Resources. In his report he states that an amendment to the constitution of the congress was unanimously adopted, providing for an Advisory Board, consisting of one person from each national organization concerned in conservation represented at each congress, with a chairman to be selected by them from their number, and during the interval before the next succeeding congress, this advisory board shall report to and co-operate with the executive committee.

After the adoption of this amendment, the representatives of all national organizations at the congress were requested to meet with the Executive Board for the purpose of organizing the Advisory Board. As our representative at the congress was only acting as the representative of the conservation committee of the American Federation of Labor, he advised the Executive Board that he was not eligible to act on the Advisory Board,

but that the representative of the A. F. of L. would be duly appointed.

We, therefore, appointed President Gompers to act on the Advisory Board of the Conservation Congress and recommend that the Conservation Committee of the A. F. of L. be continued during the coming year.

White Rats Actors' Union—Benefit Performances.

The officers of the White Rats Actors' Union of America have recently been in correspondence with the officers of the A. F. of L. in regard to a matter of such importance that it seems you should be advised thereof. In brief, it is that the officers of the White Rats Actors' Union suggest a series of benefit performances for organized labor one day in each year, the proceeds from these performances to be donated to the labor movement, the performers to give their services free.

We recommend that this convention authorize the appointment of a committee to confer with the representatives of the organization in question to consider the offer and to devise ways and means for practically putting into effect the suggested plan, so far as it relates to raising funds for the proper defense of the McNamara brothers and the prosecution of the kidnappers.

Labor Representation Committee's Report.

Atlanta, Ga., November 13, 1911.
To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.
Colleagues:

By authority of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, as well as in accordance with your instructions, the Labor Representation Committee has not only kept in mind the instructions given relative to legislation and administration affecting the interests of labor, but we have been active in pressing home upon the law makers and the executive department the rights to which the workers of our country are entitled. From time to time we have reported to you, and through you to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and our work has met with approval and endorsement and directions have been given to further continue in these efforts. The matters of specific legislative demands which the American Federation of Labor has formulated, and the actions of our officers and our committee, are enumerated more specifically in the reports which both the President and the Executive Council contemplate presenting for consideration to the Atlanta Convention. Hence it is not necessary to burden this with duplication.

We recommend to the Executive Council, and if you approve in turn, you recommend to the Atlanta Convention, that the Labor Representation Committee be continued and authorized and empowered to act in unison with the Executive Council, for the purpose of taking such action as may be deemed advisable and necessary for the successful consummation of the legislative demands and executive action by our federal government.

Fraternaly yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

Chairman;

JAMES O'CONNELL,

Vice-Chairman;

FRANK MORRISON,

Secretary.

Labor Representation Committee.

The Executive Council takes pleasure in commending the work performed by the Labor Representation Committee, and recommends to this convention that authority and instruction be given the Labor Representation Committee as stated in the report of the committee just quoted.

The President's Report.

We have read the report and recommendations which the President of the A. F. of L. has submitted to this Convention and in order to avoid duplication herein of the subjects with which he deals, we heartily approve the same and commend them to the favorable consideration of this convention, and to all organized labor.

Conclusion.

With a view to reaching conclusions that would be practical and advantageous not only to our great movement itself, but also to the cause of labor and humanity which our movement is instituted to advance, the multifarious matters which have been referred to us and which have come before us in other ways have been given the most careful consideration. The American labor movement aims to be the potent factor in securing the largest measure of economic, material, political, social, and moral advancement for the wage earners and for all the people of our continent. In furtherance of these high aims, the potentiality of organized, concentrated effort has been recognized, and the directions given us with which we are in entire accord, have been to eliminate duality and rivalry to the fullest possible extent. The consensus of opinion as expressed and declared by the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor has been that

in a given trade, or in trades so nearly akin to each other as to make them one, or practically one, there should be one intelligent, comprehensively administered national or international organization. We have endeavored to crystallize these declarations and instructions into the practical recommendations which we have submitted in this report for action by this convention.

Despite the fact that the reports which have been and are herewith submitted to you are voluminous, there is a considerable number of matters of greater or lesser importance which it is impossible to incorporate therein. We are conscious of having had but one single purpose guiding our deliberations and our conclusions, and that is the hope of being of the best possible aid to our fellow workers and our fellow man in this struggle of labor for the attainments of a better time and a higher life for all.

Fraternally submitted.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President,
JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice-President,
JOHN MITCHELL,
Second Vice-President,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Third Vice-President,
D. A. HAYES,
Fourth Vice-President,
WILLIAM D. HUBER,
Fifth Vice-President,
JOS. F. VALENTINE,
Sixth Vice-President,
JOHN R. ALPINE,
Seventh Vice-President,
H. B. PERHAM,
Eighth Vice-President,
JOHN B. LENNON,
Treasurer,
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary,

President Gompers—Some time during the sessions the Chairman will assign the various subjects upon which the Executive Council has reported to the appropriate Committees.

President Gompers presented to the Convention Mr. C. F. Barrett, President of the Farmers' International Union, stating that he would address the Convention at a later date.

President Gompers—Delegate Kerker, of the Bakers' International Union, has

notified us that Delegate Myrup, of that organization, has been detained at his home by reason of illness, and asks that his name not be included in the list of absentees. Delegate Myrup was appointed on the Committee on Organization, and inasmuch as he cannot serve the chair will appoint Delegate Henry Koch, the other delegate from that organization, as a substitute for Delegate Myrup. If there are no objections that appointment will be made. Hearing none, it is made.

In accordance with the instructions of the Convention the following telegram has been sent:

"Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 14, 1911.

"J. J. and J. B. McNamara, Los Angeles, Calif.

"Your message of fraternal greeting, expression of hope for success of our Convention and the cause of Labor, and appreciation of Labor's efforts in your behalf, was read to the delegates and visitors, and was received with a great demonstration of sympathetic appreciation. By unanimous vote the Convention directed me to send you the assurance of the delegates of their belief in your innocence of the crime with which you have been charged, and to pledge to you our continued moral and financial support to the end that your innocence may be established.

"**SAMUEL GOMPERS,**
"President American Federation of Labor."

President Gompers stated that a series of preambles and resolutions had been received from an affiliated organization, the Theatrical Stage Employees, signed by the officers, and covering in detail the history of a dispute with an employer. He stated that the document contained several thousand words and asked the wishes of the Convention in regard to including the entire matter in the proceedings.

Delegate Carter moved that the document be referred back to the delegates from the organization in question, with the request that they condense the matter contained in the preamble and resolutions presented, in order that the action which the organization desires from the American Federation of Labor may be stated in the preamble and resolutions, omitting the argument and detail. (Seconded and carried.)

Badges and souvenirs were distributed to the delegates by the local Entertainment Committee.

The local Entertainment Committee was requested to arrange for a photographer to take a group picture of the Convention at some convenient time.

Resolutions No. 1 to No. 22, inclusive, were received and referred to Committees.

At 1:30 p. m. a recess was taken until 2:45 p. m. of the same day.

Second Day---Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:45 p. m. Tuesday, November 14th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfell, Thomas, Smith (Fred), Dubinsky, D'Andrea, Williams (John), Roach, Coakley, Price, Lewis, Dold, Gallagher (John J.), Taber, Commons, Gaviak, Hatch, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Ferry, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Donnelly, Saund-Engdahl, Schaub.

Report of Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, Held in Newcastle-on-Tyne, September 4-9, 1911.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), read the following report:

To the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor,

Greeting:

As your delegates to the forty-fourth British Trades Union Congress, held in Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, we beg leave to submit the following report:

The Congress convened Monday, September 4th, and concluded Saturday, September 9, 1911. Mr. Wm. Mullen, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, presided over the deliberations of the Congress. There were present 521 delegates as against 505 last year, representing a membership of 1,662,133, showing an increase of 14,418 during the past year.

We found the problems confronting the workers of Great Britain somewhat similar in character to those confronting the workers of our country. Their method of dealing with the subjects brought before the Congress are somewhat different from ours, as has been reported by previous delegates. Resolutions are submitted to the various Unions for their consideration, the same being returned and compiled and printed as addenda and submitted to Congress.

The work of the Congress is very much simplified by having all resolutions and amendments submitted to the Parliamentary Committee, which meets one week prior to the opening of the Congress to act upon same. After the reading of the report of the Parliamentary Committee the Congress gets down to business at once. There is very little discussion allowed on resolutions or important matters by the delegates attending the Congress and there is very

little opportunity offered for amending propositions submitted by resolutions to the Parliamentary Committee. Freedom of action by individual delegates is not allowed in the Congress as much as it is in our Convention. We think that our method is far superior and there is a greater opportunity allowed for arriving at a safe conclusion on an important question than there is in the British Trade Union Congress.

President William Mullen's address was an able one, covering the work of the Parliamentary Committee during the past year. There is one significant phase of the doings of the year that calls for special comment. During the months prior to the opening of the Congress, the entire country was staggered with the general strike amongst the transport workers and the delegates attending the Congress and the working people in general seemed to rejoice very much at the result of the strike, which was brought to a close about the time that we arrived in England, both sides agreeing to arbitration. However, during the remaining days we were in England we heard considerable discontent among the many labor leaders as to the action of the Commission, and as to the delay occurring in reaching an immediate decision. We noticed also within the last few days in the newspapers of our country, that the labor leaders in England had some reason for fear in the action of the Commission who were investigating the grievance existing between the workers and the employers, because the Commission has decided that the railroad companies of Great Britain would not be bound by their decision to recognize the union, the principle for which the men went on strike.

The report of the Parliamentary Committee submitted to the Congress contained much information for the delegates attending the Congress, but it would not be of material benefit to our Convention in its entirety, so we quote herein one or two important passages which appeared in the report:

No one can gainsay the fact that the twelve months which have passed since the holding of the previous Congress have been marked by strenuous and continuous activity both in the industrial as well as in the political world. The delegates meeting in Sheffield had scarcely separated when the country was face to face with another general election (the second within the year), and the electors were called upon to decide an issue of the greatest importance from a democratic point of view, namely, whether the members of the House of Lords should

be permitted to continue to exercise the right of vetoing progressive legislation, a right which they had persistently and, latterly, ruthlessly exercised, regardless of the real interests of the community as a whole.

Happily, the decision of the nation upon this important point was as clear as it was emphatic and decisive; and, despite the frantic efforts made by the lords and their friends to prevent the will of the people from being given full effect, the Parliament bill has been placed upon the statute book, and the way thereby cleared for the social legislation which this country stands in such need of. The most gratifying feature of the General Election of December last was the manner in which the Labor Party maintained its position in the country.

Concurrently with the passing of the Veto Bill, the Government has carried out its promise to introduce and pass a measure providing for the payment of members, a measure advocated by Congress almost from its first meeting, held in Manchester in the year 1868.

Among the most important questions considered by the Congress was a resolution submitted by the Brass Workers and Metal Mechanics amending the Shops Club Act, which is as follows:

That this Congress reaffirm its opinion that the Shops Club Act should, in order to protect the liberty of the workers, be so amended as to make it illegal for employers or their agents to dismiss employees simply because they are Trade Unionists or co-operators; and, further the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to bring the matter before the Home Secretary, and render every assistance to the promoters for securing the enactment of the Trades Union Bill on the subject.

There were several other resolutions introduced by the Congress representing the following:

- Radius Agreements.
- Guarantee Societies.
- Abolition of the Half-Time System.
- Office Inspection.
- Work Shop Accommodation for Tailors.
- Abolition of the Half-Time System.
- Industrial Life Insurance.
- Nationalization of Railways and Canals.
- Establishment of a fund of \$150,000 for their own Labor Paper.
- Direct Employment in Government Departments.
- Amalgamation of Trade.
- Elections.
- Workmen's Compensation.
- Appointment of Commission.

And others too numerous to mention, the subject matter of which we do not desire to tire the delegates attending the Convention by discussing. Information on same can be procured by any delegate who desires, by referring to us for same.

We found the British Trades Unions away behind our people in the matter of establishing the Label on Trade Union goods. They know very little about the Label. It can be found in nothing

with perhaps the exception of hats, and even in that line very few hats are manufactured or sold with the Label in them. On printing matter, boots, shoes, clothing or anything of that kind there is no Label and in speaking with the different officials of Labor attending the Congress and in endeavoring to advocate the adoption of the Label, some of the men seemed to think that it was an utter impossibility.

England is also behind us in their Labor press. There is no large organization in the country that has its own Labor paper or magazine. There is no newspaper or magazine of any kind devoted entirely to the publication of Labor news. They are now trying to raise a fund to start a labor newspaper. While we in this country have several hundred Labor papers and magazines, over there they have none.

We found the condition of the workers, in general, far inferior to ours. The increased cost of living has made itself manifest in England as well as in our country. While food products are perhaps not so expensive as ours, still in proportion to the wages received, the cost of living has increased perhaps more than it has in our country. The working hours are much longer. The eight-hour day is not in operation to any great extent in the British Kingdom.

We, your delegates, desire to offer the following recommendation or suggestion:

In view of the fact that the Labor leaders of this country who happen to be fortunate enough to be elected as fraternal delegates are not receiving fabulous salaries and having very little money set aside, and as many of them who are elected as fraternal delegates never have had an opportunity of seeing anything on the other side of the water, we believe that a little more money should be paid to the fraternal delegates than it has been customary to receive up to this time.

We trust that this Convention will not, for a moment, consider that we are talking from a personal standpoint, because of the fact that the undersigned will never again be fraternal delegates, but that our whole object in making this statement, is to try to make it easier for those who will follow us. We, therefore, recommend that the amount be increased from \$400 to \$700, also transportation.

We think that the American Federation of Labor is a large enough institution to pay this amount of money once a year on such an important mission.

In closing we desire to thank the Convention for electing us as delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. The trip has been educational and instructive to us and every moment of our time was spent in endeavoring to learn something that might be helpful to us on our return.

We were very much pleased with our trip. We had an enjoyable time after a day or two when we made ourselves known to the delegation in general, but we could not find the same feeling of friendship, the same warm-heartedness,

the same open arms in England that we left behind us in America.

We were delighted with many of the acquaintances we made, and while there are a great many able men in the Labor movement in England, we think that our Unions in this country and our Convention of the American Federation of Labor compare very favorably with any on the other side.

We never loved America any better than when we sighted land on our return.

Respectfully submitted,
WM. MACFARLANE,
DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Fraternal Delegates.

President Gompers—The report will be received and made part of the proceedings of the Convention.

Report of the Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

At the Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held in Des Moines, Iowa, in September, 1910, it was unanimously decided to send a delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, so that existing misunderstandings and disputes might be amicably adjusted, if possible. It fell to my lot to fill that important mission.

At Duluth, on my way to the Congress, I received a telegram from President Gompers and Secretary Morrison informing me that the elected fraternal delegate, Brother Tracey, could not attend the Congress, and at the same time asking me to act in his stead. This I willingly consented to, and I therefore had the privilege, as well as the pleasure, of representing the A. F. of L. in the 27th Annual Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, held in Calgary, Province of Alberta, from September 11th to 16th, 1911, inclusive.

I consider the Convention one of the most successful ever held by the Congress. All sorts of subjects of vital interest and importance to the wage-workers of the Dominion came up for consideration, discussion and action.

The officers' reports dealt with such subjects as:

The Eight-hour Bill.

Immigration.

The Japanese Treaty.

The Lemieux Act.

Political Action.

Reciprocity.

Industrial and Technical Education.

The Miners' Strikes in the Eastern Provinces.

The Relation between the Congress and the A. F. of L. and other matters.

Each province in Canada has a vice-president and an executive committee of three, whose duty it is to closely look after the affairs of the province they respectively represent, and report to the annual meeting of the Congress progress made, matters adjusted, success achieved,

work undertaken, opposition met with, unions organized, etc.

In the report of the Executive Committee for the Province of Alberta, reference is made in no uncertain language to the jurisdictional disputes in the Building Trades and to the action of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor in dealing with these disputes. I herewith quote that part of the report referred to:

Building Trades.

The Building Trades craftsmen have met with a strenuous opposition from an aggregation of contractors, etc., called "The Builders' Exchange," the policy of which is an ever-increasing activity against organized labor and whose slogan is the "Open Shop."

This movement against Trades Unionism is not confined to any one locality, but is active in every center where labor attempts to better its conditions.

At Edmonton and Calgary the Builders' Exchange ordered advertisements to be published in newspapers in Great Britain, United States and Canada, asking for mechanics to go to Edmonton and Calgary, promising steady work, and right at a time when every craft had its big quota of unemployed.

There have been clashes in all the cities between the two forces, and had the labor market shown any marked degree of over-crowding, organized labor would have had the fiercest fight for existence in the history of Trades Unionism in Alberta.

In addition to having an active enemy to watch, the building craftsmen have been subjected to having jurisdictional and factional fights forced upon them by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and Canadian Trades Unionists have been ordered to discriminate against brother unionists for certain alleged offenses which are supposed to be peculiar to and have their origin in the United States. Albertan Unionists have been denied admission to, and unseated from local Building Trades Council, but whose standing is never questioned in our Trades and Labor Councils.

This internal warfare, forced upon Canadian Unionists by the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department, was instrumental in disorganizing the Lethbridge Unionists, that they, to protect themselves, returned the charter to Washington, D. C., and severed connections with the Building Trades Department. At Edmonton the attention given to this same matter has brought dissension and had feelings among the unions which, if allowed to go further, will have disruptive influences.

In the city of Calgary there has been no concerted action when dealing with the Builders' Exchange, largely through the same cause, and most of the fighting was carried on by individual unions.

In regard to this serious matter, we are of the opinion the time has arrived in the history of the Canadian Labor movement that in order to justify its

continued existence as the head of organized labor in Canada, the Trades and Labor Congress must declare for absolute supremacy in not merely legislative matters alone, but also all economic questions which concern the welfare of Canadian Trades Unionists as a whole.

(The foregoing remarks must not be construed as against International Trades Unionism, as this Executive Committee are ardent internationalists.)

The delegates representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America introduced the following resolution, which was concurred in without a dissenting voice or vote and made applicable to all international organizations having unions in Canada:

Whereas, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America experience much trouble, annoyance and expense when shipping supplies, buttons, rings, charms, badges, books, literature, charters and outfits from the home office in Indianapolis, Ind., to Local Unions in Canada, with the customs authorities, although all expressage, postage and other charges are prepaid by the home office; and

Whereas, The customs department has held such goods and supplies as hereinbefore mentioned until said customs duty and charges were paid, thereby causing undue delay in delivering; and

Whereas, These goods are supplied by the home office to all affiliated Local Unions and do not come in competition with Canadian manufacturers in any manner; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Minister of Customs be petitioned and requested to exempt all Local Unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in Canada from payment of duty on supplies shipped from headquarters in the United States.

The same delegates also introduced the following resolution, which I know will be of more than passing interest to the representatives of international organizations here present:

Whereas, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, an international organization with headquarters located in Indianapolis, Ind., pays per capita tax on its entire Canadian membership to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress when due, amounting to about \$1,000 per year; and

Whereas, Said international organization has no direct representation in the Congress at its annual meetings; and,

Whereas, Said international organization has many Local Unions in Canada, all of which are entitled to at least one delegate each to said Congress, with voice and vote; therefore, be it

Resolved, That in the future the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America be represented in the Congress by five delegates, four of which shall hold membership in Canadian Local Unions, one to represent British Columbia and Alberta, one to represent Saskatchewan and Manitoba, one to represent Ontario and Quebec, one to represent New Bruns-

wick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and the fifth to be known as a delegate at large, who shall be an international officer of the organization. Said five delegates to have a voting strength equal to the number of Local Unions said organization has in Canada. These five delegates to bear credentials from the international office in Indianapolis, Ind., properly signed by the international President and Secretary, with seal affixed.

As this resolution, if adopted, would mean a complete change in the representation of international organizations in the Conventions of the Congress, it was referred to the Committee on Constitution and Law. After careful investigation and consideration the committees recommended that the representation of all bodies in the Congress remain as it is, and in addition thereto that each international organization paying tax direct to the Congress on its full Canadian membership be represented by one delegate.

This was amended by adding after the word, "delegate," "who shall hold membership in a Canadian Local Union." A lively discussion ensued, after which the report as amended was adopted.

I consider I would not be fulfilling my duty as your representative if I did not inform you that a resolution was introduced, claiming that:

"Craft Unions have proven to be inadequate to successfully combat the present day aggregations of Capital; that their activities are almost entirely absorbed by jurisdictional disputes; that an internal warfare exists among them, preventing any continued successful co-operation in and given industry, and that therefore the Convention should go on record as endorsing the principles of Industrial Unionism." This caused an animated and lengthy discussion. The resolution, however, was finally adopted.

Immediately afterwards a motion was unanimously carried that this action on the part of the Convention must not be construed as endorsing the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Executive Council was instructed to communicate with the British Trades Congress, inviting that body to send a fraternal delegate to the next Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and to make arrangements for interchange of fraternal delegates between the two bodies in the future.

In conclusion I wish to say that the Congress, with all its handicaps and drawbacks, is doing a great work for the uplifting and upbuilding of the wage-workers of the Dominion. It should be supported, assisted and encouraged by the American Federation of Labor and International Unions affiliated therewith. In fact, I do not hesitate to recommend that all international organizations having Local Unions in Canada should pay per capita tax to the Congress on their entire Canadian membership, so that the Congress may be in a position to meet its liabilities, continue the good work in which it is engaged, place organizers in the field, and work hand in hand

with the American Federation of Labor for the common good of all.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY,
Fraternal Delegate.

President Gompers—The report will be made part of the official proceedings. We will now hear from the delegate to the International Secretariat.

BUDAPEST SECRETARIAT CONVENTION.

Report of The American Federation of Labor representative to the Budapest, Hungary, Convention of National Trade Centers, August 10, 11 and 12, 1911; with some references to the International Labor Movement, witnessed and studied on the way from America to Hungary and back.

To the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention, Atlanta, Ga., November, 1911.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Pursuant to the honor and mandate conferred on me by the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and provided with proper credentials from your executive officers, I left America and journeyed East, in sufficient time to be in Budapest, just prior to the opening of the International Convention.

On arriving in Liverpool, I found stirring times among trade unionists in that city, especially along the water front. The spirit of unrest had spread all over Great Britain, but was most intense in the great commercial cities and ports touching on the ocean and seas.

Excitement was at fever heat and officials of the different trade and labor associations were working overtime in their efforts to get redress for the people they represented, without suspension of work, or any serious outbreak of hostilities which might further inflame an exceedingly pent-up situation. Your delegates to the British Trades Congress have their report on the situation in Great Britain, and I will not hazard a contention on jurisdictional lines with them, by invading their territory and their subject, but a few words about the situation before they arrived on the other side will not, I hope, be considered a trespass, or out of order.

Apart from the commotion I have referred to, and among the important events which took place, was the somewhat unexpected death of Mr. William C. Steadman, who, until the serious illness which resulted in his death, had been secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Congress since succeeding Mr. Samuel Woods in 1905. He had been a hard-working official and was a genuine working-man leader. In early life he learned barge building in a London ship yard, and after he was a journeyman became secretary of the London Barge Builders'

Union. Later in life he was elected to the London County Council, held that position for fifteen years, and was one of the band of labor members, who did so much for the health and better government of the great metropolis. He entered Parliament in 1898, and was as conspicuous for his honesty and steadfastness in the House of Commons as had marked his course as an official in the trade union movement, or as a member of the London County Council.

I visited a number of industrial centres in England, and on reaching London, prior to crossing to the continent of Europe, I had the honor of meeting nearly all of the Labor group in Parliament. Their kind invitation to compare notes with them, on the famous terrace of the House of Commons was gladly accepted, as was also a further invitation to visit the House of Commons in session, on what was called John Burns' day. This was carefully and diplomatically arranged by our mutual friend, William Brace, M. P., who was a formal delegate from Great Britain to our St. Louis Convention last November, and through which I was conducted to a special visitor's seat, by the proper officer with more pomp and ceremony than I had ever previously experienced.

They are an excellent lot of men, those trade union and socialist members of Parliament. They fraternize in commendable manner, and it was noticeable that among them there were a large number of the men the British Trades Congress had sent as fraternal delegates to American Federation of Labor conventions.

John Burns has lost none of the athletic sprightliness of earlier years. He has a clean, honorable and aggressive record. His forensic ability and his practical adaptation of municipal reforms name him easily as the greatest authority on municipal government of our time. His colleagues in the Labor group say for him that he has become bureaucratic in his development as a cabinet minister. This has caused some difference of opinion between them, and him, so much so that he is now considered more of a radical-liberal than an expounder and leader of the labor party. Be this as it may, few working men have made the same parliamentary record as he has done, and at all times with credit to himself and honor to the organized labor movement.

To mention the others in detail would occupy too much space and time, but it can be said each is fulfilling his part in commendable manner, and all of them conjointly agree that in Ramsay MacDonald they have their greatest parliamentary leader, and none of them will be surprised to know at any time of his selection as a second working-man member of the British Cabinet.

On affairs dealing purely with labor interests, the Labor group is a unit, and proposes to apply their argument and their votes for, or against, the liberal government, just as the latter favors or opposes labor measures; although upon

general policy outside of labor bills, almost the entire Labor group votes with, and supports the liberal government.

Speaking of groups, it was noticeable indeed, how close a friendship and clear understanding existed among the Irish members of Parliament and the Labor group. Both feel that they have been long submerged by English aristocratic influences, and, consequently, pool their issues accordingly. Nowhere in Great Britain nor, of course, in Ireland, did I find organized workmen doubting for a moment that home rule for Ireland was imminent; and all are agreed that the mental, moral and executive ability of the patient leaders in the campaign for an Irish parliament is sufficient guarantee of progressive and stable government for the Emerald Isle, and through which industry will be given an impetus which will raise the importance and increase the population of Ireland beyond general expectation.

During the time I was enjoying the friendship of the Labor group at the House of Commons, I witnessed a parallel of what is not unknown on this side of the water, but presented in a new dress. When bills are before legislatures here, calling, for instance, for improved conditions for street railway workers, it is customary for the corporations to round up a number of employees (perhaps coercion would be a better word), and to pay their way to the capitol of the state, to testify against the remedial legislation desired, to protest against the change and to claim that they were better off than they would be if the bill became law. Legislators usually know why they are rounded up, and it is questionable if their testimony has much influence. Well, in London on the afternoon of August 3, a deputation of pit-brow girls from the coal mines at Wigan, Lancashire, waited on the Home Secretary at the House of Commons, along with the mayor and mayoress of Wigan, in protest against the portion of the Coal Mines Bill, then before a committee of the House, and which aimed to eliminate female labor at the pit heads. They were carefully selected for the purpose, strong, healthy and husky female coal-mine workers. The deputation consisted of forty-two women and girls, the most of them wearing Lancashire clogs, the half of them with shawls on their heads in place of hats, and wearing coarse aprons. All of this was intended to impress the Parliamentary Committee, for they did not attempt to deliver addresses. That was left to a few members of Parliament, whose constituents favored the employment of women at the pit heads.

After the Interested M. P.'s spoke their piece, the Mayor of Wigan said he favored the employment of women at the work described, but consumed the most of his time in a glowing tribute to their moral character, and as that had not been called in question, this argument merely occupied time. Just then the Rev. T. F. B. Twenlow, Vicar of Wigan, stepped forward to add his influence

to the employment of women at the pit heads and on such a subject such a man was certainly in a sorry plight.

The committee creditably voted to report the clause to the House of Commons for adoption, as prepared in the Coal Mines Bill. The vote was taken with the advice of the Government to the contrary, so the Home Secretary, speaking for the minority of the committee, urged the Lancashire lassies to be untiring in their efforts in securing pledges from members of Parliament, to vote with the Government against the clause, when the bill came up in the House for a vote. Thus, to the surprise of many, Mr. Churchill gave his influence in favor of retaining female employment at the pit heads, while on the other hand organized labor is practically a unit in favor of the clause as drafted in the bill.

I left London for Paris. In a general sense, Paris means France. Gay Paree is well named.

It is neither my purpose nor desire to describe the city and its environments. That is generally fairly well known. Parisians, however, impress a visitor with their disregard of the position and condition of their poor women and with cruelty to their horses. Among the many mental and degrading things women in Paris, and in fact, nearly all over Europe, have to do, is to fill the positions of street scavengers. Barefooted, and with brooms which appear almost equal to their own weight, and with a barrel-barrow and shovel, they go about their duties, not as if they were to the manner-born, but because they can not help it. The only language Parisian horses know is the whip. Cabby never takes the quadruped into his confidence about starting on a trip, or in looking for a patron. The whip is everlastingly in use, and if welts on the horses from the use of it were sufficient for the French society for the prevention of cruelty to animals to act, their houses of correction would overflow, and boulevard cab-drivers would be conspicuous by their absence from public thoroughfares.

I went to Berlin and found a city co-equal in beauty, though in somewhat different direction with Paris. They had their slums, too, but not so plentiful as in the French city. The boulevards, avenues, monuments, art galleries, palaces, theatres, public gardens, relics and evidence of past history, were all in evidence as per the usual descriptions given us. Words cannot overestimate the magnificence and grandeur of those places and things. One stands in wonder and in amazement at what one beholds. Nothing I have ever read or heard overestimates or explains in excess those great public institutions, functions and highways. After I had been shown the best that was to be seen in both cities, I demanded to be shown how the workers and the poor lived. Little has been told us in descriptions of those great countries about the undercrust of human society, and in the fewest possible words in which it can be described, I have no hesitation in stating that the magnificence on

the one side, as above referred to, is equalled by the depths of misery on the other side. I fail to imagine how words could be formed together to justly depict the misery and the degradation of the working and the idle poor in European cities.

They have two great movements in Germany, and which easily makes it the leading country on the continent of Europe. They have a first-class trade union movement composed of nearly 2,020,000 members. It is doing herculean work in many directions. In some particulars it is so far in advance of our labor movement in this new world, that it will take us a long time to catch up, but we should be unrelenting in our efforts to do so. In some directions the German movement is as far behind our efforts as in the other direction they lead. The other great struggle referred to is political. German workmen have a well-organized political movement and when its purposes as such sufficiently diverge, as also do the purposes of the trade union movement, they in time meet and the two bodies then act unitedly. Each has its particular duty to perform, and each is doing it as well as the circumstances permit. Those among us who have viewed the European socialist movement from the tactics of certain socialists in North America are mistaken. The leaders in both movements in Germany frankly informed me that an applicant for membership in the socialist movement, whose trade or whose occupation was organized, and who did not belong to his union, was not admitted to membership as a socialist. They looked out of the corner of their eyes at me and asked how a man could be a good socialist if he were not a trade unionist, if his occupation were organized, or even if he were a poor or indifferent trade unionist. I need not make a comparison between their action and certain efforts in this country, the great difference has often been made too evident to us all.

Yet all is not well among them. They have their party dissensions with a smattering of flank movements, just as we have seen and heard of here. This is also true of the socialist movement in Great Britain. In Germany and elsewhere on the continent, there is just the semblance of an alleged organization glorying in the title of Christian trade-unionists. Thank God, they are few in number. The clergy, I think, pulls down its dignity in fostering the aggregation. The members pay very low dues, about one-fifth of the amount paid by the regulars. The avowed purpose of this outfit is to hold itself in readiness to participate or not to participate, by direction of the clergy, in any economic or political struggle involving workers' interests. This is bad enough, but worse still is the fact that when the clergy holding authority over those men, disapprove the contention of the workers' organizations, the off-shoot in question is then used as strike breakers. In British socialist contentions those who have left or never belonged to the regular organization fight the majority politically, as

well as trade union activity, for no other purpose than to try to thwart possibility of success, because the greater membership refuses to be governed by or to join these faddists. No brand of religion is back of them. The British call them "impossibilists," which word for convenience they have abbreviated to "Imps." Pardon the remark, but when I heard the abbreviation used, I facetiously remarked that the abbreviation was complete enough, as well as sufficiently expressive.

Militarism government in nearly all of the countries on the continent of Europe. Even railroad officials, including platform men in Germany, have the noted military bearing, and men filling such positions, who have reached or are beyond middle life, have gone from the army into their new sphere. This and the military pension system has made the German army popular, especially among men who are not sure of their successes in the industrial struggle for existence. There is little difference between the police and the soldiers. All more or less look alike. They are practically similarly accoutred, and from the high dignitary to the merest state or corporation official there is the appearance of militarism, which signifies that force is government.

Against all of that, clamoring for democratic government by evolution if possible, but by revolution if need be, is the socialist political party organization. There are other groups which in a way protest against imperialism, but the one organized party which is a living, active protest against imperialism and force of government, is the socialist party. When one discusses our system of government to a European official as compared to theirs, the latter immediately says that is socialism. In short, while the European socialists may have much more in mind than is now evident in their militant campaigns, viewed with an American eye, their purpose would not lose in comparison, in practice even, if it were labeled European democracy.

The European movement is an education in itself. The harmony which exists between the trade unionists, attending to trade affairs and the socialists attending to political affairs, is everywhere in evidence. Where a trade dispute exists there the socialists are helping, and where a political contest is going on the trade unionists perform their part in supporting the socialist program, and between the two the future welfare of the masses of the people will be worked out, perhaps along lines of legislation and evolution, provided that the process is not unwarrantably retarded; but if by revolution then let us wish that the result will be equal to our own revolution, which laid the foundation for the best system of popular government that has so far stood the test of time and practice.

What I have said about Paris and Berlin, also applies to Vienna and the cities of lesser importance in between, excepting that leaving Berlin, the farther east I went, the different conditions of

life and living as between the rich and the poor, and which I have but poorly described, became in divergent ratio proportionately intensified.

This brings me to Budapest.

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

First Day.

The Seventh International Conference of the Representatives of National Trade Union Centres, (International Secretariat), was called to order, August 10, 1911, 9 a. m., in the Building Workers' Home, (Bauerbeterheim), Budapest VII, Arenaut 68, by Jaszai, representing Hungary. His colleague from that country, Karoly Teszarsz, was vice-chairman, and J. Sasenbach, representing Germany, was made recording secretary.

Twenty-seven delegates, representing eighteen countries, and two official interpreters (both union men, each of whom spoke three languages) composed the convention. Norway, owing to a great strike, and Finland, were not represented.

Representatives of the press attended each session. The meetings were publicly conducted.

Herr S. Jaszai, in declaring the meeting open for business, stated that a few years ago, such conventions could not have been held in Hungary, owing to government interference.

A resolution to follow the usual course in reference to translation of addresses was adopted. This meant that delegates should be grouped for convenience of interpretation, and where circumstances permitted that sotto voce transmission of information would be followed, but on lengthy addresses and official statements, interpreters would publicly address the delegates in the different languages.

A resolution, without much discussion or formality, was passed not to accept municipal or state hospitality from official sources, owing to opposition of the government to organization of labor and to tyranny generally towards the working class, but that the proffered hospitality of Hungarian workmen's organizations would be accepted and their functions attended.

The French delegation interposed an inquiry, which after some informal discussion was formally and definitely offered in substance as follows: "Can a delegate to this meeting be required to answer a question as to whether he belonged to any political or civic organization outside of the trade centre he represents."

As the discussion progressed, I discovered that the inquiry, in a veiled manner, was directed against my credential as representing organized labor of North America. A misguided man named Foster, from Chicago, Ill., claiming to represent an alleged organization of labor in America, called the International Workers of the World, had been for some time in Paris, and had succeeded in convincing the French delegates that he represented a labor organization in America, and was entitled to be recognized by the Secretariat, instead of the A. F. of L.

representative. He is said to have had in Paris a program of strong French flavor, namely, low dues, no defence fund, the general strike, revolution, and to settle all our social and political ills at the ballot box. Evidently his program was mapped out on French lines and captured the French delegation. He had thereafter taken his program from Paris to Berlin to encourage the German delegation to support his position and plea. They, however, had nothing in common with his tinfoil proposition and his wind-bag methods. Their labor movement is built on a solid foundation and makes for real progress, so he was not in his element in their company. He had made his way to Budapest, and the French enquiry above referred to, was part of his tactics. The tentative question was discussed and strongly combated, during which the Frenchman had much to say about civic institutions in America and the kind of men composing them. They had made no investigation, but had taken the lurid and unwarranted statements of the Chicago man as gospel. Their statements were so ridiculous that the chairman peremptorily ruled the question out of order.

A motion was then made that the International Workers of the World be not admitted to affiliation in the International Secretariat as a National Trade Union Centre.

During the discussion on the motion, misguided Foster lost control of his temper and gave the convention ocular demonstration of what an I. W. W. really is. His language was foul, vulgar and vehement. He even threatened assault, and subsided only to prevent expulsion from the room. He spoke in English, and I had his language interpreted to the delegates, but his actions were equally detrimental to the purpose he had in mind as was the interpretation. The Frenchmen were not dismayed at their tri-color being smudged with I. W. W. mire.

They suggested that if the Foster aggregation were not admitted, that the A. F. of L. should be kept out of the International Secretariat until both organizations became reconciled to a uniform policy.

After general discussion, Foster was given an opportunity to tell his own story in his own way. My natural impulse was to protest against him being in the meeting, except as a visitor, but he was invoking martyrdom, and I figured that if he were given plenty of rope he would figuratively hang himself. I grinned and bore the ordeal, however, of witnessing one kind of an American, in a foreign land, making a veritable mess of an unsavory situation. He claimed that in America the I. W. W. was the only body that organized unskilled workers; that 85 per cent of their skilled members were also in the A. F. of L. unions; that those unions would not admit Socialists and revolutionary foreigners into membership; that the people he represented were 100 per cent. Socialists and Revolutionists, who were preparing for the International strike, which would strike terror into the hearts of capital-

ism, including the A. F. of L. The climax in his harangue was that he understood that other trade union officials and I had been known to sit and eat at the same table with a President of the United States, with Bishop Potter, and with Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, and that, therefore, we were not qualified to represent the working class.

The Austrian, German and British delegates forcefully combatted Foster's statements, the British and German delegations putting in evidence that they and their colleagues had often participated in the same kind of meetings in their countries, as had been referred to in America, and if there were anything to it, the alleged charges would also apply to them. My reply to Foster's illogical, contradictory and vicious melange can be better imagined than described or repeated. Delegate Appleton, of Great Britain, said I metaphorically prepared a bed of needles and without ceremony let Foster fall upon it. In substance, I explained their efforts at efficiency in strike breaking, that they were seldom in evidence unless during strikes, that they purposed to make strikes failures and to that end they tried to array workers of one nationality against other nationalities, who were all in one union and on one strike; that the American Socialist Organization repudiated them; that in economics and in politics they were nomadic, and that misguided Foster's alleged paradox about American unions not admitting Socialists to membership, while putting in evidence that 85 per cent. (?) of L. W. W. skilled members were in A. F. of L. unions, was as near to the truth as any of them might hope to reach. It will suffice to say, that after the whole of the first official day, plus over an hour after scheduled adjournment, had been taken up with this unwarranted and ridiculous discussion, all delegates in the conference, excepting the Frenchman, voted in favor of the motion.

I almost need to apologize for taking so much of your time on this subject, but as I heard more of it in Budapest in one day than I had ever heard in America, and as it occupied one-third of the whole time the convention was in session, you are entitled to know something of the fracas and the result.

During the first part of this discussion a decision from the Amsterdam conference, in 1905, was quoted against the French enquiry, namely, "All theoretical question and those which affect the tendency or tactics of the trade union movement in the separate countries, will not be discussed." The French delegates evaded a reply to the point of order; but later in the proceedings, when their own tactics of low dues, no defence fund to support strikes, but instead relying on communistic soup and tightening their belts as their stomachs shrunk during a strike, were criticised by a Belgian delegate, they promptly raised the Amsterdam decision and claimed a protection under it which they had tried to deny to the tendency and tactics practiced in America.

Second Day.

The International Secretary's report for one year, July 1, 1910, to June 30, 1911, was read, showing:

Subscriptions for the year from the different countries Mks. 9,054.19
(This item includes Mks. 2,550 paid by the A. F. of L.)

Interest	38.70
Sales of reports of 1909 conference	609.60
Balance on hand commencement of fiscal year.....	3,627.67
Total	13,330.16
Total expenses for year, including printing	9,604.90

Balance on hand June 30, 1911	3,725.26
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The report was adopted and the salary of the International Secretary was increased from 300 to 500 marks a year, a mere pittance compared to the duties performed.

The International Secretary called attention to the need for closer relationship between the National Trade Centres and his office, especially previous to and during disputes. He gave as an instance that Norway, where there was a general strike, and which had prevented their delegation from being at Budapest, had directly appealed to other countries for financial assistance, without first communicating with International Secretary Legien's office, as per the constitutional regulations to that effect, and that in consequence, very little money had been collected to help them.

A discussion followed on extending the scope of the Secretary's report, which was agreed to. Secretary Legien suggested that National Trade Centres in addition to receiving free copies of the report usually furnished to them, should purchase as many more as would be feasible, both for information and for reference.

In furtherance of the idea expressed, I recommend that the A. F. of L. for itself, and affiliated organizations for themselves, purchase a sufficient number of the reports for use and reference, and that trade journals reprint therefrom so that the fullest publicity, the greatest solidarity and the wisest comity among the workers of the several countries can be obtained.

The appeal for financial assistance to metal workers in Spain (a communistic soup and low dues organization) was not supported, as they are not affiliated to the Spanish Trade Centre.

A. Thornberg, Sweden, thanked the Trade Centres for the moral and financial assistance granted them during their great strike. They had fully survived the shock, had a membership again equal to before the strike, and had many concessions granted them which were denied prior to the conflict.

Two sets of delegates contested to represent Bulgaria. One pair was said to represent the intellectuals, the other pair,

the workers. The former was said to be not progressive, but academic, and the latter, few in numbers, but militant. A motion from the Austrian delegation to put them both out of the National Secretariat until they settled their contentions and united, and that a general effort to organize the Balkan States be made, was referred to International Secretary Legien to visit both of their conventions while he was trying to organize in the Balkans and to endeavor to amalgamate them.

A motion was adopted authorizing the International Secretary to not delay his reports to accommodate National Trade Centres that were dilatory in forwarding their reports.

Third Day.

The third day opened with continued discussion on a Swiss resolution, which in substance provided that when international financial assistance was desired in case of industrial disputes, the International Secretariat should only take part in the appeal for help if at the same time several Trade or Industrial Federations of a country were involved, and if the necessary funds could not be raised in the country, and by the trade organizations involved. Further, provided that the National Centre in need of help has furnished a formal call for assistance with full explanation, which should include a brief report of the cause and development of the dispute and a review of the numerical and financial strength of the unions in need; assistance not to be continued if the organization involved did not supply information on the development of the contention. The appeal when issued to National Trade Centres to contain a brief statement on the reasons for the appeal, with suggestions as to the best manner to conform thereto. Holland amended the Swiss motion that only under exceptional circumstances should such an appeal be issued, and then only provided the workers involved are so many that the financial means at their disposal in their own country are not adequate. An amendment by the delegate from Croatia, that all National Trade Centres should establish separate funds by means of regular subscriptions, for the purpose of assisting great industrial struggles in foreign countries, was withdrawn, and the Swiss motion, as amended by Holland, was adopted.

The three general resolutions I had the honor to submit were practically unanimously adopted. They provided substantially as follows:

First. That the International Secretary, when receiving any document from any source, other than an affiliated National Centre, assailing the integrity or character of a National Trade Centre, shall forward a copy of same to the official representative of the National Centre assailed, for reply, and if the latter contains valid objections to the document being sent out, it, with the reply thereto, shall be held and reported to the next convention.

Second. That the Budapest International Conference recommends to the Trade Union Centres of all countries, the

discussion of the proposition of establishing an International Federation of Labor, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being ordained and guaranteed.

Third. That it shall be the purpose of the labor movement of all countries to endeavor to the fullest extent to prevent the workers from one country being induced to emigrate to other countries during industrial depression or when trade disputes exist, or are in contemplation.

To my second resolution recommending discussion towards establishing an International Federation of Labor, the French delegation asked that a motion of theirs be added. It provided for the transformation of the International Secretariat into an International Trades Congress to be composed of delegates of each trade with power to act on trade questions, etc. The German and other delegations supported the American proposition, but opposed the French amendment. The French delegates thereupon stated their reason for joining the two resolutions was that invariably French propositions were rejected, even although others of a similar nature by other delegations were adopted, and they had hoped by joining their motion with the American proposition, to secure its adoption on the strength of the original motion. The attempted French coup d'etat was not successful, but a Scandinavian diplomatically helped France by moving that the French idea be referred to National Trade Centres for discussion, and which was adopted.

Belgium and Holland moved that instead of meeting every two years, the International Secretariat hereafter shall meet every three years, at the same time and place where the International Trades Union and Socialist Congress is held. Objection was made to two such conventions being in session at one time. A number of delegates attended both, and combinations might be formed which would work injury to both meetings. The motion was then changed to read that hereafter the Secretariat meet every three years.

I opposed the motion in both forms and for additional reasons than those for which the motion was changed. I invited the International Secretariat to meet in San Francisco in 1915, and took this opportunity to urge acceptance. My invitation was informal at Budapest, because a subsequent convention will be held at which formal action would be in order; but to meet every three years, instead of every two years, would have prevented meeting in San Francisco in 1915. The delegates viewed the invitation and the probability of meeting at the Golden Gate, as being nearly impossible of accomplishment. Those from the far East, who themselves, in some instances, had even to bear the most of their own expenses to Budapest, saw an impossible barrier against going as far as San Francisco. I had told them a union mayor and union heads of municipal depart-

ments would welcome them, for I expected that Mayor McCarthy would be re-elected. My statement, the city, the situation and the event (celebrating the opening of the great Canal) appeared so good to the convention that the amended and the original motions to meet every three years were withdrawn.

The German delegates suggested the advisability of all European Trade Centres immediately beginning the formation of a general fund which could be used to defray the expenses of all European delegates to San Francisco, and which would permit representatives being present from countries as yet poorly organized and who could not otherwise attend. The project is now under consideration, and will be settled at the next Secretariat Convention. I do not, however, hold out much hope, for the scarcity of money among the workers in Europe is not conducive to creating a fund to send delegates such a distance.

The British delegation nominated London as the place to hold the next convention, and the Swiss delegation named Cologne. Decision was deferred and later on the subject will be submitted to the different Trade Centres for action.

Holland moved that all trade unions should join their respective National Centres and invited the International Trade Federations and Secretariats to admit those unions who are members of their own National Centre of trade unions. And further, to bring pressure to bear upon non-affiliated unions to induce them to join the National Centre of their country. Adopted.

A motion by Holland on "home work" was laid over for investigation and report to the next International Conference.

Sweden moved that this conference invites the representatives of the working classes in all Parliaments to do all in their power in order to get bills enacted into law prohibiting night work in all industries where it is not absolutely necessary. Adopted.

A general discussion took place on how best to deal with union men going from one country to another. The European delegations all favored admission of men from one country to another on presenting paid-up cards and without paying new initiation fees. The British delegation, and I, could not pledge all the unions we represented to do so, owing to the benefits laid out by several American and British unions, many of such benefits going into effect immediately on a member joining, etc., but we favored further consideration being given to the subject, so that in this as in other ways, the toilers could the better co-operate for the fullest possible recognition and advancement of all organized labor.

France moved that one language hereafter be used at these conventions, and named Esperanto as the official language. J. Sassenbach, of German, led in the argument against Esperanto, and urged that if one language were to be selected that it should be English, which at the

present time was more universally spoken than any European language. James O'Grady, M. P., of the British delegation, made a short, eloquent speech against Esperanto and the French motion was voted down.

The following extracts from the Annual Report of the International Secretary of the National Trades Centres will be interesting:

"The Executive Board of the Canadian Trade and Labor Congress wrote about representation at the Budapest Conference. Correspondence showed that the Canadian unions are part of the American Federation of Labor, and, of course, would not be entitled to send their own delegate to this Conference."

"All countries with a somewhat important trade union movement, with the exception of Australia, are now represented in the National Secretariat. They number twenty at the present time, namely: Great Britain, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hungary, Croatia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and North America."

"The total number of affiliated trade union members has increased, during the financial year under revision, from 5,722,000 to 6,033,500. The increase is not due to new affiliations, and proves that our affiliated unions have been able to overcome industrial depression, still felt in many countries and on the whole, even made some progress. Four countries only reported loss in membership, and as a result of depression and of industrial disputes, but also in Austria, for instance, of a number of unions dissolving or leaving the National Centre on account of National friction."

"The Sixth International Conference held in 1909, at Paris, passed a resolution requesting trade union centres to use all possible means to bring about the abolition of the compulsory legitimization cards, which had been introduced by Prussia and several other Federated States of the German Empire for workers of foreign nationality. To this effort the following replies in substance had been received:

"Great Britain: A detailed circular letter dealing with the subject had been published and thereupon brought public attention to it."

"Holland: A Socialist member of Parliament during the debate on the budget, put the question to the Foreign Minister and moved that the Minister see that the stipulation of the German-Dutch treaty be better respected by Germany. A vote on the motion was not reached."

"Denmark: A member of the Danish Parliament, on behalf of the Socialist-Democratic Federation, under date of February 9, 1911, addressed a letter to the Foreign Minister on the subject, part

of which stated that Prussia and some other German Federated States had introduced compulsory legitimization cards for workers of foreign nationality, which cards must be presented to the police and signed when workers entered a place or situation. Danish workers had complained against the system and regret was expressed that the late Foreign Minister had not been able to bring about the desired alteration by Germany. These cards were delivered by a private concern, the 'Agricultural Workers' Centre,' to which the fees for the cards must be paid. This was an Agrarian Society, organized to supply laborers for landlords, and the privilege had been conferred on the society by the German government. This unfair system of compulsory cards only applied to foreigners working or looking for work in Germany, while others staying in that country for any purpose, international swindlers, for instance, are exempt from the expense and the inconvenience attached to the system. That the cards had been introduced solely for the purpose of annoying honest workers.

"The Danish Foreign Minister replied under date of March 2, 1911, that out of the many countries near to Germany, only Italy and Holland had entered their protest against those cards. The Italian Ambassador had not received a definite reply, and Holland had dropped the matter, as complaints of Dutch workers had not recently been made. The Swiss Ambassador at Berlin, who had asked for information on the cards, had been informed the German government considered these compulsory legitimization cards were necessary, owing to the large number of workers coming from Slavonian countries, whose passports are often written in languages not understood by German officials; in many cases passports were forged and numerous inconveniences, such as violation of labor contracts, were the result of this state of affairs, and the police regulations were inadequate with regard to the difficulty, so there was reason to believe that it was useless at the present time to suggest to Germany that these regulations be cancelled, and that Italy was the only country at that date which had not dropped its protest against the cards, and that the 'German Agricultural Workers' Centre' had been established at Berlin by the German Ministers of Foreign affairs, of Agriculture and of Finance, and were under control of them and the Minister of Commerce."

"Germany: The German Reichstag had adopted a resolution, moved by the Socialist-Democratic group, that the system of compulsory legitimization cards should be abolished, but the German Federated Council had not yet rendered a decision on the subject."

"Austria: The subject had been discussed in the Official Journal of the Trade Union Committee and the Socialist-Democratic members of Parliament had repeatedly asked questions in the House, but so far without success."

"Serbia: The Government stated, in reply to a petition of the National Centre of Trade Unions, that the whole measure had originally been drafted by Germany against workers from Austria and Russia, and that the workers of other countries had later on been included owing to the two countries named having protested against the apparent discrimination. That all countries involved now had better opportunity of keeping their workers abroad under control, especially those who later on returned to their native country; that Germany considered the card system necessary and did not apply it to their own workers, because they had other means of keeping them under control, and that Germany considered the system necessary, as it prevented the violation of labor contracts by foreign workers, as as every change of employment is entered on the cards and because of these facts the cards are a facility to foreign workers, because they give security to the employer who prefers workers with those cards to those without them."

"Switzerland: The Swiss Trade Unions had petitioned the Federal Council and a Social-Democratic member of Parliament had raised the question in the House. The German reply had been similar to that given to Serbia; no satisfactory results had been secured."

"Italy: Socialistic members of Parliament had questioned the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the German compulsory legitimization cards. The Minister replied, this card system constituted a violation of international law, and promised to do everything within his power to get the Prussian government to abolish the system. Nothing, however, had been achieved. The Italian Socialist members of Parliament intend to renew their attack on the system during the session of the Italian Parliament which meets in November (this month). The Italian trade unions had moved public opinion by means of the trade union and socialist press, but felt that the question could only be settled by way of diplomacy."

The cards above referred to, while in a way performing what the Prussian and other Federated States in the German Empire claimed for them, in reality covertly institute and continue an international black-list against workers who agitate for improved working conditions, who lead in contentions connected therewith, and who urge their fellow men to refuse to continue supplying labor power to employers who, through this obnoxious card system, impose unbearable conditions in contracts for employment and then blacklist the workers who protest.

C. Legien, President of the Federated Trade Unions of Germany, was unanimously re-elected International Secretary, and was given authority to hire assistance. He and J. Sassenbach, the other German delegate, were authorized to vis-

it Eastern Europe, especially the Balkan States and Turkey, with a view to initiate and encourage trade union organization and legislation.

By instruction of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., I invited Herr C. Legien to visit America to deliver addresses in our industrial centres, to study our trade organizations and as much as possible of the details of their accomplishments. He accepted the invitation and intends to visit America next spring time.

He speaks German only, and will be accompanied by Herr Baumeister, of Berlin, one of the interpreters at Budapest, who speaks three languages very fluently, German, English and French, and who is one of the brightest among the young men in the European labor movement.

Thus the Seventh International Conference of representatives of National Trade Union Centres passed into history. Adjournment, like the opening of the meeting, took place without demonstration. All the delegates were invited to attend the opening of the Hungarian Trades Congress in the same building the following (Sunday) morning, at nine o'clock.

The Secretariat convention was noticeable for courtesy, toleration, desire to accomplish and general fraternity among the delegates. The only disturbing element was the display of mental pyrotechnics by misguided Foster, of the I. W. W., and as he was not a delegate, but simply "butted in," his tactics could not be figured up to the actual business of the convention. Numerous trade meetings were attended by the delegates, and the hospitality of the Hungarian Trade Union Organizations on one evening, and of the Social Democratic Organization of that country on another evening, were pleasant social sidelights to the even tenor of discussion in the convention.

On the way to the second function we sailed on the Danube, which divides the city, until we reached an historic island on which is a famous restaurant, and its manager, inspired, no doubt, by the earnestness and hospitality of our entertainers, added an additional laurel to his fame, in providing an excellent Hungarian menu.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT HUNGARY GENERALLY.

Hungary, with twenty millions of population, has 700,000 electors.

The natives, with a show of Hungarian pride, continually remind visitors that Hungary is a kingdom governed by a king and a parliament, and that while Franz Josef is emperor of Austria, he is king of Hungary, and with the same show of feeling they indicate that they want no emperor in their country.

An income of 200 kronens, or crowns, a month in cities makes a citizen a voter. In rural districts if a citizen owns a house or land he can vote, but men who work for a living, unless they own property, or have the above income, have no vote.

The Hungarian Parliament is composed

of 450 members, but no working man or one who could be said to represent working men either on a workman's platform or on any other political platform is among them; in fact, speaking generally, working men in Hungary have no political rights.

In Budapest, by far the leading city in the country, poor people pay in rent about 500 crowns a year for one room, and occasionally rent a portion of that same room to a lodger to sleep for a few hours.

Nearly all of the property in Budapest is owned by so-called Nobles and Barons. Jews rent from them nearly all property, and do nearly all commercial business, such as banking, running stores, shops and factories. They also re-rent rooms, tenements, small shops, etc., to poor people, and are blamed by the native poor for overcharging, and many forms of usury.

The Hungarian, and especially the Budapest landlords, have a good organization and refuse to rent rooms, shops, factories, etc., for less than the arranged or established rates named by their organization.

I was informed that working people had organized a semblance of a strike against the extortionate rate of rent and unbearable conditions of houses and shops rented by them. The result was that because of the strike they were refused homes and shops to rent under any circumstances by members of the Landlords' Organization, who thus retaliated by a thoroughly organized and a rigidly conducted boycott. This caused such destitution among the participants in the strike that eventually the Hungarian Government gave them permission to occupy an old and unused barracks infested with rats, and for which they had to pay in rent 500 crowns per year per room in which, and in addition to their other miseries, they had to contend with the rodents for such food as in the circumstances the boycotted people could buy, beg or pick up.

Inhabitants of Hungary and portions of Austria are today in about the same conditions as were the people high and low in Germany and Prussia one hundred years ago, only that the former have not evidently the same ambitions as had the latter; yet it is the general impression that Hungarian civilization is as far in advance of the conditions in the neighboring Balkan States as it is behind modern German civilization.

The working people's day-dreams of emulating German progress are almost balanced by their dread of Slavonic invasion, for when the native Hungarians become troublesome to the Barons, bankers and property owners by demanding improved compensation or conditions of life, they are immediately confronted with the importation of Slavs and even with hundreds of Croats who are imported to take their places, and the latter are said to be even poorer, more docile, and cheaper workers than the Slavs. Thus the way to progress among the working

people in Hungary is beset by difficulties untold to us in such reports as we receive from Eastern Europe.

Yet there is a rift even in Hungarian clouds. I was informed that five years ago the same class of men and women I saw at work were employed twelve and thirteen hours per day. Their working hours in many instances are now down to nine and one-half per day, and in the last few years they have succeeded in securing increases of wages of one hundred per cent. on the rate they received for the longer workday. All of this, too, has been accomplished without legal permission by the Government to hold trade union meetings.

In other words, while without authority by edict of any kind to meet and transact business, state authorities tolerate or rather do not object to them meeting under retain police regulations. Some of the requirements are that one or two representatives of the Police Department attend the meetings, sit next to the presiding officer, make notes of the business transacted, and report every half hour or so by messenger to the Chief of Police what is being said and done, who is saying it, and how it is done.

The delegates to the International Secretariat, perhaps protected by passports, did not have their business so censored or reported, but the Hungarian Trades Congress, which met on the Sunday, 9 a. m., after our Convention had adjourned the previous Saturday afternoon, was attended at the opening and all during its sessions by two police officials in decorated uniforms who asserted their authority on sitting down alongside of the presiding officer by placing their swords in the scabbard quite noisily on the table, so that the jingling sound would make their presence and their official weapons known and feared.

The sight of women employed as hod carriers and building laborers, carrying on their heads or by hand barrows of mortar, brick, and stone, and in pairs carrying lumber, iron and debris up or down gangways as the case might be, at 50 cents a day in summer and 35 cents a day in winter, gave me a nervous chill. Strong of body, stout of limb, arms bare to the shoulders, poorly clad or fed, without shoes or stockings, and carefully selected under the law of the survival of the fittest, they, as human beings begrimed, without hope, without smiles or evidences of the sunshine of life, offered a pitiable contrast to the human butterflies of Hungarian society.

As I watched the drudgery imposed on those poor women, a thought in comparison came to me that in yonder ivy-mantled castle within a cannon shot of where I then stood, were Princess Gladys, she of Vanderbilt pedigree, spending lavishly good American dollars which figuratively had been wrung from the sweat of American labor, and her princely nabob partner living in luxury filched in a way from the manhood and womanhood of Hungarian peasantry, and I involuntarily exclaimed with the poet,—truly

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

If this were all, despair would displace ambition. This cannot long endure. I was informed that in several districts of that magnificently and naturally endowed country where architecture enchants, where public structures and monuments are superb, where art flourishes, where streets and public parks are laid out to please, where gold instead of justice is paramount, where the upper crust revels in luxury and the under crust in abject poverty, where misery is abundant, morality nil, child labor in its worst form, human life a commercial asset, womanhood degraded, her honor smirched, and where the sword means government, that through trade union and socialistic agitation play-grounds for children are becoming popular, many additional public schools are being erected (I doffed my hat to each one I saw), the school age is being extended, and with an ever-increasing proportion of scholars in attendance.

In addition to this evidence of a future and better civilization I was informed that hundreds of Hungarians are returning from America to the native homes they left as peasants, improved in appearance, with somewhat of education, well clad, ambitious, revolutionary, possessed of the wherewithal to acquire and hold property, thereby becoming voters, buying and working their way into the bourgeois, or middle-class citizenship which makes them electors and qualified to be elected. They are bent on making progress, on installing a better time, and in some instances where numbers permit, they emphasize their acquired American tendencies by insisting in political and other public meetings on being addressed in the English language.

In this way those who have been with us, who have seen and felt our freedom as compared to theirs, our democracy and our civilization, on their return to their native country are helping to influence the election of men into official positions who hold progressive views, and who in time will transmit their influence with good effect to the Hungarian body politic.

Thus you see economic, social and educational evolution is visible in spots. Too much credit cannot be given to the faithful, patient, but persistent trade unionists and to the hustling, protesting, and militant Socialists of Hungary for the humanitarian and political work they are performing, and for the excellent foundation for development of a future democracy they are laying.

Nearly eighty per cent. of the people in Hungary are practically illiterate. This includes the thousands of Slavs, Croats and other aliens continuously within her borders, drafted thither by designing capitalists and by scheming employers, and who are invariably illiterate, for a little education would be dangerous to the nefarious system to which I refer.

Social and political conditions in Hungary differ so much from ours that comparison is difficult. The Socialist party

is the only organized political protest against aristocracy, feudalism, militarism, and the present system of baronial or vested interests.

It matters little by what name that protest is designated, the fact is evident that it is a contest between an effete and slowly disappearing aristocracy and a young, liberty-breathing demand for freedom under democracy.

Who can say with such influences as work, even although it is an up-hill fight, that through such tendencies as I have just mentioned, as well as from cultivating native aggressiveness, guided and encouraged by constructive action in other countries and with the general development of solidarity among all working people wheresoever dispersed, even Hungary will rise from her economic and political slough of despond and will take her place among more progressive nations.

On leaving Budapest my route would have taken me through Italy and Switzerland, but I was advised not to go to Italy, as cholera was discovered in several Italian cities which I had arranged to visit. Quarantine regulations would have seriously interfered with my subsequent arrangements, and I very reluctantly abandoned visiting that very interesting and historic country.

I reached Vienna, but cholera from Italy had also reached that city. After leaving Vienna I went to Munich, Nuremberg, Wurzburg, Frankfurt on the Main, and sailed down the Rhine from Mayence to Cologne, then to labor centers in Holland, Belgium and France. Each country and city I visited had its own individual as well as general interest. The progressive movement among the common people only differed in detail.

Munich is fairly well organized, and the workers deserve credit and encouragement. This is the great beer-brewing center in Europe. Its beer gardens, like those in Vienna, mean something different than the mere words convey here. Thither poor families, carrying their meagre luncheon with them, repair in the evening to seat, sip the local beverage, listen to music, and to put in the evening in domestic and fraternal exchange of views with whomsoever they may meet, and their richer neighbor from an outlying vanguard may be occupying the next table. These resorts constitute the domestic method of such commingling of the classes as takes place over there.

I cannot help if it jolts our temperance friends to say that, generally speaking, on the continent of Europe where wine and beer are consumed, and where the places dispensing them are seldom, if ever closed, intemperance in the use of intoxicating drinks is almost unknown. This does not apply with the same accuracy to cities like Brussels and Paris, where the demi-monde lead society.

In morality, one having in mind one's Sunday-school lessons and who has been in Europe, wonders why Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed and Brussels and

Paris do flourish. There are other wicked places in Europe than those two cities, but in the latter frivolity is supreme, while in the former sheer poverty has driven the unfortunates from misery to shame.

Munich is in Bavaria. Bavaria is a kingdom of the German Empire. The King of Bavaria has been locked up crazy for over a quarter of a century. I hope the Kaiser and the lesser Kings in the War Lord's Dominions will not feel mentally uneasy at my remark that Bavaria seemed to be the best-governed of the German states.

I said that in some ways the German unions are leading the world. I have reference to compensation and to insurance features. I cannot here go into general details, nor is there need for it, as each specific insurance feature fostered and favored by German and British unions has been made public in our Labor Press and has been treated in detail by some of my colleagues on the Executive Council.

I may, however, without perhaps tiring you, refer to one new feature, namely, life insurance. One insurance company of Germany, The Victoria, in a short time cleared in profits a sum equal to \$25,000,000. The Dresden Trades Congress decided to establish an insurance system, and never in the history of the Capitalistic Press was such a rumormongering raised as against this convention.

Old companies had been paying stockholders from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. on investments, hence the above mentioned press protests. The German trade union system of life insurance goes into effect in January, 1912, under the title of The People's Provident Co., and when securely established, the German unions propose to also put in use a Workers' Fire Insurance system.

This is going on in a country where about 175,000 workers, men and women from the Slavonic races, visit them yearly, accepting employment under contract by the nefarious card system which I have referred to, staying in their country about five months of the year and receiving in wages 15 cents to 50 cents a day of fourteen to sixteen hours in the poorest paid employments, but in some instances from ten to sixteen hours a day. These workers are moved from place to place in fourth-class or cattle cars, and everything possible is done, including supervising marriage regulations, so that they may be kept in their own class.

The syndicate managing this process is located in Prussia, but the head office is in Berlin and requires 700 clerks to transact its official business.

The Co-operative Store System is well established throughout Europe, but is in best shape in Belgium, and which is another instance of peculiar contrasts, for organization of labor is not proportionately high in that country. Its hold on the Co-operative Store System is sufficiently complete, however, to dictate the selling price of bread all over Belgium.

I returned to England, went to Ireland, thence to Scotland, went through

the Trossachs and arrived in Newcastle-on-Tyne during the sessions of the British Trades Congress, and where I had the pleasure of meeting Fraternal Delegates W. B. Macfarlane and D. J. Tobin, and whom I desire to compliment for the practical and business-like way they performed the duties with which the St. Louis Convention honored them.

For reasons already assigned I will not invade their jurisdiction, but speaking of jurisdictional questions the British Trade Congress has an admirable outlet, first by having years ago decided not to take up those questions in the Trades Congress, and second, by indirectly referring them to the British Trades Federation. In magnitude the latter is just entering upon the same interesting period of contention and discussion on this subject that in the past has caused so much dispute and friction in A. F. of L. Conventions. They call it overlapping, but by whatever name a rose may be called, its perfume is just the same.

In further reference to the trade union movement on the Continent, and especially at this stage of my report, as it applies to the labor movement of Great Britain and America, I found a deep-seated feeling in England and Scotland against workers from Germany taking their places for low wages, and frequently during suspensions of work to influence better working conditions. Our fellow unionists in Ireland had little to say about men from the Continent, for emigration continues to be more in evidence than immigration. Having heard something of the above-mentioned complaint before I went to the Continent, I made inquiry about it so that I could tell American workers what was the cause of the complaint which seemed to be the chief point of contention between the British and the continental unions.

I found it was extremely difficult for the Germans to explain the cause to the British, for effort to do so was usually considered to mean more of an excuse than an explanation. The Germans, however, aver that the charge about cheap native workers from their country taking the places of the British during disputes, etc., is not well borne out.

We are accustomed to view the phrase, "Go West, young man" as an Americanism. The idea is really more European than American, for the trend and tendency of migration there is invariably West. Armenian, Balkan and Slavonic races move by large numbers into Hungary and Austria. They find improved conditions. They are moving towards Germany, where they find conditions still better, and they are by increased productivity and compensation preparing to go farther West. If they have not enough money to go to America they move from Germany to Great Britain, where they complete the course of European migration, some remaining, the greater portion in one way or another finally going to North America.

The German worker is not as well com-

pensated as the British worker, and there is inducement for the German to look for better conditions, but much of the contention in Great Britain against Germany, on investigation would be found to be a protest against those from farther East, who in the first place were a menace to the German worker and later to the British.

It is a great international question, and while the process is a source of much annoyance and hindrance to the British, who among us can really blame people brought up under such conditions of poverty and misery as those to which I have referred, for trying to go West to better their condition?

Governments as presently constituted can not cope with the situation, for the influence of all governments seem to be unusually friendly to the rich few and proportionally calloused and cold-blooded against the poor many. Time will change this, as governments become revolutionized towards democracy, but the process is so slow that if it were not for the beneficent features possible under International Trade Unionism, the hearts of the active workers who are striving for improved conditions of life would literally break under the strain.

Here is where International Trade Unionism will play its strongest part. By an intermingling of the representatives of the different countries a better understanding will be reached, the points which have brought success in different parts of the great movement in the civilized world will be brought out, adopted and developed, while the snags and mistakes which impeded the way to material progress and to human liberty will be noted and can be avoided.

Right now a craving for betterment and for freedom is permeating all movements of middle class and lowly society. It may be labelled international insurgency against aristocratic, governmental and judicial tyranny, but whatever its caption may be, the movement for universal uplift of submerged and exploited citizenship was never so much in evidence as at present. They cry for relief from tyranny and the demand for just definition and administration of laws has the dynasty of China on the brink of oblivion, and from there to the capital city of our own country round about in both ways the human tremor is felt. The protests of the older established trade unions are being heard around the world and are bearing good fruit. In the most isolated portions of the universe as well as in the parts most in evidence, we hear the sound and feel the pulse of the general demand for more equitable and more just conditions of life.

The efforts we have made in our time and the efforts others in the past have made before us, have not been lost energy, and although to the difficulties to which I have referred in Eastern Europe may be traced considerable of the lack of faster advancements in Western Europe, in Great Britain, and to some extent in our own country, it is a condition with which we will very largely have to deal

in the economic field, and I do not despair of future accomplishments, although I regret that the procession is moving slowly.

Standing under the shadow of The Hague Temple of International Conciliation and Arbitration and cogitating much on the thoughts I have expressed in this report, my meanderings in Europe riveted in my mind the encouraging sign of the times that such international meetings as those I had attended were cementing fraternal thought along international lines, and was more than ever bringing the workers of all countries to understand that in other pursuits as well as on the industrial field an injury to one is the concern of all. The feeling is growing apace, especially among organized workers, that war internecine, or between nations, must cease. Men will refuse to be involved in controversies whose trend and purpose lead to working people of one country killing and maiming working people of another country through alleged patriotism, but which invariably leads to further governmental power with extension of oppression over the governed.

Bear in mind a mental rumination had not in it that this excellent spirit of true international patriotism among the workers of all countries emanated from the classic structure under the shadow of which I stood. Instead, I realized and was proud of the fact that the Hague Tribunal had been a result of the growth and inculcation of the great efforts I have tried to explain.

I appreciate the honor of having your credential to Budapest. I gave the best that was in me to faithfully and well represent you, and I close my remarks about Europe and America with an earnest hope, in which I trust you will all join, that long may the beneficent teachings, truths, principles and purposes of International Trades Unionism continue to evolve for the betterment of the human race.

Respectfully submitted,
JAMES DUNCAN,
Representative.

After reading the portion of the report in reference to Mr. Foster, of the Industrial Workers, Vice-President Duncan said:

During the proceedings a letter received by this man from Chicago was passed around among the delegates. As only a few of the delegates could read the letter, which was in English, I had it interpreted for the others. The letter is as follows:

Industrial Workers of the World,
518 Cambridge Building,
Chicago, Ill., July 21, 1911.
Vincent St. John,
General Secretary-Treasurer.
W. E. Trautman,
Ass't. Sec. and Gen. Organizer.
Mr. W. Z. Foster, Care Mr. Fritz Kater,

C-54 Alte Schonhausen Strasse 20, Berlin, Germany.
Fellow Worker:

Am mailing you by registered mail this date, general delivery, Budapest, Hungary, dope that we have on hand to date. If we are successful in getting additional dope, will send it on as fast as we get hold of it.

If suggestions are in order and this letter reaches you in time, I would suggest that you get into Budapest as early as possible, look up Basch and hold down the town. Basch may also have some dope that will be of assistance to you.

Have had documents marked so as to help you out in getting at the matter without having to search through the papers. The bound volume of "Socialist Review" has index marked. Try and take good care of all these documents as they will come in handy in the future no doubt.

With best wishes, I am,
Yours for Industrial Freedom,
(Signed) VINCENT ST. JOHN,
General Secretary.

Vice-President Duncan—All I have to say in addition to the letter is that I am somewhat fearful the "dope" had effect, because soon after the fracas to which I have referred, in my official report took place Mr. Foster came to grief in Budapest. The following day a Hungarian, who had been in this country and could speak some English, came to me and said a subscription paper was being passed around to get Foster out of jail and enable him to return to Berlin. He had been arrested the night before because of some trouble he had with a street car conductor for not paying his fare. I told our friend that since the Roman occupation of that part of the country the roads had been in excellent condition, that pedestrianism was good for the health, and I would therefore refrain from interfering with Mr. Foster's opportunity to benefit his health by walking back to Berlin.

Delegate Tveitmoen—I move you that this Convention tender a rising vote of thanks to Delegate Duncan for the able manner in which he has represented the Trades Union movement of America in Budapest, and for the highly interesting and masterly report he brought to us.

The motion was seconded and carried by a unanimous rising vote.

President Gompers—It is a unanimous vote, and the thanks of the Convention are extended to you, Delegate Duncan. The report will be made part of the official proceedings of this Convention.

The local Entertainment Committee an-

nounced the following program of entertainment:

Wednesday, at 2 o'clock, an oyster roast at a brewery.

Thursday, 2 o'clock, barbecue at White City, cars to be in waiting at the door of the Convention hall at 2 o'clock.

Friday night, theater party at Forsyth, tickets to be distributed to delegates, all of the lady delegates and visitors to be included in the party.

President Gompers—The local committee in corresponding with the President on the subject of entertainment was admonished not to take up much of the working time of this convention. The committee was quite lavish in its profers of entertainment. However, they

pared it down to these two entertainments for tomorrow and Thursday afternoon, the other entertainment to be in the evening. It is suggested that possibly on Wednesday and Thursday the Convention might convene at 9:30 and remain in session until 1:30 or 2 o'clock, then adjourn for the entertainments.

On motion the suggestion in regard to the time for convening and adjourning on Wednesday and Thursday as suggested by President Gompers was adopted.

During the session resolutions numbers 23 to 62 inclusive, were introduced and referred to the proper committees.

At 5:30 p. m. the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, November 15th.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, November 15th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: Pfeil, Yount, Friel, Smith (Fred), Roach, Croakley, Price, Dold, Gallagher, (John J.), Gavlak, Kaefer, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hick, Torrey, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schneider (John), Wendt, Davis, Welsh (Edward F.), Fuller, James, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Donnelly, Saum, Engdahl, Schaub.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

We have examined the credential submitted from the Brotherhood of Railway Freight Handlers, and recommend that Fred Smith be seated, with 40 votes.

On the credential of the Commercial Telegraphers, in lieu of Perry Thomas, we recommend the seating of Thomas Pinson, he having been duly accredited by his organization, with 10 votes.

On the credential of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers we recommend the seating of G. E. Soyster, with 63 votes, in place of C. E. Mulhall, who is detained by illness. G. E. Soyster is duly accredited by his National organization as an alternate.

We are in receipt of a further protest from T. J. McNamara, of the Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers of America, against the seating of A. J. Kennedy. Your committee recommends that inasmuch as A. J. Kennedy has already been seated as a delegate, no further action be taken.

D. A. CAREY, Chairman.

S. L. LANDERS,

E. FRANK MOORHOUSE, Secretary.

Delegate Carey—I move the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Washington, D. C., Nov. 14, 1911.

"Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.:

"The Central Labor Union of Wash-

ington, D. C., sends fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates to the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"JOHN B. COLPOYS, Secretary."

"New York City, Nov. 13, 1911.

"The Convention of the American Federation of Labor, New Kimball House, Atlanta, Ga.:

"The United Hebrew Trades of New York send you their hearty congratulations. We wish you success. We were also this year very successful in getting the masses of the Jewish speaking workers of New York into the ranks of the trade union. Long live organized labor!

"B. WEINSTEIN, Secretary."

"Richmond, Va., Nov. 14, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L. Atlanta, Ga.

"The Executive Boards of the Virginia Federation of Labor and Farmers' Co-operative Union in joint session send fraternal greetings to the A. F. of L. and extend cordial invitation to hold 1912 convention in Richmond.

"S. PHIL METZ, President.

"E. C. DAVISON, Secretary."

"Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 14, 1911.

"American Federation Convention, Main Editorial Hall, Atlanta.

"While the strikers of Cleveland did not succeed in obtaining their just demands their spirit is still unbroken and are ready to take up the fight again when the opportunity will present itself. At present we continue fight by asking organized labor not to buy Cleveland made goods. Let convention urge organized labor to do likewise. With many congratulations and best wishes for the Convention, I am yours for the cause of labor,

"ISRAEL FEIT,

"Second Vice-President Int. Ladies Garment Workers' Union for Cleveland Ladies Garment Workers."

Report of Auditing Committee.

Delegate Moorhouse, for the Committee, reported as follows:

Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 13, 1911.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

Your Auditing Committee having examined all books, receipts, expenditures, vouchers, etc., beg leave to submit the following report:

The total income of the American Federation of Labor from all sources from

October 1, 1910, until September 30, 1911, inclusive, was \$182,188.68, as follows:

Per capita tax	.....\$122,958.90
Supplies	..... 9,805.44
Interest	..... 4,372.10
Assessment United Hatters (3 cts.)	..... 162.54
Defense fund	..... 16,010.75
Premiums on bonds	..... 2,988.55
AMERICAN FED-ERATIONIST	..... 18,213.98
Assessment Los Angeles	..... 19.06
Legal Defense Fund	..... 19.06
Assessment United Hatters	..... 7,638.30

Total receipts for the year..\$182,188.68
Balance on hand September 30, 1910 182,914.96

Grand total.....\$365,103.64
The expenses from October 1, 1910, until September 30, 1911, inclusive, were \$175,524.68, as follows:

German American Bank, September 1, 1911, No. 14018	.....\$10,000.00
German American Bank, September 30, 1911, No. 14105	..... 15,000.00
First National Bank, September 30, 1911, No. 9004	..... 15,000.00
First National Bank, September 30, 1911, No. 9005	..... 15,000.00
First National Bank, November 1, 1911, No. 9186	..... 5,000.00
The Peoples' Bank, July 6, 1911, No. 8471	..... 10,000.00
The Peoples' Bank, September 1, 1911, No. 8807	..... 5,737.24
The Peoples' Bank, October 13, 1911, No. 8915	..... 5,000.00
The Peoples' Bank, November 1, 1911, No. 8966	..... 10,000.00
The State National Bank, June 8, 1911, No. 106995	..... 10,000.00
The State National Bank, June 8, 1911, No. 106996	..... 10,000.00
The State National Bank, June 8, 1911, No. 106997	..... 10,000.00
The State National Bank, September 18, 1911, No. 107868	..... 5,000.00
The State National Bank, October 13, 1911, No. 108058	..... 10,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 1, 1911, No. 2391	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2393	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2394	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2395	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2396	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2397	..... 5,000.00
Total	.....\$165,737.24

On deposit in the McLean County Bank, of Bloomington, Ill., subject to check of John B. Lennon, Treasurer	.....21,842.32
On deposit in the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., September 30, 1911, subject to check of Frank Morrison, Secretary	.....\$21,529.71
Outstanding checks	..... 19,529.71
Balance	..... 2,000.00

Total Balance in banks September 30, 1911\$189,579.56

In conclusion, we desire to express our appreciation of the excellent system in vogue at Headquarters in conducting the business of the American Federation of Labor.

A thorough and searching examination of the books, records, vouchers, etc., was made, and we desire to compliment President Samuel Gompers, Secretary Frank Morrison and the efficient staff for their work.

DAVID A. CAREY, Chairman.
SAMUEL L. LANDERS,
E. FRANK MOORHOUSE,
Secretary.

General account	...\$137,973.94
AMERICAN FED-ERATIONIST	... 20,913.56
Defense Fund	..... 4,192.00
Premiums on bonds	..... 1,448.38
Legal defense assessment	..... 70.78
Assessment United Hatters (2 cts.)	... 10,925.62

Total expenses for the year..\$175,524.08

Recapitulation.

On hand, October 1, 1910	.....\$182,914.96
Total receipts	..... 182,188.68
Total receipts	.....\$365,103.64
Expenses	..... 175,524.08

Balance on hand, October 1, 1911\$189,579.56
Showing that the receipts exceeded the expenses by \$6,664.60.
We find the total sum of \$189,579.56 balance on hand, as follows:
Certificates of deposit shown us by President Samuel Gompers, as held by Treasurer John B. Lennon, deposited in the following banks of Bloomington, Ill.:

Delegate Carey—I move the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Assignment of Subjects to Committees.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT. That portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption "Organization and Growth," referred to the Committee on Organization. That portion under the caption "The International Secretariat," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption of "Organizers,"

referred to the Committee on Organization.

Executive Council's Report.

That portion of the report under the caption "New Unions Chartered—Organization," referred to the Committee on Organization. That portion under the caption "Organizers," referred to the Committee on Organization. That portion under the caption, "Organizers," relating to increase of per capita tax referred to the Committee on Laws. That portion under the caption "Building Trades Department—U. B. of Carpenters—Steam Fitters," referred to Building Trades Committee. That portion under the caption "United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Amalgamated Carpenters—U. B. of Carpenters," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Electrical Workers," referred to Building Trades Committee. That portion under the caption "Machinists—Elevator Constructors," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Teamsters—Bakers," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers—Moving Picture Operators," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Organized Farmers," referred to Committee on Organization. That portion under the caption "Union Label Leagues," referred to the Committee on Law. That portion under the caption, "A. F. of L. News Letter," referred to Committee on Education. That portion under the caption "A. F. of L. Office Building," referred to the Committee on President's Report. That portion under the caption "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Laws," referred to the Committee on President's Report. That portion under the caption "Industrial Accidents," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption "Industrial Education," referred to the Committee on Education. That portion under the caption "Pure Food, Pure Drugs," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption "New Mexico's Constitution," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption

"International Secretariat," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption "Boy Scout Movement," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption "Conservation Natural Resources," referred to the Committee on Education. That portion under the caption "White Rats Actors' Union—Benefit Performances," referred to Special Committee to be appointed in accordance with the recommendations of the Executive Council. That portion under the caption "Labor Representation Committee's Report," referred to the Committee on President's Report.

In the report as originally read the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Amalgamated Carpenters—U. B. Carpenters," was referred to the Building Trades Committee. Delegate Duffy (F.) requested that it be transferred to the Committee on Adjustment. No objection being offered at the time, President Gompers stated that it would be so transferred.

Delegate Wilkinson—I move that the portion of the report dealing with the dispute between the Amalgamated Carpenters and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters be given back to the Building Trades Committee to which it was originally assigned.

Vice-President O'Connell—I second the motion, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), raised a point of order that the transfer had been adopted by unanimous consent and a reconsideration would be necessary before the motion before the house would be in order. The point of order was declared not well taken.

Delegate Wilkinson spoke in favor of the motion.

Delegate Duffy (F.) opposed the motion.

A viva voce vote was taken on the motion offered by Delegate Wilkinson. The chair not being able to decide on an aye and nay vote called for a show of hands. The motion was then declared lost by a vote of 99 in the negative to 60 in the affirmative.

Vice-President Huber—I wish to again decline to serve as chairman of the Building Trades Committee. My best judgment tells me I have no business on that committee.

President Gompers—Is there objection?
Delegate Carter moved that declination

of Vice-President Huber be accepted. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers—The chair will make an appointment later on. Until that appointment is made, the delegate next on the committee, Delegate Short, will act as chairman.

The announcement was made that Delegate Kline, appointed as chairman of the Committee on Treasurer's Report, had been called away from the Convention, and that Delegate Skemp would act in his place.

On motion of Delegate Wilson (W. B.), the addresses of fraternal delegates was made a special order of business for 10 o'clock a. m. Thursday.

During the session Resolutions Nos. 63 to 83 inclusive, were submitted and referred to the proper committees.

No committees being ready to report, at 10:30 a. m. the rules were suspended, and a recess taken to 1:30 p. m. of the same day.

Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 1:30 p. m., Wednesday, November 15th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfeil, Smith (Fred), Roach, fer, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Ferry, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schneider (John), Wendt, Davis, Welsh (Edward F.), Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Cramer, Donnelly, Saum, Schaub.

President Gompers—The committees are not ready to report. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I move that the rules be suspended and that the Convention adjourn to 9:30 tomorrow morning. (Seconded.)

After announcement of committee meetings, resolutions 84 to 95 inclusive, were introduced and referred to the proper committees.

At 2 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 16th.

Fourth Day---Thursday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 16th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: Pfell, Smith, (Fred), Roach Coakley, Price, Doid, Gavlak, Kaefer, Kelly (William E), Anderson (W. H.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis (William A.), Fuller, Winch-enback, Ford, Belt, Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Your committee has received the credential of the Glove Makers' International Union, and recommend that Agnes Nestor be seated, with nine votes.

D. A. CAREY, Chairman.

S. L. LANDERS,

E. F. MOORHOUSE, Secretary,

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from the United Garment Workers' organization in St. Louis, announcing the termination of the trade dispute between the members of that organization and the firm of Marx & Haas, clothing manufacturers, and expressing gratitude to organized labor for help rendered during the struggle.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"New York, November 15th, 1911.

"Mr. Frank Morrison,
American Federation of Labor Con-
vention, Atlanta, Ga.

"The Water Front Federation of New York and Vicinity by unanimous vote of its delegates in regular meeting assembled and representing one hundred and sixty thousand transport workers in this port endorses and pledges its support to a transport workers' department of the American Federation of Labor.

"W. S. CARTLEDGE,
"Secretary Water Front Federation
of New York and Vicinity."

"Seattle, Wash., Nov. 15, 1911.

"Frank Morrison,
Care of American Federation of La-
bor Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"The Seattle Hotel Men's Association extends to your body a cordial invitation to hold your 1912 Convention in this city. Our beautiful climatic conditions, together with the scenic beauties which surround our city, also a positive assurance that the hotel rates will remain nor-

mal at all times, will assure the visiting delegates to this Convention a good time in the queen city of the Northwest.

"SEATTLE HOTEL MEN'S ASS'N.,

"H. E. Kennedy, Secretary."

"New York, Nov. 15, 1911.

"Mr. Frank Morrison, American Federa-
tion of Labor Convention, Atlanta,
Ga.:

All Maritime Unions of the Atlantic, composed of Sailors, Marine Firemen and Marine Cooks, Stewards and Waiters and covering the greatest Maritime District in the United States, endorse and pledge their united support to a transport workers' department of the American Federation of Labor. Verbatim resolutions adopted follow by mail.

"H. P. GRIFFIN,

"Secretary Marine Cooks' and Stewards'
Union of the Atlantic.

"JAMES VIDAL,

"Secretary Marine Firemen's Union of
Atlantic and Gulf.

"D. SASSEN,

"Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union, New
York."

"Caguas, Puerto Rico,

"November 6, 1911.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President Ameri-
can Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"Federal Labor Union No. 13134, of Ca-
guas, Puerto Rico, sends greetings to the
officers and delegates assembled in con-
vention in Atlanta, Georgia.

"Although when this letter reaches you
the Convention will have assembled, and
though not represented in the Convention
by a delegate, we thus convey by mail
our hearty good wishes for the Con-
vention.

"We are hoping much from the work
of the Convention and trust that the con-
dition of the people of Puerto Rico, as
regards the rights of citizenship, will not
be overlooked by the Convention.

"The workers of Puerto Rico are in full
sympathy with the efforts being made
for the defense of the McNamara broth-
ers.

"Again we desire to repeat the ex-
pression of our best wishes for the work
of the Convention.

"Fraternally yours,

"FEDERAL LABOR UNION, No. 13134,

"By Lorenzo Bouilla Flores,

"Financial Secretary."

**BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY
WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION
OF AMERICA, LOCAL NO. 48.**

"Caguas, Puerto Rico, Nov. 7, 1911.

"To the Officers and Delegates, Con-
vention A. F. of L., Atlanta, Ga.

"Greeting:

"Although when this letter reaches you,
the Convention will have been in session

for several days, yet we desire to convey our best wishes for the success of the Convention.

Faternally yours,
 "ANDRES ORELLANO,
 "Secretary Financial.
 "IGNACIO RODRIGUEZ,
 "Secretary Recording."

President Gompers announced that Frederick W. Gardner, President of the Buck Stove and Range Company, had sent a letter requesting that a number of attractive souvenirs be distributed to the delegates, and instructed that they be distributed during the time set for the introduction of resolutions.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.), moved that the telegram from the Water Front Federation of New York be made part of the record of the Convention. President Gompers stated that if no objections were offered all the communications read would be made part of the proceedings.

President Gompers announced that upon the adjournment of the session the delegates were requested to proceed to the State Capitol, where a group photograph of the Convention would be taken.

At 10 o'clock President Gompers announced that the hour had arrived for the addresses of fraternal delegates. President Gompers stated that the fraternal delegates had arranged their order of speaking and introduced as the first speaker Mr. J. Crinion, representing the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Crinion—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In the name of the British Trades Union Congress I convey to you their hearty greetings, and in the name of two million, four hundred thousand organized workers of Britain their sincere wishes for your success in this, your thirty-first Convention.

Mr. Chairman and Friends, it is my intention to touch as briefly as I can upon industrial questions that are before the British public. And in so doing I wish to bring it under the heading of the Federation of Trades Unions, a federation which is conducted principally on the same lines as your own federation. The federation is looked upon as the militant part of our trades union movement, is an offsprung from the Trades Union Congress, and has the great Labor disputes, strikes and lockout that take place in our country to deal with. We recognize that we have too many unions and far too few trades unionists. We have many unions similar to each other, but still claiming their own autonomy, with few members in their individual societies. The federation has set about to bring about a better understanding by having fewer unions and having members more amalgamated or federated than they have been in the past.

When the Federation of Trades Union came into being in 1899 there were forty-three societies and three hundred and forty-three thousand members connected with it. Today it possesses no less than one hundred and forty societies with seven hundred and fifty thousand members. This will show you that we are taking a step in the right direction. Considering that it is only thirteen years since the formation of our Federation we can claim that we have done much useful and serviceable work in behalf of the industrial toilers of Great Britain.

In recent years we have used our persuasion to the effect that we have been able to bring about an understanding with the general laborers, numbering some twelve organizations, to federate together in, practically speaking, one common union. This has had the good results many of you have read of in this country in the recent upheaval we have had, where the dockers, the seamen, the carters and many other labor organizations, that for long, long years had been asking, pleading, I might say, to the employers for an improvement in their working conditions, were able to improve their conditions. For many years they had pleaded, but all their pleadings having fallen on deaf ears. They made up their minds to put up with their conditions no longer. The result was the cry of "Down with tools!" and by downing the tools those men proved they were not to be trifled with any longer, and their position is much improved today by that action.

Many people in our country had hoped to find, because it was they said an interference with trade, a paralyzing of the industries of the country, that some drastic measure might be taken to prevent a recurrence of that action. But before that can be accomplished workers of our country will have to be accounted with, because long enough have they stood silently and borne the brunt of the capitalist classes. Now they are determined that it shall not again come to pass that the laborer will not be able to command a decent return for his labor and decent conditions to live under. No matter what the criticisms may have been, those in the movement believe they were justified in the action they took.

I am only sorry that I have to stand here and say that I think the mistake that was made—a mistake that should have been foreseen years ago—was made by the railway workers in our country. Had they been inside the federated movement of the country they would not have come out as badly as they did, and it would not have come to pass that a commission was suggested by the government when these men had victory almost in sight. This commission, the men were led to believe, would be favorable in its findings toward them. You have all read for yourselves what those findings were. Those men back at their work are, practically speaking, in the same position they were before they left it. The findings of the commission—what were they? That the men shall have

the right to select whom shall be their secretary. It may be their general secretary or it may be a secretary agreed upon and appointed by the men to go along with a committee. A committee of what kind? A committee that is working for some of the railway companies, men who cannot go honestly, without fear of their situations being jeopardized, to voice the feelings and sentiments of their class.

I say that such a proposal is not worthy of picking up to read, because I hold the men have a right to say whom they will appoint and whether or no it will be officers they will select to represent them in official position, not men selected from the company, who have to meet and deal with these questions with them across the table. Furthermore, their finding is that there shall be no interference with the management or discipline of these great railways. What underlies that? Do I need to tell you? You understand quite as well and perhaps better than I do what underlies it. Men may be marked for taking an advanced view, men may be marked for having the courage to say they will not submit to any kind or condition of labor or wages that may be paid. What will be the result? Marked men must go. If any one questions the rights of the men it will be said, "Hands off! You have no right to interfere with the management or discipline or the way we run those locomotives across our lines!"

Such a state of affairs is not worthy of men, but that is the findings of the commission that was appointed. All I have to say is that while we as a federation of trades unions do stand for the working men who are looked upon, as I said before, as a militant part of our movement, this is the finding of the commission and the men have accepted it for the time being. But while the time is coming when they can act again in the matter they should prepare the financial side of the question, and then if they cannot get a hearing in a reasonable and proper manner from the great railway magnate, then, by all means, let them strike and stick to it, and heed no commissions or government interference until they have the victory they deserve.

As there are several other fraternal delegates to speak I shall have to briefly skim over the work we have further in hand. There are many of the trades or callings represented in this Convention, and perhaps it would not be out of place to give something of what is being done by the trades in our federation. The glass workers in our country numbered sixteen small unions. We have been able to bring together fifteen of them and form one grand union. The sixteen organizations were small in number, and each viewing things in their own light were practically at the mercy of the employers. Now that they are federated the employer can no longer look upon them in the same light he did when they were so many small fragments. Then we have the gold and silver trades unions, which numbered thirteen, with only twelve hun-

dred members. You will readily see that with so many unions it was really a waste of energy and funds, because they were paying thirteen officials, had different committees and executives, and the money that ought to be going into one exchequer and to one set of officials, providing for a fighting fund, as we call it in our country, was divided among these organizations.

Then we have the Iron Foundry trades, numbering seven, with thirty-five thousand members. This included the core makers, the plate molders, the bench molders, and some branches I am not thoroughly acquainted with. We have been able to get these people to see the benefit of federation or amalgamation, and at the present time they have agreed among themselves and have drafted a code of rules, contributions and benefits to be paid, and are now taking a ballot of the members of those seven associations. That to me is a step in the right direction; it is one of the things I admit ought to be copied in our country, because it is similar to what you have in the United States of America. This is recommended by each of the Executive Councils, and I have no doubt it will be accepted by the rank and file of the members.

Now, coming to the engineers, Shipwrights Provident and the Shipwrights Constructive Association who were out on the river Thames, London, for a working agreement. They were also out for increased rates of pay during the time the upheaval was on. But although many of the labor disputes were out of the way there was a stand made of one part of the shipping employers. They would not recognize the men or their leaders. The men and their employers were looking on, neither doing anything.

During the trouble the Board of Trade was seeking to come in, to the credit of the men they said, "No, we have no desire for you yet. We are capable of managing our own affairs. But if we do want any assistance that assistance must come from the federated trades union movement." And that assistance did come, because no other person than our respected secretary, Mr. Appleton, approached the employers and the men as a mediator between them, where the Board of Trades failed, and got the men and employers together. And a code of rules was drawn up which lifted the wages and dealt with the hours in a way satisfactory to the men concerned. The Board of Trade became annoyed at the Federation as a result. Let me tell you that on the advisory boards we have recently had appointed, because the Federation is the militant part of our movement, it has been ignored. Let me say that although that industrial board has been formed, do not believe that it carries with it the trades union movement of our country. About it the trades union movement of our country has never been consulted. We knew nothing of what the work of these industrial boards was to be. No scheme was placed before the trades union movement, yet the Gov-

ernment through the Board of Trade office appointed men, naming them as representatives of Labor, and Labor had no voice at all in the appointment. I am satisfied that the trades union movement will allow neither the Government, the Board of Trade, or any other outside body, the right to arrogate to itself the privilege of saying who shall represent labor in our country.

Now I will speak briefly concerning my own craft. Perhaps there is not here any great representation from my trade. I can quite understand why that is the case. You have many different tongues spoken here; in fact, this is the resting place of the world, I believe. I can quite understand the difficulties that are in the way of the cotton people in organizing their craft. I am told that there is not twenty per cent of the workers in that craft in this country in the organization. I am sorry to hear that. Only last night a gentleman who happened to come from the same town as myself, but who had been in the City of Atlanta for the past twenty years, said that when he saw a photograph of the Convention that appeared in the paper he remarked: "That strikes me as Crinlon from Oldham, and I am going to find out whether it is so." He came here yesterday and we talked about things at home and conditions here. He said: "I will take you around this city and you can see for yourself in one or two cotton mills the conditions that prevail. I am satisfied when you have seen them you will deplore the pitiable plight of the white people in those mills. You can take it from me—and I know what I am speaking of—from what I have seen in the old country and from what I have seen here, that the white people in the cotton mills of Atlanta are much worse off than the colored people."

I was very sorry to hear that. I don't know how you people will agree with me when I say they are much worse off than the colored people. Not that I in any way despise the colored man; in my opinion he is as worthy as I am; but I knew what my friend said has as its meaning that the white man should be getting better returns for his labor and better treatment than he is getting in the cotton mills of Georgia.

I have heard it stated that the workers as a whole have no newspaper they can call their own. That was an error on the part of the person who made the statement. I know there are people here who receive papers from our country that give the conditions of our workers, their wages and the hours they work. That is all contributed by the representatives of the workers themselves. That journal is the Cotton Factory Times. It is devoted wholly and solely to the condition of the workers in our mills. Then we have the Yorkshire Woolen Factory Times. That also is devoted wholly and solely to the workers, to the woolen workers of Yorkshire. I do not want you to think that all labor in England is alike unrepresented by any press. It is on the tapis to start a paper in the labor interests, representing not only the trades union

movement but the work in parliament. I believe there is a prospectus before the country asking for capital to be subscribed to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, not dollars, but one hundred and fifty thousand sovereigns.

What has our craft been able to accomplish? Our craft in a sense was unorganized twenty-five years ago. Then we counted hundreds to our thousands today. Twenty-five years ago we were at the mercy of our employers. That is no longer the case. During those twenty-five years we have had a thirteen-weeks' stoppage of our mills, we have had a twenty-one weeks' stoppage, we have had a seven weeks' stoppage, and we had a one week's stoppage only a matter of a year ago. Notwithstanding these stoppages and starting from rock bottom, we have been able as textile workers to place many laws on the statute books and to get many fixed agreements between ourselves and the employer, or the Home Secretary. We have a clause which defines the work of every female piecework hand in the mill. The female who goes into our mills knows exactly the work that will be cut out for her, the price that she will be paid, and it is an impossibility for the employer to take away a cent from her wages. She knows how much is coming to her at the week's end, and if she is one cent short, she can ask the employer to refund it. If she fails to get it she will not be long in bringing it to the notice of our union and asking our officials to deal with the employer. In this organization I have the honor to be at the head of, the local union in the town where I reside has twenty thousand members, has its own office and four hundred and twenty thousand dollars to its credit. That money is invested in corporation stock and the interest more than pays the working expenses of the organization.

While in New York my colleague and myself attended a meeting of his craft and heard a discussion of the printers' grievance in regard to tuberculosis. We have had the same question, and have it yet to some degree, in our mills at home. The cause was that they were not in a proper sanitary condition, that we had not the means of taking away the dust and lint. We had to toil under those conditions in former days, but during the past two years, through the agitation that was started by the cotton workers of Lancashire and adjacent counties, we have been able through the Home Office to bring pressure to bear on the employers to compel them to install in each of their mills apparatus that will take away all the dust and loose fibres the workers of our department had to inhale.

Not only have we been able to improve the sanitary conditions, but we have succeeded in having machinery guarded. Employers must see that the dangerous parts of all machinery are properly fenced. Only within these last twelve months we have been able to bring inspectors, employers and ourselves together at the

same table and showed that this or that machine was not properly fenced. But the employer has been given to understand by the inspectors under our government that those things must be attended to, and that without delay. The time is not long ago when we would be told to go and attend to our own business and not interfere with them in their management and control of their mills if such a thing had been suggested.

Another thing we have been able to accomplish for the cotton workers has to do with what we call robbery by the employers of those who were paid by the hour. Although our Factory Act says the working hours shall be 55-1-2 a week, many employers ran their mills 67 and 68 hours a week. Those men who were putting in the extra hours received no compensation for it. We took the matter before the Home Secretary. While it has not been placed on the statute book we have what is very effective in checking such a nefarious piece of business. Whereas inspectors used to come along and if they caught a mill employing two or three hundred people, forty or fifty being paid by the day, running over time they would summons five or six persons to the court. The piece hands are all right, because the longer the machinery is running the more they earn. They would summons five or six persons who were working by the day and would find the firm guilty, perhaps. What would be the penalty? In one case it would be ten shillings and cost, and in another only the cost. That would amount to only a few pounds. The firm would immediately leave court and go back and resort to the same thing. But that is not the case today. The inspectors have been given instructions to bring all the hands employed in that mill in our department to court if they choose to do so. And they do it. They are bringing twenty, thirty and forty persons to court, and it is no longer a fine of ten shillings and cost, or merely the cost, but one and two pounds and cost, making it in some cases something like one hundred pounds for an average mill. Not only that, but the police who patrol our streets are instructed during the winter months, and even in the summer months, if they happen to be on their beats nearby any of these mills, to walk into the mill office and ask why the mill is still at work when it is past the hour. That is accomplishing something in nipping the robbery of the working people.

There is one thing we have that I notice is on your agenda. That is the half-time question. That half-time question is attracting the attention of our people at home. At least 95 per cent of the representatives are as much opposed to half time as any person in this convention. It is the one black spot that remains upon the escutcheon of our country now. I wish it were possible to remove it. A parent who has any regard for his children will not turn them over to the mills at the tender age of twelve years. I am speaking now my own individual opinion, because I know there are some few officials who hold a different opinion.

A majority of the rank and file we represent are not of the opinion I am; but, nevertheless, I claim I have a right to my own individual opinion, and that is that the half-timers should be abolished in our mills. I know that along with representatives that you have had from our country before, the late James Maudsley, the late David Holmes, the late Henry Wilkinson, myself, Mr. Mullen and David Shackleton some years ago were selected to meet Members of Parliament, with a Member of the Government in the chair. The school teachers were up in arms against the children going to the mills and the workshop. The employers tried to make much of it by parading the fact that the six representatives of labor had come through the mill as half-timers. They described the men, from Mr. Shackleton as a veritable giant, down to myself as a small, muscular man. That was twelve or fourteen years ago. I want to say frankly that although we went through the mill as half-timers, that the half-time of those days was much easier than it is today. The half-time today has considerable more work to contend with and the stress is greater than it was in my day. We have all our adults calling now for a forty-eight-hour week or an eight-hour day; we have them also complaining of the great strain imposed upon them. If that is so with the adult it is much more so with the young children who are turned into the mills and the workshops.

We are seeking to bring about the eight-hour day. We have a Cotton Bill drafted and drawn up by our own Legislative Council, and I believe it will find its way to the House of Commons in this session. We propose to deal with it in the following manner: We will take it by easy stages. If we go for a forty-eight-hour week from a fifty-five and one-half-hour week we are likely to spend years in agitating and trying to explain without getting nearer. We recognize that we will have the employers and the capitalists against us. We propose as an amendment to the Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 that we shall say after July, 1912, to the end of July, 1913, that we start work on Monday at 9 a. m., leaving that week to be fifty-three hours. From 1913 to 1914 we will start on Tuesday at 9 a. m., leaving that working week fifty hours, and after July, 1914, start work on Monday at 8:30 a. m. and cease work for the week on Friday evening. In other words have Saturday and Sunday as clear days of rest.

I know there is a universal demand on the part of the organized movement and throughout our Congress for a forty-eight hour week. Some have got the forty-eight-hour week, but not many. We feel that we can get and will get the ear of the Government and also be able to convince the employer that it is useless to stand in the way of this desired improvement in behalf of cotton workers.

Let me say here that beyond the local I have spoken of, with its 20,000 members, we have an amalgamation of our own section of 57,000 members worth over

800,000 dollars. We have the card and blowing room operatives in one union, the spinners in another, the weavers are in their union and the twistors and drawers all have their separate unions and their own autonomy. We do not interfere with each others' work in any way or shape. Although I started in my early life as a little piecer in the mills I left the spinning room at sixteen or seventeen years of age to go into the card room. Although I have some slight knowledge of the spinning room I think it would be re-better for the spinners of their work. They sented if I were to express any opinion claim that I know nothing at all about it. I grant it to save argument. Likewise I claim that they do not understand my work, and so it goes throughout the whole cotton industry in my country. Each representative has his own affairs to attend to, wages and hours to adjust, and after that is done we get together. We have what is known as a United Textile Workers' Association, which embraces the whole of the workers in the cotton mills and the bleachers. We have from that body a legislative council, with representatives serving from each section. That body deals with legislative matters only; it has nothing whatever to do with the internal affairs of the separate organization. That body has accomplished very, very much useful work. That body in the earlier days, perhaps before many unions in our country thought of taking up the question of workmen's compensation, was instrumental largely in shaping that act and getting it before the government by the labor party and placed on the statute books. That act in itself, although it may not be all that is desired, was considered in our country one of the greatest boons that had been conferred upon the workers. I know this quite well, and I have had thirty years' connection with my own association, five years in minor offices and twenty years in my present position. I know if I had stood up twenty years ago and talked about a workman's compensation act, if I had said the workers would see the day when, if they happened to be maimed while following their calling, they would get fifty per cent of their earnings, they would have said there was something wrong and strange about that man and he ought to be taken away to an asylum.

We have in my office at home no less than 600 claims per annum. Seven are of those who were permanently incapacitated from following their usual occupations. During the past two years there were seventeen cases of injury to members that put them beyond following their usual occupations, but not permanently incapacitating them from following other work. Through being connected with the union, after drawing for months, and in some cases years, fifty per cent of their wages, I have been able to recover for them a sum of \$20,675.00. To recover that sum did not cause the injured persons one minute's anxiety, nor has it cost the association, beyond pen, ink, paper and stamps, one cent.

I am afraid I am taking more of your time than I ought to take, but there is one more matter I wish to talk upon. I am given to understand that the Textile Workers of this country have decided to throw in their lot with our International movement. We have an International textile movement that has been going on for close to twenty years. In it are Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland and Holland. I hope to be able to read next year at home or to hear tell at our committee meeting to be held next year at Stuttgart, Germany, that America is also with us.

I feel deeply grateful for the honor conferred upon me in having the privilege of speaking before such a great federation as you have here. You have a great country, and much of it I have seen strikes me as having plenty of room for all. You have much work on hand, but judging from the able reports I have heard from this platform, from your genial and well-informed chairman and other officials, you are in fairly good trim.

From the bottom of my heart I thank you for the manner in which you have received me and for the kind hospitality you have meted out. I am sure no one could desire more. Friends, I thank you all.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mr. G. H. Roberts, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Roberts—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Like my colleague I am charged by the British Trades Union Congress, that representative institution of Trades Unionism in the Old Country, by my colleagues of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, Socialists and labor men alike, and by many of Great Britain's most distinguished sons and daughters to bring you greetings, fraternal, sincere and heartfelt. As you observe, this Convention and our Congress exchange these greetings year by year, nevertheless they are never stale, for I believe we may say the attachment is animated by a true friendship, it possesses a rich and rare and correct understanding and also enjoys some of the attributes of music, for there is, if I am able to apprehend things aright, little difference in our aims, and meanwhile our methods become more and more attuned to one accord.

This is my first visit to your great Continent, still I have not felt strange. As soon as I set foot on shore I was received with such cordiality and acclaim that all reserve was dispelled and I felt to be at once admitted into the inner courts of the temple of American Labor. I felt that you had desired me to come, that you were glad I had arrived, that you were anxious to hear the message with which I was charged, and that you were equally willing that I should learn something of the methods you pursue in this great country.

During the reading of the reports from this platform I have found myself environed with a very familiar atmosphere.

It appears that in every country in the world the workers have the same interests; they are engaged in the identical struggle; that east and west, white and colored are all striving today for the realization of that fuller and completer life which we claim to be due to every human being.

My colleague has in an interesting fashion told you of some of the recent developments in the Old Country, how the sailors and the firemen, the dock laborer, the carmen, aye, and not forgetting many grades of women workers, have made manifest their determination to put an end to the slavery that has hitherto been their lot, and they are claiming for their labor a fair living wage which will allow them to enjoy life as it ought to be enjoyed by human beings.

My colleague made some observations respecting the strike in which our railway workers engaged. Like him I always prefer to be perfectly candid. Whenever workers suffer a setback in Great Britain or elsewhere it is due to some failure of their own, and we have to remark that the workers on our railway systems have never been suitably or appropriately organized. The railway magnates are aware of that, and I would like to emphasize the moral that he has drawn from that experience—that the railway workers, like every other worker, must realize that he will only win that which he is strong enough to compel, that mere pleading will never suffice. You have been strong enough to compel the railway and other employers to make concessions to you.

It is quite true that certain of my colleagues and myself were called upon to take a hand in that railway dispute. Three members of the Labor Party, my chairman, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, my colleague, Mr. Arthur Henderson, and myself were called upon to act as the intermediary between the different parties. But it cannot be denied, even by ourselves, who were friends of the men and anxious for their victory, that their weakness lay in the lack of organization; because where railway workers are thoroughly organized they cannot possibly be resisted, they get the recognition to which they are entitled and their demands receive more favorable consideration. Therefore, we have to learn the lesson of complete organization, of perfect loyalty, appreciative all the while that whatever methods we may be adopting, in the last resort the result will depend upon the strength and the perfection of our respective bodies.

Whilst in Great Britain we have a great deal to lament, still our Trades Unions are progressing. Older methods are being discarded; small, ineffective organizations are being eliminated; the principle of amalgamation is more and more resorted to, so that I confidently believe that ere another decade has passed Great Britain's labor forces will appear before the world as among the best organized and most effectual of international working class organizations.

We find in our country, as indeed I am inclined to believe you do here, that the workers do not get anything like a fair share of the proceeds of their labor. For many reasons some groups of workers are compelled to accept wages which are not sufficient to cover the whole of their life. The daily wage too often is simply sufficient to supply the daily need. We are now animated with a new idea, that out of the industry in which we are engaged we shall draw such a reward as will cover the whole of our life, the waste as well as the utilized portions thereof.

The previous speaker has told you of our compensation legislation. Aye, we are proud of that measure. I have watched my colleagues of the labor party, few in number, but practical in mind, experience and character, fashioning that measure, combating bitter opposition, but wringing concessions that would never have been possible had not our labor men been in the committee room and on the floor of the House of Commons to make manifest our desire. Yet that legislation is by no means perfect. Fifty per cent of the wage is the principle of the measure. I am here to say that if a worker is incapacitated through his employment, not fifty per cent but complete sustentance, is he entitled to until such time as he is able to labor; and if he is not able to return to his labor, a sufficient amount, based on his previous earnings, to maintain him throughout the whole remainder of his life.

In our country we have this unrest which is apparent in every country in the world, unrest which is being fanned and aggravated by national, aye, and international causes. While wages tend to remain stationary, prices of life's necessities are constantly being enhanced. Statisticians have told how during the past twenty years wages have risen with us some thirteen per cent; but statisticians on the other hand have told us the cost of living has increased twenty per cent. Therefore, when we are speaking truthfully and accurately, we have to say that the workers are not making an advance, because of the depreciation that has taken place in the value of the wages they receive. This phenomenon is not confined to us. I am not going to dogmatize on conditions in your country. I think it is gratuitous for a man who is simply making a flying visit to dictate what is best for you, based on his own knowledge and experience; but I believe I am not transcending the ordinary bounds of truth when I say this phenomenon is also with you, that prices are rising in greater ratio than wages. If that be demonstrable then I say the workers of the United States of America, with the workers of Great Britain, are not making the advance to which they are entitled, because there are some powers in our midst that are able to take back to themselves that which you have compelled them to give as a result of your trades union activity.

Recognition of these facts has induced the trades unionists of my own country to go to the House of Commons to ascertain the causes. We believe the legislation

which is passed and the way in which our laws are administered have a great bearing on our wage standards. Furthermore we claim the working classes have a right to positions inside the House of Commons. Hitherto we were told the workman was not sufficiently well educated for such a position. Even today we are informed in the old country that the workers are not cultured. They do not speak with an Oxford drawl, they may not be able to reel off Latin text, yet workmen in the House of Commons have proved that the fact that they have graduated in the university of experience makes them the most effective representatives of our working classes.

Latterly we have heard a great deal of the tyranny of the working class organizations. The charge is often leveled against you, "Why, some of our labor unions seek to compel the non-unionist to go into the organization." And why not? Has the non-unionist the right to jeopardize the standards set up by the organized workers? And when we are contemplating liberty we have to recognize that in order to make the masses free we have to restrict the liberty of some persons or others. In our factory legislation we have been limiting the liberty of the mill owner to sweat child and woman labor, and throughout the whole of our social reform aim we have been engaged in preventing some people from using their power in order to oppress others. Therefore, the real case is this: If by limiting the liberty of some people we extend the liberty of a greater number that action is perfectly justifiable, and organized labor ought to utilize the weapon to its fullest extent. Therefore I am going to say I will not criticise even those unions that are able to utilize their power in order to compel some workmen to do what they ought to be willing to do quite voluntarily because of the great benefits trades unionism has bestowed upon them.

Since 1900 the British Trades Union Congress has set up as part of its ordinary work a labor party to act in the House of Commons. The Labor Party was called into existence by repeated resolutions of the Trades Union Congress. With us it is an alliance of the trades unions and Socialist Party, and I am certain that my colleague will agree with me that the alliance has proved highly successful and that the relationship between those two bodies is of a very congenial and agreeable character. I believe it is now widely acknowledged by the organized workers of Great Britain that our labor movement could never have occupied the proud position it fills today but that it has added one more to the older functions that characterized trades union movements previous to the calling into existence of that body.

Our movement now is triple in character. We still recognize the necessity and the desirability of purely industrial action. We acknowledge that collective bargaining must ever be the basis of our labor movement. Secondly, so well represented by my colleague, the coming from time to time of the other bodies to

the assistance of any union that may be engaged in a dispute, has been an aid to the progress of the movement. To these two older functions we now have added that of political action. At the present time we have forty-two members in the British House of Commons. They form there an independent group, and while a great deal of consternation struck the ranks of the possessing classes when they first entered Parliament, nevertheless they are now acknowledged as among the most effective legislators in that body. I can well recall the opening days of the Parliament of 1906. The newspapers were filled with stories of how these labor men would comport themselves on the floor of the House. Some suggested that an extra supply of spittoons ought to be laid in, because assuredly those men were only accustomed to public house company.

The corridors and the galleries were filled with people who came out to see these new freaks. I remember a little story told of the occupants of the ladies' gallery. Titled ladies had secured seats, but one working woman had also been privileged to get a seat in the center of these scented favorites of society. She was quite the center of curiosity because she was able to name the men as they came in. She was familiar with us—I mean that in a general sense, because we are all respectable married men. The labor group had been having a meeting and we marched in together. One old dowager duchess looked down on the floor of the house and said to our working woman friend, "Do you mean to tell me that is a labor member of Parliament? Why, he looks quite a respectable little gentleman!" That was the speaker here this morning. That is fairly typical of the attitude of the other classes towards the new party. They certainly thought that the working classes were uncouth and uncultured, yet before many days were past even our leading statesmen and politicians had to acknowledge that out of the working classes can be called as much genius, as much talent, as much experience as can be derived from any other class of society. We had claimed for years, with the poet Pope that

"Prodigious action may as well be done
By weaver's issue as by prince's son."

I have watched the career of my colleagues. Being the whip of that party, having to select our men because of their various aptitudes and qualities to place them on those committees for which they are particularly fit, to call on them to speak in this or that debate because of their acquaintance with the particular subject—I say because of that experience I am proud of the Labor Party. I am proud of my class because they have demonstrated to the others that there is a genius, a working class loyalty to be found in our ranks, although they have claimed a monopoly of those things for their own particular class.

And what did they do? Outside great railway combines had sought to destroy trades unions, they had taken our un-

lions into court, had wrested great sums out of our trades union funds, simply seeking to distort the law as some other monopolies seek to distort it in this country. By this method they had deprived us of powers we had always held to be right and legitimate. The first thing the Labor Party did was to secure the restoration to our trades unions to that free activity they had hitherto enjoyed, and make it again possible for our trades union movement to progress and develop.

Our next measure was the Compensation Act. And when I say that it embraces six millions more workers than was contemplated on its introduction into the House, and that in many of its vital particulars it is greatly improved, you will understand the benefit of it. This is directly attributable to the presence of the trades union and labor men in the House of Commons. Their work has justified their existence.

One little measure I will always be proud of. We introduced and succeeded in passing a bill for feeding the necessitous school children. I acknowledge with you that the parents ought to receive such a reward for their labor as will enable them to feed their own children; but we had the spectacle in our lives of thousands of little children being compelled to go to school without sufficient food to eat. We recognized that this was unwise in the interest of the nation; that the best efforts of the most highly qualified teachers must be wasted on half starved children. After all, behind our movement there is a religious impulse. We agree not to quarrel about forms and symbols, but a labor movement, like every other beneficent movement, must be wisely guided and have a lofty aspiration. We sought there to carry out the divine creed—"Feed My lambs." That is the message which has been conveyed to society throughout the ages. In our country as in others we have seen those who are paid thousands a year to preach this gospel, we have seen the wealthy ones who have listened to it gladly hearken to the words of the sermon, but for the remaining six days of the week engage in cutting the wool off God's lambs.

Your men in the House of Commons said the children must be fed, that the sins of the parents should not, so far as we could help it, be visited on the heads of innocent, helpless little children, and today there are thousands of our little ones being fed in our various public schools who otherwise would be hungry. They are fed because of the presence of men in the House of Commons who knew life's problems, who were animated with a loyalty to their own class, and who intended to see to it, as far as they possibly could, that the children of their own class should have an equal start in life with the children of any other class in society.

Then at the other end of life we have also accomplished something. In this respect I do not say that we alone have done it; but I do most honestly believe that but for the presence of our men in the House of Commons this mightily

beneficent old age pension measure might still have remained among the unfulfilled promises of party politicians. Today we know that a million poor old men and women have five shillings a week coming in where otherwise they would have had nothing. A small sum, true, I know it appears; to us its dimensions are far too meager; but nevertheless it is a right start because it is applying to our own people the principle which has hitherto been the monopoly of the favored ones of society. A few years ago we had the rank individualists going about and warning the people against receiving an old age pension. Five shillings a week, they said, would banish the priceless jewel of thrift from our great Empire. They themselves were receiving state pensions of nine hundred and twelve hundred a year, still they were not thrifty, they did not have that priceless jewel of thrift! We say if a state pension is good for our lords it is equally good for our workers. We have with us today the old man and woman who has to retire earlier than was hitherto the case, because the working life is shortened because of its speeding up. By the extended use of machinery the worker is unable to remain in the factory so late in life as under the former more leisurely methods of production. He has less opportunity to save and the time arrives sooner when he has to draw on those savings. Old age pensions are essential if we are to keep our old people from the degradation of having to take advantage of the poor law system. In the past we paid pensions to the rich, now we are paying pensions to the poor in order to have them live the last days of their lives in comparative peace and comfort.

In reading through your reports I remember that your Convention once passed a resolution in support of the principles of the Budget of 1909. You there commended the principles of the Budget introduced by our Chancellor, Mr. Lloyd George. Because you did that I felt that you recognized with us that the incident of taxation is a matter of vital concern to the wage earners. I am not intending to discuss that Budget in detail but one of its important principles I think deserves to be acknowledged here. For the first time in the history of our country we are seeking to adjust taxation so that it falls upon the shoulders of those who are best able to bear it. We are out for the abolition of all indirect taxation. We want all taxation taken off the necessities of life. And incidentally here I might interpolate this fact, that if we can take taxation off sugar and other things their price must be reduced by the amount of tax they are relieved of, and if that does ensue you have actually effected an increase in the real value of wages to the whole working class of your population. At any rate that is the theory the working party is proceeding on in the House of Commons. We are saying that more and more of our national revenue shall be raised from the swollen incomes and accumulations of our wealthy classes. And after all this wealth comes

from labor. The idler in society today gets a great deal more than the industrious man. Our working classes seem to be unable to see this. In our great establishments the lavish display is all derived from the working classes. The more thoughtful of them are now making up their minds that these comforts, these luxuries shall no longer be the monopoly of a class, but shall be the heritage of the whole of our population. Therefore, we embraced the principles of that Budget. The main principle to which I make reference is this, that for the first time a British Chancellor of the Exchequer recognized that there was such a thing as unearned increment in wealth. That is to say, he was dealing purely with the land question. We find land in our urban areas constantly raising in price. Whenever you want to buy any its price is enormously enhanced. At the same time if you desire to levy a tax on it you will find the proprietor telling you it is comparatively worthless. We say, "We are quite willing to let you value your own land. If you put too low a value on it, we are going to take compulsory purchase; and, on the other hand, if you put an inflated value on it we are going to tax you on that inflated valuation. Our Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to take twenty per cent of this unearned increment. The Labor people say, "Your justification for the appropriation of that twenty per cent is that the inflated value is created, not by the owner of the land, but by the presence and activity of the population compelled to live on or about that land." Therefore we say, "If we are justified in appropriating twenty per cent we have equal justification in taking fifty or more per cent when public needs may demand more money."

This sort of thing has aroused a great deal of hostility. We are called robbers and confiscators. You will read in some of the British newspapers how the labor people are simply concerned with deprivations on the wealthy classes. It is just as well I should have come here, for you see in me the most harmless form of robber that was ever able to strut about the world! When I hear these people talk I am reminded of a little story. I know my reverend friend here will exonerate me from any slight on his cloth. A certain reverend gentleman was walking home with a parishioner on a sharp, snowy day in winter. The parishioner slipped on the ice and fell. The reverend gentleman looked down at him and very facetiously said, "Brother, it is said in holy writ that sinners stand in slippery places." The man looked up from the ground and said, "Yes, I see they do, but I can not."

And that is what has been occurring in our country. These people have stolen for their own private gain those things which ought to have been directed into the homes of the common people. We are there now to tell them, "This robbery must cease. The wealth which is co-operatively created by the industrious classes shall be enjoyed by them. The inequality that has scandalized our society

must be eliminated, for there is no necessity today for any human being to be degraded or poor." It is for the working people to utilize all their power politically, industriously and in any other thing that may present itself in the various countries. In our country we are troubled with that worst of all problems, unemployment. I am told that you are unfamiliar with it in this great continent. At any rate some of the speakers on our side have depicted the United States of America as an Eldorado, where all you have to do is to tickle the surface of the soil and you get a bounteous harvest. If you want to find a gold mine, just take a spade and lift up a few feet of soil and you will have all your wants supplied and you will be a modern Midas. As I said before, I am not dogmatizing, my time here has been too short, but I assume your problem is the same as ours. Wherever the competitive system exists there must be a reserve of labor.

I am reminded of a little experience that happened in my own country during the last general election. A large employer of labor came into my constituency, not to help elect me, but to see if he could substitute a noble lord for the labor member. He said all that was necessary was a little tinkering here and there and the unemployment problem would vanish like snow under the sun's rays. I had to negotiate with that same gentleman a little later. I was arguing for a reduction of hours in the interests of the unemployed. He said, "The industry cannot stand it. We cannot afford it. Our profits are too small already." I reminded him of his political promise. He said, "Mr. Roberts, how can we conduct industry without some reserve of labor?" Our employers' newspapers tell us they must have a reserve of from two to five per cent of labor to properly conduct their business. My reply to this employer was, "Sir, you admit that these unemployed are there, not for their own advantage, but for the profit and convenience of the employing class. Well, then, in my opinion, it is your business to maintain those things which are essential to the conduct of your business." There is no one here who will deny the right of every human being to live; that is, in the abstract. But with us we claim that the right to live and the right to a living are indistinguishable; that if you acknowledge the right of a human being to live you must also admit the duty of society to provide him with a suitable method of earning a livelihood.

We find many a good man in our own country affected by this problem. I have watched them passing down the various gradations from regular employment to intermittent employment. Some of them have sunk to what we call the submerged tenth. Today they are called undesirable, they won't work; but I believe the divine spark is still smouldering there and when society appreciates its duty aright we will not scorn these people but take them by the hand and restore them again to respectable society.

That is our great problem. We are told it is a visionary solution of this question, that unemployment must always be with you, that it is part of the law of economics, the law of supply and demand. They speak to us as though these economic laws are like the fixed and unchanged framework of the universe. They would have us believe that economic laws are like the law of gravitation and cannot possibly be diverted; but every day economic laws are controlled and modified in the interests of certain people. Your trust magnate controls economic laws. When he can create an artificial monopoly and force up prices for his private profit, he is interfering with economic law. We say these laws are simply made by men, and can be altered by men as soon as we put the right class of men into places where they can be altered.

Thus it is that the party in Parliament is now putting forward the plea for the unemployed, the right to work and the right to receive for that work such a sum as will enable them to maintain themselves decently and honestly. We workers have been too modest in the past years. A bare sustenance has been quite satisfactory to us. Sometimes, as I jokingly put it, the worker is satisfied if he has a job. He belongs to the Union and his fraternal organization. When he has ceased to be his wife or other relatives draw from these organizations the funds they are entitled to, a slab is placed in the churchyard over his grave and on it is placed the inscription that he has fallen asleep, when the truth is he was never properly awake during his entire life. But the workers of the entire world are awakening. They know that life was intended for every human being and that his comfort and enjoyment was not intended to be the privilege of any one class.

The Labor Party in Parliament has stimulated certain measures. Our labor exchequers, while not solving unemployment in themselves, are in our opinion essential as a basis for the national organization of labor. We have succeeded in inducing the Government to introduce an act to provide funds for opening up and developing the resources of our country. Small as our land is we have millions of acres of fertile soil lying idle, and the landlords refusing access to the women workers. We are now asking the Government to say that land really belongs to the people and it is the first duty of a civilized community to see that idle labor is brought to the idle land, in order that they may at least produce what is essential for their own livelihood. Land is the physical basis of all life. Land has been referred to as perpetually man's; therefore the Labor Party in Parliament puts forward as one of its first claims that the land shall be restored to the people and used for the peoples' good. Those of you who have visited London may have stopped before the stock exchange and read the inscription on the central stone. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." We have to paraphrase that today, "The earth is the money

lord's, and the fulness thereof." We believe the soil is God's common gift to all people, and we will not rest in our endeavors until England belongs to the English people and not to a small handful thereof.

I want to tell you of a little experience I had at a beautiful seaside resort in our country. I used to believe that dead men were useless, but I have changed my opinion. The Eastbourne Burial Board were greatly concerned because they wanted fresh land to extend the cemetery confines. Twenty years ago they bought their present land at the rate of seven hundred pounds per acre from one of the dual families. They said, "Please, sir, our people will die; we are compelled to bury our dead. We paid you seven hundred pounds an acre twenty years ago. We are willing to pay that price on this occasion." "Nay, nay," said the lord, "the land is mine." Not seven hundred pounds, but in order to bury their dead seventeen hundred and eighty pounds per acre did that public board have to pay for the land. That is the sort of robbery we are protesting against. It has no effect on wages. To pay for that cemetery greater rates will have to be levied on that district. The higher you pay in rates and rent the less you have to pay for other commodities; therefore we say that robbery—robbery I think you will admit it to be unmistakably in character—has an effect on our living condition, and the Trades Unionists and Labor people are perfectly justified in going to Parliament to right some of these wrongs and correct some of these anomalies.

Next year we are going to enact a great piece of justice, a measure I am sure you are glad to know the Labor men are associating themselves with. I mean home rule for Ireland. The relations of the Irish Party with the Labor Party are always agreeable. We are going to support them in their demands as we have consistently done throughout, because we believe it represents common justice, the right of a people to govern themselves according to their own ideas. We are certain the Irish people can govern themselves more economically and efficiently than is the case at the present time. The present method is expensive, is provocative, and can never satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Irish people. Therefore whilst our party is primarily concerned with social and Labor legislation, nevertheless it is broad enough in its outlook to embrace any measure of common justice. I believe the prospects of home rule for Ireland are brighter and better because of the fact that the organized laborers of Great Britain return a Labor Party to the House of Commons.

I am not going to occupy your time much longer. This session we have two measures we hope will pass into law. One is a shops bill to regulate the hours of assistants. Today there are many young men and women working eighty, ninety and even more hours per week. We have compelled Parliament to introduce a bill to reduce the hours to sixty, too long, we acknowledge, but still a boon to

well nigh a million shop assistants. Again we have a coal mines act being molded and fashioned by experienced men in the House of Commons. These things go to prove the value of our new departure and methods, and the wisdom of the British Trades Unionists in engaging in the political action to which I am referring.

In conclusion, I want to say how glad I am to be here, how profoundly I have been moved by some of the sentiments expressed from this platform. I am glad to read the literature of your various organizations, proud to know that the American workmen, the Americans of my own class, protest against child labor, how you refuse to recognize it as essential to the conduct of industry that the little child shall be sacrificed on the altar of mammon erected among the wheels of modern industry. Child life is the most sacred charge God has entrusted to us. We all love children. Our lives are brighter and better because children enter into them, and I am here, as I am in my own country, claiming for my own child, for the child of my own class the same happy, bright, comfortable life which is the heritage of the child of the well-to-do. I say we are not worthy the names of fathers or of men so long as we acquiesce in the exploiting of child labor. Therefore I am proud to be able to stand by you and say I rejoice and I glory in the step you have taken, and I hope ere many years have passed we in Great Britain will be able to say with you that child labor is a thing of the past and that the nation is making the best of the prospect of its children.

I know you have in your large cities many other great social problems with which we are afflicted. We have in our country thousands of our sisters thrown into vice, not through inherent fault, but due to unjust economic conditions. A few years back one of our progressive newspapers organized a sweated industry exhibit, and I learned there that the folding of the Bible and Prayer Book sheets was done for a penny a hundred sheets. And I learned that the women and girls who had been folding up God's Word were compelled to go out at night and earn what their employers denied them. We with you are concerned to alter these conditions. We want to see women appropriately engaged. I have no objection to a woman in my own craft anywhere so long as she is not utilized to depress the general standard of the man. Equal wages for equal work should apply irrespective of sex, and I am glad to recognize it.

I am glad also that you are interested in civic activities. I was proud to attend a meeting of Bix Six in New York and there learn that they were discussing the great white scourge that deprives so many of our class of the life they ought to enjoy; yet society has known since 1882 that tuberculosis is a poverty disease, that it is born in our city slums of the poverty of our people, and, knowing that all those years they have done so little that sixty thousand people in Great Britain are being killed year by year. So-

cial murder is the only verdict a thinking man can pass upon it. We are now seeking better housing and better sanitation. All these things come within the purview of the enlightened Trades Unionist and Labor man. I am glad to observe that you take those broad views and that you are concerned to right those wrongs to which I have referred.

We are often told that the labor agitator from Great Britain is simply a pirate, that he is always out to destroy. There are many things I want to destroy, but it is destruction, if I may use a simile, of a bird breaking a shell, not for the purpose of destruction but in order that we may emerge into a fuller and completer life. Destroy the barriers of working class progress, not for the purpose of being a mere destroyer, but because we realize that those things must go in order that life may become really enjoyable to the whole of our class. No longer are we going to believe that happiness for us is always over the hills and far away. Through our labor organizations, through our activities in our old country and your activities in your new country we are able as it were to ascend to Mount Pisgah and get a glimpse of the Promised Land, the land that is going to be when the working people of the world are united and solidified, and they have determined with one resolution to put down all oppression, all injustice and to declare the inalienable right of every human being to know a full, complete and happy livelihood. I am glad to believe those sentiments and the principles form the basis of your movement as it does with us. Therefore I say, as I do to my colleagues across the ocean, let us do what we may in our own time and according to our own capacity, and when we have to resign our Labor and give an account of our lives the verdict must be, "He has sought for others the good he desired for himself. Therefore let him pass on."

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mr. William Glockling, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Glockling.—Mr. President and Delegates to the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I am only sorry I cannot emulate the perfect address of our fraternal delegate from England. It seems hardly necessary for a delegate to come from Canada to the United States. I have never yet been able to discover wherein the difference lay between the citizens of this country and the citizens of Canada. I believe in the last analysis the only difference that exists is the tariff wall you meet in going and coming between the countries.

I want to say a few words about the Congress that sent me here. I appreciate the honor they conferred upon me. I feel it a very great honor to have the privilege of mingling with men who have the reputation of being the brainiest men we have in our midst, no matter from what class they are drawn. I was glad to have the privilege of listening to the splen-

did reports read here during the last three days. I believe the men who compose this Convention represent the highest aims and aspirations of the people. I know they are doing a great deal of good for the people, and only they themselves know the great sacrifices they make. God bless them in their noble work, and may they be permitted to continue to do it.

We have been able through our Congress, owing to the force behind us, to enact legislation that was beneficial to us and also prevent pernicious legislation from being enacted. The growth of the Congress in the last ten years has been such that it has increased by 50,000. I want to thank those to whom that growth is due. It may not appear much to the people of this country, but as Canada only contains a little more than seven million people, a growth of fifty thousand is really marvelous in such a movement. The international organizations of the United States are largely responsible for that growth. The members of our organizations represent a good portion of our working class. However, whether small or great, the body has been able to achieve a great deal.

To show the value of your assistance I will say that our friends the enemies have made three attempts through the Senate to prevent your men from coming across to our country to lend your help in times of strife. A bill has been introduced, known as Bill CCC, which is intended, not only to crush the leaders of the labor movement, but the members. The bill if enacted would have provided that if a man came from Atlanta to work in Montreal or any other city he would be classed as an alien, he would be amenable to the law and punishable under the criminal code. They did not care so much about you coming over, but after they had crushed the spirits of the workers there would be no necessity of your coming there.

There is another bill that somewhat affects you. We have another bill on our statute books known as the Investigation of Combines Bill, an act to investigate monopolies and mergers. When the first draft was made the Minister of Labor submitted it to the Congress executive. The Congress executive, having in mind the experience you have had with the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, under which the Hatters' Association suffered so deeply, foresaw danger; they felt the same thing might arise under it that arose in the United States under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. We went to the Minister of Labor and said we would not favor it as it was submitted. We said if a clause was inserted which would make us immune we would accept it. The Minister consulted his colleagues and as a result they inserted a clause in the bill which also appears in the Trade Union Act of 1906. That gave us the right to organize. It gave us all the rights and privileges we had enjoyed prior to its passage. That bill in itself is a good one, and as occasion may arise wherein a few men would meet and raise the price of commodities. This gives us a remedy

for that particular ill in connection with our political life.

I want to speak briefly of immigration. I do not want it understood that the workers of the Dominion are opposed to immigration. They are as favorable to immigration as many other elements of the community; but we did not desire to have saddled upon us the class of immigrants who come to this country. There are instances where philanthropic organizations have brought people to this country, ostensibly to labor on the farms and on construction work; they were dumped in the vicinity of our large industrial centers and when winter came they flocked into the city to compete with us for our jobs. We have had immigration laws passed owing to the representations we made to our government, but they have not been as complete as we wished them and they have not been carried out as successfully as we would like. We are continually battering at the doors of Parliament for amendments to the immigration laws. We desire the population of Canada. I believe Canada will at some stage in its history have nearly as large a population as you have in the United States, and we want if we possibly can to frame laws that will endure for all time; we want to prevent legislation such as has been enacted in other countries being enacted in ours; we have a big and growing country and we want to establish laws that will be of lasting benefit to the workers and the people generally.

I wish to speak for a few minutes on a resolution that passed at the Calgary Convention. The Calgary Convention introduced what is known as a resolution in opposition to the craft organizations. I want it emphatically understood that the Dominion Congress is an international organization from the ground up, that it has never been anything else. The resolution introduced was merely to endeavor to bring about a condition of things similar to that which exists in the printing trade, wherein every craft in the printing trades meets together and formulates their demands, which are considered jointly. That was the object of the resolution, not as some people inferred, that it endorsed the Industrial Workers of the World. I do not believe there is a man who attended the Congress who would uphold for a minute such a man as Vice-President Duncan referred to, Mr. Foster, of Chicago, or the theory he advances.

I would like to refer briefly to political action. We have on every occasion endeavored to bring about a state of things which would allow the people to elect their own members. We have not yet been as successful as we should be. We have one man in the Dominion Parliament, Mr. Verville, who is doing all he can, and we have one member in the province of Ontario. I believe, however, the workers are awakening to the fact that they can better represent themselves than they can be represented by doctors, lawyers and men of that class. We are now in the throes of an election in Ontario, and I understand men are being placed in the field for the workers' suffrage. We go periodically to our Federal Parliament and to our Pro-

vincial Parliaments with bowed heads and hats in hand asking, or rather pleading, for legislation. We are told by the members that our requests will receive their serious consideration, and there are matter ends. I think it is essential for the workers of the Dominion to have their interests represented as are the interests of the men in the Old Country.

We endeavored by legislation to secure an eight-hour day for government employees. The measure was bitterly fought. Owing to the representations made by the working people the matter was delegated to a large committee of the House. Information was sought from every source. Men were brought from every part of the country to give testimony, but it was nothing more nor less than an effort to shelve the question. However, a bill was drafted and submitted to Parliament, and even in a modest form it was refused us, and today it lies in what is known as the political cemetery in Canada, the Senate.

I will not go into this matter of legislation farther, because our wishes in this respect are the same as yours. I wish to thank the Convention for the many kindnesses that have been extended to me. I trust your business will be conducted in a most successful manner and that your legislation will do those you came here to represent the good you intended. I trust that posterity will have it to say that these meetings have resulted in advancing the interests of the workers all over this continent. I again wish to convey to you the fraternal greeting of the Canadian Trades Union Congress.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

Mrs. Robins—I come to bring you greetings from the National Women's Trade Union League of America. It is an organization of women workers, with some of us thrown in who have not had the privilege or opportunities of knowing how to work with our hands; and yet the constitution provides that the majority of the workers must be Trades Unionists in good standing.

We know there is going on at the present time an investigation into the conditions under which women and children are working in America. This investigation, I hope and trust, for some time at least, may be the last investigation necessary before we can all definitely unite upon such action that no more will we tolerate conditions that are in existence today. For the past eighty-two years, first in this locality and then in that locality, we have been investigating the conditions under which women and children work. Matthew Carey, another of those Irishmen who have come over to America to help us and make America, as far back as 1829, made an investigation into the conditions of the work of women in the needle trades of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. The conditions found were so shocking it was thought better not to make them public. From that time, 1829, until the present day we have had these investigations going on. Shock-

ed by these conditions the National Women's Trade Union League in 1905, at its annual convention in New York, appointed a committee to ask that such investigation be made by our National government, so that finally we could have an investigation so authoritative in statement that its findings could not be questioned.

Miss Mary McDowell was made the chairman of that committee in 1905, and she secured the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and the organized Labor bodies, the co-operation of the women's clubs, the men's organizations, of churches and other bodies, so that united a demand might be made upon the Department of Labor and Commerce to find out the conditions under which women are working in the richest country in the world. We now know. It was an easy matter to say that perhaps the story was exaggerated because an enthusiastic or sentimental worker overstated it. But now that the facts are given in nineteen volumes, eleven of which are published, they challenge the conscience of the manhood and womanhood of America.

We have women working for three dollars and four dollars a week. We have women working for four dollars, five dollars and six dollars a week, and we have as the average wage given to the women workers of this country less than \$300 a year. Many and many a time we have been told that there are two things that made for the low wages of the women. The one is the curious group of women who work long hours for little pay because they are working for pin money. I am glad that at last the ghost of this pin money group of workers can be laid at rest. In some cities 88 per cent and in other cities as high 98 per cent of the women put their earnings into the family treasury.

Now, brothers, you are interested in the wages paid to women. There is no trade, no matter how skillful, no matter how much training may be demanded to turn out the workers, that is secure against the invention of a machine which may be run by the woman or child. Therefore, every man must stand with us for self-interest as well as the social interest to see that we get, as our brothers from England said so splendidly, equal pay for equal work. Unless we prevent the women from becoming the under bidders in the market not only the women's movement but the men's movement is threatened at its very foundations.

We are told that there are several great and important reasons for this cheap labor of women. We are sometimes told that the cause of the cheap labor is the number of foreigners who come to our shores, the untutored girls of many nationalities. And then we find ourselves suddenly face to face with the great social upheaval in Iowa, where the women and the men of the pearl button industry worked for such low wages and under such miserable conditions that they had to go out on strike. They went out last February. They signed an agreement with the employers, to which Governor Carroll, of Iowa, was a witness. That agreement was broken by the manufacturers. The

men and women went out on strike again. Brothers, the crux of that situation, as in many other strikes in this country, lay in the hands of the women. The buttons had been made in the rough. The women were there to drill them. If the women refused to strike the men could not win. But, thanks to the movement that had been built up by Mr. Emmett Flood, of the American Federation of Labor, and thanks to the character of the women there, they stood by the men. The American Federation of Labor, recognizing in its very natural wisdom the importance of getting the women organized, has sent one of our organizers, Miss Catherine Finnegan, into Muscatine, and at the special request of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Flood and the girls of Muscatine, we have sent Miss Emma Steghagen, of Chicago, there.

There is always one thing a woman can do better than any man. She can talk to the women of a community better than a man can. That is primarily the work of Miss Finnegan and Miss Steghagen. Having called a great mass meeting in September or October, and having made a great appeal to the women, it was followed by another meeting for the women of Muscatine. That was followed by a mass meeting of the children of Muscatine one Saturday afternoon, the children who sew the buttons on the cards and carry them from the homes to the factory. At that first meeting 155 little boys and girls formed themselves into a Juvenile Protective Carriers' and Sewers' Association, and now that it has been formed every Saturday at its weekly meeting the numbers have grown until to-day there are 600 such children meeting weekly. Can't you see what is being done? Naturally, these children, so determined not to be strike-breakers—why, some of them are only four and five years old—could not be taken into the Union, could they, Mr. President? But we could form and did form them into a Juvenile Protective Association, and we can so appeal through the children to the women that we have been able to form in Muscatine women's organizations in every ward in that city, not of the strikers, but of the supposed neutral citizens.

I wish I might tell you the story of these pearl button makers and the story of the buttons for which the girls as well as the men got nothing. I suppose our friends the miners will understand the system of weighing by which the biggest buttons are taken out and made the basis for payment. The little ones that drop between are not counted at all. Every button that is not passed by the inspector because it is not quite even or because there is a little black on it is refused payment for, yet these same buttons sell in the city of Muscatine for ten cents to sixty-five cents a dozen. The workers do not get a cent for their production. And this is happening in the corn belt of the great State of Iowa, where there are no foreigners!

It is not only the foreigners who are at the bottom of our difficulty. We know that coming in from the small towns are the strong, healthy, capable, self-respecting women of the farmers' families who have

been taught to believe in honest work and who believe that honest work and faithfulness to an employer brings adequate payment. We have this great influx, not only of foreign girls, but of country girls who have to learn their lesson all over again, who have to learn that oftentimes the harder they work the less they earn.

I will tell the story of an Illinois girl who came from a farm to work in a factory. She was only 18. Other girls in the factory where she went to make skirts had been working from the time they were twelve or fourteen years old, but she had saved her young, splendid strength until she was eighteen, for she had been supported by her father up to that time. She went into this factory and was making cloth skirts, well-made skirts such as I am wearing for 35 cents a piece, and because she was quick of finger and keen of perception and physically strong she was able to make something like fourteen dollars a week. The other girls came to her and told her the story of being a pace-maker. She would have none of that. Didn't she know what terrible people Union men and women were? Didn't they cut down the product of the employer and help to make for poverty?

So this girl went on. Two months later the price of the skirts was cut from 35 cents to 30 cents; later it was cut from 30 cents to 25 cents and then from 25 cents to 20 cents. And this girl who had come from a self-respecting American family who had paid \$2.00 a week for a room, who had purchased good food and had something left for other things, now found the necessity of cutting down her expenses. Being a woman, curiously enough, she thought she could cut down on food. Men do not begin to cut down expenses in that way; they know the value of proper food. This girl started to cut down her food expense account. Then she tried to work harder and make the same wage. At the end of the month she found the wage cut again and could not keep up.

Every man knows, I believe, that when you call a woman to act in an emergency she can act better and more efficiently for a time, but there comes a time of breakdown. This girl, working to the limit of her capacity and being under fed, broke down and now for the next twenty or thirty years the taxpayers of Illinois will have to take care of her in an asylum. Before she reached that stage she came to me and said: "Mrs. Robbins, the thing that hurts me is that I did not know that the harder I worked the less I would earn. How was I to know that when I came here, thinking myself better than these little factory girls, feeling myself superior because I was better educated than they were, that all I was to do was to bring to them bitterness of spirit because their wages with mine had been cut down?" I think that it helped to break her heart as well as her mind and finally landed her in a state asylum.

That is part of the cost. But the great wonder of the story now as we see it is that this cost is being faced. I was at

the child welfare exhibit in Kansas City. That exhibit is not the result, as it was in Chicago, of the generosity of one or two persons. This child welfare exhibit in Kansas City was under the auspices of the public welfare body of that city, a group of men and women appointed by Governor Hadley, of Missouri. In the first clause of its statement it says: "We, the public welfare body, believe in justice rather than charity." Do you wonder, with such a sentence for their slogan, that they put not only the text of the low wages received by the department store girls of Kansas City on exhibition, but photographs of the rooms they were able to secure and under a glass case the tencent lunch they were able to buy with their small wages. We know that the women who are in the houses of prostitution are not there of their own free will, but because of the terrible machinations of the white slavers. Out of three hundred women in a certain number of houses there were one hundred and fifty-four who were earning less than six dollars a week when they were honorably trying to earn their daily bread.

Now, men, these things are the challenge of our life today. They are not only challenging our conscience, they are challenging the very foundations of our life, and to organize the women into trades Unions is the work of the Women's Trade Union League. Not because it is not done by the American Federation of Labor, for it is; but because we women have something to contribute which no man can contribute and because, I will repeat, our women can speak to women and girls and children as no man can speak to them. And because of these facts we come to you and ask from you and receive from you the heartiest co-operation.

Now I will speak of what we are trying to do with the foreign girls who are all the time coming to our cities, not knowing the cost of life in America and willing to take the low wage because they do not know the cost of living is greater than in the old countries under their old peasant conditions. You will realize that the woman has been looked upon as an educator throughout the centuries. The Roman Catholic church in the early days of its convents turned to its women and asked them to enter that life for the purpose of qualifying themselves to teach the young girls and children. And then when the American Republic, making part of democracy come true, entrusted every man with a vote, that American Republic recognized the governmental necessity of an educated electorate, and it turned to its women to educate the men who were to be its voters. As eminent an American statesman as John Adams, in a letter he wrote to Joseph Warren, of Boston, said: "The education of the children, the future citizens of America, the future voters of this republic, you and I must entrust to our wives and our sisters." That story of woman's work is one of the brightest contributions to America's democracy.

We are beginning to have our Trades Union primers printed in six or seven

different languages. They are primers and primers only. They teach English and Trades Unionism to our foreign sisters at the same time. A young woman came to our office in Chicago the other day and asked if we thought she was qualified to teach English to the Lithuanians? I said: "That is not the question. Are you qualified to teach Trades Unionism to the Lithuanians?"

Mrs. Robins described at length the primers and the methods of teaching the foreign girls English and Trades Unionism.

Continuing her address Mrs. Robins said: "Now men, we must do something to help put a stop to the bottomless pit of wages for women and the children. Everywhere men and women are asking themselves the question whether or not we ought to see to it that there will be formed in America as there are in England and Australia minimum wage boards by which the workers, the employers and the public can come together and determine what is the minimum that industry can pay. Then the public will understand that any industry that cannot pay a living wage is a parasitic industry and must be swept from the earth. Who are the girls who are earning those small wages? They are the daughters of the working men. I will ask you, my brothers, if you cannot find a better place for your money than to put it into a silent partnership with those firms that do not pay your daughters enough to live honestly? Is it proper for a working man to become a silent partner with the merchant princes of our country?"

That is why Massachusetts has appointed a commission to ascertain the best method of securing a minimum wage. For this reason the Illinois Trades Union Leagues have asked the State Federation of Labor to stand for the appointment by the next legislature of a commission to consider the best method of providing for a minimum wage so that we may safeguard the dangers attached to such a proposition. We know that not even that minimum wage can be secured except through the strength of the organization of Trades Union men and women. Our English brothers will bear witness to the fact that the minimum wage in the chain-making and lace-making industries had to be secured for the workers through a strike. The organized people of England were so aroused that the coffers of the unorganized trades were filled and they were able to win their victory. This is not fooling ourselves with the thought or belief that it is the wisest thing to do. It is only because we know that under the juggernaut of present conditions is buried and crushed out so much power and strength and beauty of mind and body and spirit in America that we have got to find a way, artificial if you will, to release that power.

In closing let me ask you to remember one thought. During the great Garment Workers' strike of last winter in Chicago, when I had the honor to be the Treasurer of that Division of the work that had to deal with the Commissary Department, while we were trying to make pos-

sible the feeding of fifty thousand people a day, it was natural that with nine, ten and eleven different nationalities represented and that many languages spoken somebody would be overlooked. While we hoped that coal and food were being sent into every needy home some few were overlooked. Going into one of those homes I found a woman lying with a new born baby at her breast and three small children standing around her. There was no coal in the house, and it was a bitter winter's day. There was no food in the house. Lying on the bed open and catching my eye were three letters from the employer of this woman's husband offering to raise his wages from \$15 to \$25 a week if he would come back and be a scab. The man refused and that woman and mother rejoiced in his refusal.

After witnessing one of the real human—not tragedies but joys of life—I turned to that woman and said: "Friend how do you do it?" She said to me in broken English: "We give not only bread to our children, we give freedom to our children and I will die if need be to make my children free." And it is the thought that freedom is a costly thing and that eternal vigilance is the cost of liberty that makes me so heart and soul a Trades Unionist, because no other movement in America today stands so positively for freedom as the Trade Union movement. We cannot maintain a free church, a free political world, a free government, while for six days of the week our men and women are living under despotic conditions. And so because freedom is a costly thing, and because back of all the Trade Union movement is trying to do and accomplish, back of the wages so essential to maintain a home, back of the wages so essential to

the protection of the womanhood of our nation is the building up of a free people, and for that people—and may the vision never leave us during the day's drudgery—above all things we are trying to do is to free the human soul and bring forth a free people in this America of ours.

President Gompers stated that there not being sufficient time before adjournment for the addresses of the other fraternal delegates they would be postponed until the session to be held Friday morning.

President Gompers stated that, owing to the fact that the Convention would adjourn for the afternoon at 1:30, resolutions might be presented in the office of the Secretary or President up to midnight.

Delegate Gallagher, (A. J.), stated that he had intended to introduce a resolution bearing on the McNamara case, but by request had withheld it until the report of the Committee on President's report could be presented. He asked if there was any way in which it could be presented later on if he desired to do so. President Gompers stated that the only way it could be presented was with the unanimous consent of the Convention.

During the session resolutions No. 96 to 167 inclusive were submitted and referred to the proper committees.

Adjourned at 1:30 p. m. to meet tomorrow morning at 9:30.

Fifth Day---Friday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, November 17th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Phell, Roach (John A.), Coakley, Price, Kaefer, Kelly (William E.), Hardy, Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Sontheimer, Quick, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Donnelly, Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

"We have examined the credentials of the Mineral Water Workers No. 12674, and recommend that Samuel Lebowitz be seated, with one vote.

"We also recommended that the names of the representatives of the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union be inserted in the proceedings as follows: A. Rosenberg, Solomon Palakoff, Alexander Block, Harry Kleinman, Harry Dubinsky, 668 votes."

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Brock stated that he had been absent on Thursday organizing the Laundry Workers of Atlanta, and failed to introduce a resolution he had in his possession before the time limit had expired. Unanimous consent was given for the introduction of resolution No. 169.

President Gompers—The order of business for this morning is the continuation of the addresses of fraternal delegates. The chair takes pleasure in introducing to the Convention Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, fraternal delegate from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Fraternal Delegate Macfarland—In the first place, I wish to express my regret that Brother Charles Stelzle is unable to be here. Although I have succeeded to his office, I invited him to come as my associate, but his duty in another part of the country prevents his presence.

I cannot come before you, strictly speaking, as a union member, because my craft, although it knows as yet no minimum wage, and has a pretty low average, is as yet unorganized. And when, in my boyhood and young manhood, I was engaged in manual toil, there was no

union in my trade, or if there was, I did not know it.

While I was in Newcastle last summer, attending the British Trades Union Congress, in writing to my home, I asked the question: "Why is it that I have given up my vacation to come up here for this meeting? It is more than anything else, I think, because, as I look into the faces of these men, I see a vision in the background of millions of homes, wives, mothers and children, some with the glow of happiness, with countenances expressing the joy of health, like my own home, and still more of other little children with the haggard face of want, and with womanhood bent and burdened by the relentless iron hand of industrial rapacity or maladjustment."

Let me at the beginning of my relations with you, say a word as to the attitude of the Christian Church. It should not be that of entangling itself with your economic machinery but rather, first, that of continually reminding you of the moral idealism of your movement, and second, of co-operating with you in what should be, and are, your ultimate moral aims and ends.

I am in the warmest sympathy with Mr. Duncan as to a certain movement in Germany, and my estimate, made during a recent visit there, is much the same as his. I would, as quickly as any one of you, resent the assumption and intrusion of any ecclesiastical or clerical authority.

But your leaders and ours are rapidly discovering that we are moving in parallel lines and in the performance of sympathetic tasks.

Perhaps the best evidence of progress, during the past year, was the request which came to me from this National Federation of Churches, to resign my pastorate, in order that I might give myself entirely to the social service work of the churches of the nation. Upon my assumption of office, a clear-cut program was handed me and, under the providence of God, it becomes my duty to carry out that program.

Among other things, it speaks as follows:

"To us it seems that the churches must stand—

"For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life."

Among the things that are passing away is that old heresy that there is an inherent difference between the work of the head and the work of the hand; that the one element of humanity belongs down here and the other up there. Whenever in the university city of New Haven, I happen to be passing in company with one of its learned pro-

fessors, it always gives me a sense of mischievous joy to see the bootblack who calls himself 'professor,' because it is an intimation that honest service rendered in one sphere of life is equally entitled to recognition with any other.

The program proceeds thus:

"For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachments of every kind. For the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change."

"For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions."

"For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries and mortality."

This leaves no room for "fellow servant," "assumption of risk," or any other specious limitation.

It means nothing else or less than that the burden of such disaster should be borne not by the toiler who gives himself or his life as a sacrifice upon the altar of industry, but by the industry which he serves, in some fair and equitable way. I spent two days last summer with the chairman in Berlin, of the German Commission, and it seems to me that they are working in the right direction.

The other articles read:

"For the abolition of child labor."

"For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community."

"For the suppression of the 'sweating system.'"

"For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of Labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that decree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life."

"For a release from employment one day in seven."

"For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford."

"For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can be ultimately devised."

"For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury."

"For the abatement of poverty."

But, gentlemen, that creed or confession is not worth the paper upon which it is printed, unless it also takes into account some means by which it can effectively be carried out. Therefore, the wise and thoughtful men who framed it, added this final clause:

"To the toilers of America and to those who by organized effort are seeking to lift the crushing burdens of the poor, and to reduce the hardships and uphold the dignity of labor, this Council sends the greetings of human brotherhood and the pledge of sympathy and of help in a cause which belongs to all who follow Christ."

And that, I understand, is the reason

why I am sent here by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

We have, therefore, within the past few days, endeavored to put that program into actual operation.

First, by the establishing of a National Office, in which, you will be interested to know, we receive over two hundred Labor papers and magazines regularly, and while I do not read them all through, I think perhaps I may say that I read more Labor literature than some of you Brethren do of religious reading.

Here is another item:

"The relation of the churches to the multitude of Agencies for Social Reform and betterment is an important problem before the Commission. Its influence will be brought to co-operate with such societies and movements in relation especially to those measures which affect the moral and spiritual welfare of the people. This will include such matters as child labor, the reduction of hours, the betterment of wages, housing conditions, and many other similar causes."

That means close working relations, not only with your movement, but with others, like the Child Labor Committee, the Consumer's League, the Association for Labor Legislation, and the Woman's Trade Union League.

The Federal Council is also becoming the publishing agency to issue handbooks and study courses for our preachers and churches, an important feature of which will be to give them a sympathetic understanding of the interests of Labor. We shall, by means of news letters, like your own, inform the labor and trade journals of our doings and the religious press of your movements.

Here is another significant item:

"The Commission will confer with Labor Representatives and will send its delegates to their gatherings. Similarly, it will confer with groups of business men and send delegates to their gatherings."

If any of you should be conservative enough to object to one part of this, I shall have to answer as I once did on a similar occasion. Having accepted an invitation to offer the opening prayer at a Republican Convention, then a little later on, also at a Democratic Convention, and being rebuked for my inconsistency by a Republican candidate, I asked him if he did not think that the one element needed praying for fully as much as the other.

This program announces that an impartial investigation will be made of important industries and I want to say that we shall make them fair and open, and rebuke wrong and oppression, even if we should find you to be the oppressors.

There is one matter in relation to which it seems to me you have lost much ground. We are having, gentlemen, a very rapid increase in what are conventionally called "Continuous Industries" and most of them involve continuous toil for the workers. I wish to say fairly and squarely, in the name of the Federal Council of Churches, that for a man to be deprived of one day out of seven for

rest and recreation; for cultivation of the life of his home; for companionship with his wife and children; and for his moral and spiritual culture, is an unspeakable disgrace upon our nation, and when it comes to be not even one day in thirty, or as in some cases, not even one day in 365, there is no appropriate vocabulary with which to give it description.

We talk a good deal about the "dignity of Labor," as a paltry and beggarly excuse for forgetting and neglecting the dignity of him who labors.

Therefore, We have entered upon a nation-wide campaign for one day in seven for industrial workers, and in this, I am sure that my colleague, Father Dietz, will express a hearty co-operation for whatever may be the differentiation between us; there is certainly no such thing as Catholic seven-day labor as distinguished from Protestant overwork.

For the purpose of renewing interest in all these plans, we mean to preserve and increase the observance of Labor Sunday in the pulpits and by the churches of the land.

When I ask myself what service we can best render in this great cause, I begin to look for those aspects of it which seem to be neglected. Among these is that of the creation of a better state of public opinion. I think this has been neglected. The great mass of the people who are not directly affected by the wrongs of Labor are either indifferent or hostile. I am frank to say, whatever may be the explanation, that you do not receive on the whole, a fair treatment from the press.

In this situation, there are many things which need to be explained to those who are not on the inside of your reasons, and I mean to do my best to bring about a fair and just attitude regarding your movement.

I am richly enjoying these days with you. Perhaps it will do no harm to put a little touch of human nature into the formality of this address. I write each evening, a letter to my wife regarding the doings of the day. It is a very good thing to do, gentlemen, and I hope you do it. Here are some extracts from these daily letters:

"This is an historic meeting, charged with most serious and solemn tasks. I like its profoundly ordered ways and measures."

"Old Samuel Gompers (the descriptive adjective, Mr. President, is in the nature of a term of affection, and relates to your length of service rather than to the number of your days) gave his address today. Had he been the leading actor in the Old Testament story of the Prophet Daniel, that story would have been the same. His companions in the apartment would have taken him for one after their own heart. But I more than suspect that the old man's heart is as big as his head, and his address today was a classic in economics, an epitome of history and a moral philippic that would do credit to an inspired ancient or modern prophet. To read that address is to take a course in political economy."

"If James Duncan were to wear a black frock coat and a white tie to set forth his measured dignity in fitting garb, I never would be taken as the representative of the churches at this Convention. His review today of his recent trip abroad was a masterpiece of serious statesmanship, wide information, broad vision and keen discernment."

"John Mitchell has grown still shyer during a year when he has grown to be a bigger man than ever in the estimation of his fellows and of the world at large, because he has gone through the crucible of a severe test of loyalty."

"If I were to go back to the local pastorate again, I would like to be called to the Presbyterian Church at Bloomington, Illinois, that I might have John Lennon as my senior deacon, to keep me in the straight and narrow way."

"Why is it that all our moral leaders do not see that in the American Federation of Labor, with its tried and proven economic machinery, the most gigantic economic force of any day or generation, we have, in the midst of our seething, threatening social unrest, one great safety valve, one great conserving, constructive social agency, one clear speaking voice amid the many clamoring tongues, so many of which

"Are like infants crying in the night,
Like infants crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry,"

one great evolutionary force that is, more than anything else, bringing order out of chaos, because it mingles light with heat and serves not only to incite but also to restrain. My profound belief is that, far more than they know, these men hold the destinies of human social order."

You can readily see, gentlemen, that my utterances need be somewhat cautious and guarded, because, at least in an ideal sense, I commit by them a constituency of 100,000 churches and 18,000,000 men and women, and the utterances which I am now to make are not without premeditation. There is surely one thing for which the church cannot stand. It cannot stand for anarchy. And one definition of anarchy is that it is the attempted destruction of any fundamental institution of society. In a democratic state, the organization of labor is, by the common agreement of statesmen and economists, one of those fundamental institutions.

It needs guidance; it calls for restraint; its methods should be the subject of most careful thought and revision, but with all its limitations, this remains true, that any group of men who conspire together for the covert or avowed intent and purpose of crushing out of existence the organization of industry, would be the most dangerous and dreaded group of anarchists in this or any other land.

Brethren of this Convention, in our ultimate aims, we belong together. In the mind and heart of God, such movements as your own and his church look toward the coming of the same Kingdom of Heaven. And what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. And I say it thoughtfully and reverently, of any man who would seek to separate the

church and modern industry, it were better for him, as our Master said, "that a mill stone be hanged about his neck and he be cast into the depths of the sea."

For, after all, the church and the Gospel have been, in large measure, the creators of social unrest, because the Gospel has given to man the vision of a high, pure and noble life.

There is one of the old masterpieces, upon which I love to gaze. It is the painting of Raphael in the Vatican at Rome of the Transfiguration of our common Master. But whenever I look upon it, I wish that I might have the genius to wield the brush of a master, that I might paint and place beside it, one other picture, which would be that of the same Master a little later in the day, down upon the plane of human life, healing men of their diseases and feeding their hunger.

It must be admitted that the Church has faltered some in the face of the great social problems which she, herself, has partly created. She is now with Peter, on his way from Rome, in the old story of the Russian novelist.

"Seest thou yon brightness approaching us?"

"I see nothing," said Nazarius.

"Some figure is coming in the gleam of the sun."

Then Peter fell upon his knees and this cry left his lips:

"O, Christ! O, Christ!"

Then the question: "Quo Vadis, Domine?"

"If thou desert my people, I go back to Rome to be crucified a second time."

"Quo Vadis, Domine." This time the question of Nazarius to Peter.

"To Rome," said the apostle, and he returned.

I bid you, then, go on with your work, patiently, guardedly, with a deepening sense of justice, until every home in our land, even to the home of the last poor stranger that comes within our gates, becomes the abode of happiness and health;

Until the rushing wheels and roar of industry no longer drown the moans, while they blight the lives, of little children as dear to God as your children and mine;

Until womanhood in the home shall be a happy wifehood and a sweet motherhood that shall bear its own natural and sufficient burdens without the sad countenance of hunger of body and of soul, or if in toll, shall have the safeguards of virtue and health;

Until manhood, with a toll that does not diminish self-respect and with leisure to cultivate the finer graces of our human life, shall all be the answer to our prayer: "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, as in Heaven, so on earth";

Until the Fatherhood of God shall be in reality and truth a Brotherhood of Man.

And to this end I repeat:

"To the toilers of America and to those who by organized effort are seeking to lift the crushing burdens of the poor, and to reduce the hardships and uphold the dignity of labor, this Council sends the greetings of human brotherhood and the pledge of sympathy and of help in a cause which belongs to all who follow Christ."

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Rev. P. E. Deltz, Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

Fraternal Delegate Deltz—Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

I am not going to make a speech this morning. I will have my innings later on. Mr. Deneschau, my co-delegate from the American Federation of Catholic Societies, will make the address for that Society.

I have come to realize that there are a great many misconceptions, both with regard to the church on the one hand, and on the other with regard to the real meaning of the old trade union; and therefore I have determined to preach a sermon next Sunday morning on that topic, the relation of the Catholic Church to the trade union movement. I understand the delicacies of the situation very well, as well as any man can, but I want to treat that subject in a straightforward, frank and manly manner, and therefore I wish to invite all of you to come to that church and to hear what I will say in the name of the Catholic Church in regard to her position in the Labor movement of the United States.

Rev. Mr. Deltz read a communication from Rev. Robert S. Kennedy, pastor of the Immaculate Conception Church, in which the delegates were invited to attend services in that church at 11 o'clock a. m., Sunday, November 19th, the sermon to be delivered by Rev. Mr. Deltz.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mr. Charles I. Deneschau, Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

Fraternal Delegate Deneschau—Mr. President and Delegates:

During the last few days I have had an experience varied and interesting. First was the pleasure of coming to Atlanta to attend this gathering. Since coming here I assure you that I have experienced the emotion that any stranger would feel in coming to a gathering such as this, that being one of edification. And yesterday I experienced another emotion, one of surprise at being called upon by the senior delegate of our organization to make this address. At this time I confess that I feel my last emotion, that of pride at being able to stand before you as a speaker for the organization I represent.

The American Federation of Catholic Societies has sent to your body two delegates accredited with the pleasant duty of conveying to you its greeting, a greeting from its three millions of members. We compliment you upon what you have done and what your organization is doing for the protection and the uplift of the working masses of our country. We raise our voice with yours for the universal acceptance of the cardinal principles of Trades Unionism, the one the maintenance of an honest wage scale, the other the recognition of a fair working day. The

American Federation of Catholic Societies has seriously considered these phases, phases which are essentially yours, but are likewise questions which are of vital moment to any American. We thoroughly appreciate the great task before Organized Labor; we know that probably no constituents demand a stricter accounting of the stewardship from their delegates upon their return than is required of you. For the people whom you represent are vitally interwoven in this movement, and your every action, and every conclusion this Convention reaches strikes home to every man and to every woman going to make up this great army of the working people of our Republic.

We feel as you do on this all-powerful question which you have so admirably handled and which you are today engaged in the deliberation of, the disposition of the child. We appreciate and the American people as a whole thank the American Federation of Labor for what it has done for the coming generation and the little ones who are with us today. We realize as you do that the child has a right to require, of us two things, one the endowment of his faculties and the second the opening up of that avenue of opportunity which will permit him to cope with this world when he is in full possession of his own being. There is no question than has been of greater interest to the people of this country as a whole. I say that advisedly, and I know that what has been done by you in that connection will eternally redound to the greater glory of your organization.

Now, gentlemen, I want to say that I have made no preparation for this address; I did not come here anticipating this great compliment; but I assure you that the organization from which I come is in thorough sympathy with you, and its heart throbs with yours for the cause for which you are striving. It believes, and sincerely so, that Trades Unionism is the salvation of labor. It believes that the problems and the solutions before you are questions of vital import, not only to yourselves, but to this nation. And these questions are entirely to be solved by you. The American people look upon this body with a keen and critical eye, because we thoroughly realize that through you the great masses, the great rank and file of our Republic speaks. And it is with you heart and soul, this American Federation of Catholic Societies, and in their name, Mr. President, and through your delegates I again extend a sincere and heartfelt greeting.

Miss Martha Hines, representing the striking Button Workers of Muscatine, Iowa, was introduced to the Convention by President Gompers. Miss Hines reviewed the progress of the strike and the conditions that led up to it, and made an eloquent appeal for assistance for the strikers.

Treasurer Lennon—I desire to move that Miss Hines be allowed to select some of the delegates to help her and that

they be permitted to take up a collection in the Convention. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Proebstle asked if the Button Workers of Muscatine were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as a Federal Labor Union, and if they had been affiliated a sufficient time to be entitled to financial assistance.

President Gompers stated that they were affiliated as a Button Workers' Protective Union, that some of them had been affiliated long enough to be entitled to financial assistance, but most of them had not.

Delegates Cox and Mead assisted Miss Hines to take up a collection among the delegates.

President Gompers, in replying to the addresses of the fraternal delegates, said in part: Gentlemen, permit me to express the great appreciation we feel for your addresses and your expressions of sympathy, co-operation and good will. The commendation you express of our work, of course, gratifies us. It is not necessary that you shall agree with all we do, and it is not at all necessary that we shall agree with all your utterances. That we are in the main agreed is of primary importance; that we are in sympathy with each other in the work which we undertake to do is helpful, and will be helpful as time goes on.

I might say, simply to make it known where it may not be known, that the A. F. of L. for many, many years has stood upon the demands of one day's rest in seven; and that the Labor movement, where it has not been able to entirely abolish Sunday work, has penalized it and by that method made it too expensive for employers to indulge themselves in. Only where we have really not the power or where the work is one of necessity Sunday work may be done; but in the one instance it is because we cannot help it, because we have not the power to remedy it, and in the second instance reducing it to a minimum whereupon the performance of the work depends the safety of property, and primarily the safety of life. One of the grounds upon which the initiatory charges were made against the United States Steel Corporation was its inhumane practice of continuous work and not permitting one day's rest in the week. The charges now before the courts

against that corporation, the investigation conducted by the Congress of the United States, are the outcome of the charges we, of the American Federation of Labor, presented both to the President of the United States and the departments of Justice and Labor.

Again, I want to express on my own behalf, and I feel sure I express the sentiment of the delegates to this Convention, our great appreciation of your words of sympathy and good will and co-operation, which are entirely reciprocated. Fraternal delegates from across the border and across the Atlantic, we thank you most heartily for your addresses. We hope you may have a most enjoyable and pleasant time while in our country, and that you may have a safe return to your families and your fellow workers.

Vice-President Mitchell in the chair.

Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Nelson, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies beg leave to submit for your consideration the following report on various matters that have been referred to it:

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates M. M. Donoghue, of the Montana State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At the eighteenth Annual Convention of the Montana Federation of Labor, held at Missoula, Mont., August 21-26, 1911, the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, The Federal Labor Union, as organized under the American Federation of Labor, represent the unskilled workers of the country; and

WHEREAS, The present administration of the Montana Federation of Labor have given much effort toward organizing these workers and are to be commended for their work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers be instructed to continue the work as has been so well begun, and they be instructed by this Convention in behalf of the Federal Labor Unions represented here to use every effort to build up the Federal Labor Unions, wherever possible, and to render every possible assistance to such Federal Labor Unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all delegates to the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, be instructed from Federal Labor Unions, Central Bodies and State Federations to use every honorable effort to secure beneficial legislation for such Federal Labor Unions to

secure the organization of Federal Labor Unions by the American Federation of Labor organizers and to ask for and seek the placing of a representative upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, representing such Federal Labor Unions as a member, therefrom:

(Signed)

E. C. JOHNSON,
Helena Federal Labor.
R. C. SCOTT,
Butte Federal Labor.
H. S. DAVIS,
Butte Federal Labor.
ALBERT KUFNER,
Butte Federal Labor.
WILLIAM O'BRIEN,
Butte Federal Labor.
JAMES LACEY,
Great Falls Federal Labor.
L. B. GRAY,
Bozeman Federal Labor.
R. C. PRICE,
Trident Federal Labor.
GEORGE ELLIOTT,
Missoula Federal Labor.
JAMES CLARKIN,
Missoula Federal Labor.

WHEREAS, The above resolution as herewith presented speaks for itself; and

WHEREAS, The said resolution calls upon the American Federation of Labor for action along the lines suggested; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the request contained herein be granted and the resolution be adopted.

The committee report as follows on Resolution No. 55:

Your committee, while fully recognizing the good work done by the Montana State Federation of Labor in organizing Federal Labor Unions, does not deem it advisable to make class distinctions when selecting members for the Executive Council, and therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate M. M. Donoghue, Montana Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, We realize the urgent need of a vigorous and persistent campaign for the purpose of organizing the vast horde of unskilled workers who are still outside of the pale of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, We feel that the American Federation of Labor has in the past exhibited a woeful lack of initiative and efficiency in this direction as evidenced by the insignificant showing of Federal Unions now affiliated with the organization; and

WHEREAS, There is a pronounced feeling of dissatisfaction plainly in evidence among the membership of the Federal Unions, with the past and present policy of the American Federation of Labor, in expending the bulk of its funds and ener-

gies in promoting the organization of skilled mechanics into a species of craft unions, which is no longer able to cope with the new industrial conditions arising from the advanced stage of practical co-operation now in vogue with the magnates who own and control the principal industries of the nation; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a continuance of this policy on the part of the American Federation of Labor would eventually result in the formation of a dual organization more in conformity with the modern requirements and better calculated to promote the advent of that universal solidarity of the workers now recognized as necessary for the attainment of our ultimate goal, economic justice; and

WHEREAS, The number of Federal Unions organized in this state during the past year as a result of the energetic efforts of our State Federation of Labor tends to show that similar results could be attained by similar methods in other sections; be it therefore, by the Butte Workingmen's Federal Union No. 12985, American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we earnestly urge upon the delegates to the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor the necessity for devising ways and means to inaugurate a systematic propaganda among the common workers in every state of the Union with a view of effecting the formation of Federal Unions in efficient numbers to enable this class of workers to assume their logical position as the most powerful factor within the economic and political labor movement of the future.

The Committee report as follows on Resolution No. 62:

One of the chief objects of the American Federation of Labor is the encouragement and formation of local trade and Labor Unions. The number of organizers employed must largely depend upon the revenues received, and it is altogether likely that a more intimate knowledge of the facts in the case would change the views of the members who drafted the resolution. Secretary Morrison's report shows that during the year ten organizers participated in organizing local and Federal Unions, and 262 such unions were established.

The receipts for the Defense Fund from such unions in the year 1910 were \$12,-570.15, and in 1911, amounted to \$16,-010.75, thus indicating that effective work has been done.

As the resolution bears more particularly upon the employment of organizers, your committee recommends that the same be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

In a brief discussion of of the resolution President Gompers said, in part: The criticism is that we have not organized enough of the unskilled working men in Federal Labor Unions and are devoting our time to the organization of skilled workmen. On the other hand the preamble criticises us because we have not the conception of this broader industrial Unionism. As a matter of fact, there has been a constant broadening of the International Unions to open their doors for the admission of the less skilled workmen in those trades, and the existence of this smaller number of Federal Labor Unions and local trade unions is attestation to the further fact that they have been transferred to the International Unions.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Barry, Suarez and Peterson, of the International Alliance Theatrical Stage Employees:

WHEREAS, The Spokane Sectional Central Labor Council, of Spokane, Wash., have illegally and in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L., seated in said Central Body a rump local of the unaffiliated brotherhood of electrical workers; and

WHEREAS, The Spokane Sectional Central Labor Council have caused to be sent to all managers of moving picture theatres in Spokane, Wash., a circular letter, signed by John R. Merford, Secretary of said Central Labor Council, informing these managers that both the I. A. T. S. E., moving picture operators and the rump local of the unaffiliated I. B. of E. W., were both members of Spokane Central Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. laws do not permit of dual organization; and

WHEREAS, The action of Spokane Central Labor Council has caused a reduction in wages and an increase in hours for the members of the I. A. T. S. E.; and

WHEREAS, The I. A. T. S. E., affiliated with the A. F. of L., since its formation, have obeyed every law of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Every affiliated local in the I. A. T. S. E. must belong to the Central Labor Body in their respective localities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., do at once order the Spokane Central Labor Council, of Spokane, Wash., to at once unseat the dual organization of the unaffiliated I. B. of E. W.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, The said Spokane Sectional Central Labor Council be ordered to give the widest publicity to this matter under signature of its president and secretary with the seal of the Spokane Sectional Central Labor Council attached.

The committee reported as follows:

As this matter concerns the seating of delegates in a city central body contrary to law, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for action.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Barry discussed the question at length, stating that the matter had been in the hands of the Executive Council since January, 1911, that the men concerned in Spokane were suffering a reduction in wages as a result of conditions existing in that city, and urged that the Convention instruct the Executive Council to take immediate action.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate John H. Malin, of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that there is no International Union to which Bag, Box and Envelope workers belong; and

WHEREAS, Those trades are of a similar character, the work often being performed in the same factory with the members of this organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, be extended to include the above workers.

The committee reported as follows:

As this matter involves the extension of jurisdiction to an affiliated organization whose charter rights have already been defined, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and action.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Nelson—That completes the report of the Committee, which is signed by the committee in full.

H. P. PERHAM, Chairman.
OSCAR F. NELSON, Secretary.
JOHN CARROLL,
THOMAS FLANNIGAN,
JOSEPH D. CANNON,
JAMES P. HOLLAND,

FRANK X. NOSCHANG,
W. E. BRYAN,
SAMUEL KELLEY,
PATRICK, MURPHY,
G. F. MOUNTES,
J. F. GAVLAK,
JOSEPH BIRNES
E. W. BLAKEY,
MAURICE DE YOUNG.

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Committee on Adjustment, requested that Resolutions Nos. 115, 117 and 123 be referred from the Committee on Adjustment to the Building Trades Committee.

Delegate D'Alessandro objected to referring Resolution 117 to the Building Trades Committee, stating that it would be referred by that Committee to the Building Trades Department and he desired to have it considered by the Convention.

Vice-President O'Connell spoke in favor of referring the resolution to the Building Trades Committee, as that committee was composed of men connected with the Building Trades, while the Committee on Adjustment was composed of men connected with the miscellaneous trades, who were not familiar with the conditions in the Building Trades.

A motion was made and seconded that Resolution 117 be referred to the Building Trades Committee. The motion was lost by a vote of 73 in the negative to 50 in the affirmative.

No objection being offered to referring Resolutions 115 and 123 to the Building Trades Committee, Chairman Mitchell stated that they would be so referred.

President Gompers stated that a general impression seemed to prevail that the sessions of the Convention were not open to the public, and asked that delegates, visitors and newspaper men notify people who were under that impression and desired to visit the Convention that all the sessions were open to the public.

No further committees being ready to report, Secretary Morrison moved that the rules be suspended and that the Convention adjourn to 9:30 a. m. Saturday.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 11:30 a. m., the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 18th.

Sixth Day--Saturday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Phell, Roach, Coakley, Price, Gaviak, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Bell, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Schaub.

Vice-President Mitchell obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution and submitted the following, which was referred to the proper committee by President Gompers:

Resolution No. 170—By Delegate John Mitchell, of United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches causes among match workers a most loathsome disease of the bones of the face, known as "phossy jaw;" and

WHEREAS, The use of poisonous phosphorus in the match industry is no longer necessary and the United States is the only civilized country of commercial importance that has not already prohibited the use of this deadly poison by national legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor commends and endorses the American Association for Labor Legislation in its efforts to secure early action by Congress which will absolutely prohibit the use of this unnecessary poison in American match factories, and give to the workers in this industry the same protection from unnecessary suffering and death that has been extended to the match workers in the other civilized countries of the world.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Report of Committee on Treasurer's Report.

Delegate Young, Secretary of the Committee, read the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We, your Committee on Treasurer's report, beg leave to submit the following:

We have carefully examined the Treasurer's report, and have compared the same with the report of the Auditing Committee, and find it correct in every detail.

We would not feel that we had done our full duty at this time did we not commend Treasurer Lennon for the very careful and business-like manner in which he has handled the funds of this great organization, not only during the past year, but for the twenty-two years that he has been the custodian of these funds.

It should be a source of great satisfaction to the men of labor, when they realize the vast amount of money that has passed through Brother Lennon's hands, that every penny has been satisfactorily accounted for.

Respectfully submitted,

J. C. SKEMP, Chairman,
CHARLES LAVIN,
W. F. GILMORE,
JOHN J. HYNES,
PETER HENRETTY,
JOE F. WINKLER,
J. W. HOLDER,
JAMES F. BROCK,
M. R. PACE,
CARL YOUNG, Secretary.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

November 13, 1911.

To the American Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled, Samuel Gompers, President; Frank Morrison, Secretary.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, on motion of Victor L. Berger, has adopted the following motion:

"That a request be made to the American Federation of Labor, through President Gompers and Secretary Morrison, that the Federation assist financially in the Los Angeles campaign, and thus prove the solidarity of labor.

As you know, the enemies of labor are making a determined effort to break the spirit of the workers in Los Angeles. They have chosen that city as the battleground where they hope to crush labor so completely that it will not lift its head in self-respect and struggle for its rights again. They are making this attempt both on the economic and the political field. Just at present, the fiercest part of the struggle is on the political field.

If the enemy should succeed it would have a disheartening effect upon the

labor movement everywhere. On the other hand, in the language of John Spargo, a member of our National Executive Committee, "No man doubts that the election of Harriman would be a great gain for the McNamaras and the cause of labor unions. The circumstances are wholly exceptional.

I am safe in saying that our National Executive Committee thoroughly understands the non-political character of your body. We are not asking you for any general endorsement of the Socialist Party, or its principles or policies. Any action you may take in this matter will not be so construed.

Kindly bring this communication to the attention of the National Convention.

Fraternally yours,

National Executive Committee Socialist Party,

By JOHN M. WORK,
Acting National Secretary.

Delegate Hayes (Max S.)—In view of the fact that there is a request made by the Secretary of the Socialist Party with reference to the Los Angeles campaign now in progress, and is being regarded with peculiar interest by the working people of the entire country, it seems to me some action ought to be taken. I, therefore, move that the matter be referred to the Labor Representation Committee, and I hope the Committee will see its way clear to bring in some recommendation

respecting the matter not later than Monday. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers stated that a communication had been received suggesting the advisability of more co-operative effort among the members of the theatrical profession, the Actors, Musicians and Theatrical Stage Employees, and requesting a meeting of the representatives of these three bodies after adjournment for the purpose of organizing.

Delegate Marks of the Local Committee announced that there would be an organ recital in the Convention Hall Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

President Gompers called for reports from Committees. No reports being presented, Vice-President Duncan offered the following motion: In order to give the Committees time to prepare to report on Monday morning, I move that the rules be suspended and the Convention adjourn to meet at 9:30 Monday morning. (Seconded.)

After the usual announcements of committee meetings the motion was adopted and at 10:30 the Convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 20th.

Seventh Day--Monday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Monday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Coakley, Price, Gavlak, Kelly (W. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Jones, (J. H.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (T. E.), Creamer, Donnally, Lebowitz, Schaub.

President Gompers announced that Thomas N. Scales, who had been appointed to act as assistant sergeant-at-arms, found it impossible to continue in that position and had resigned. With the consent of the Convention President Gompers appointed to serve as assistant sergeant-at-arms, J. R. Penny, of the Printing Pressmen's Union of Atlanta.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Miss Annie Fitzgerald, Fraternal Delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

Miss Fitzgerald—It has been my pleasure on previous occasions to meet with the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor. At no time have I done so with as much pride and satisfaction as I do today, pride in the splendid organization I have the honor to represent, and satisfaction in its helpfulness to the greatest uplift movement of our time and country, the Trades Union Movement. Many of you do not seem to fully realize the work our organization is doing. The purpose of the organization, as many of you know, is to interest the women in the Union Label in particular and in the Organized Labor movement in general. Our organization has been in existence for eleven years and at this time we feel that the women have carried on a campaign of persistent agitation for the Union Label.

It is unfortunate that in some localities the men do not realize the necessity of such an organization. Expert autonymists agree that 90 per cent of the money spent for food, shelter and clothing is spent by women. This being true, it seems there is but one logical thing to do and that is to organize the women. If Organized Labor is going to persist in spending money earned under Union conditions in patronizing the non-union or manufacturers' association merchants, it cannot progress. In localities where women are not interested in this move-

ment it is impossible to get garments for women that bear the Union Label. The same may be said of brooms and other household articles that women buy. Since I have been in this Convention I have been told by different delegates that immediately on the formation of a Label league in their localities the women became interested and the increase in the number of Union Label goods sold amounted to as high as 90 per cent.

I recognize the fact that the officials of the American Federation of Labor and many of the organizers have been ever ready to lend their assistance in this work, but unfortunately, in some localities the Unions do not seem to see that there is a necessity for it. The organization of the Women's Trade Union League is second in importance only to the American Federation of Labor itself, and I believe we should receive the co-operation of every Trades Unionist in this country. The work we are doing is possibly not as spectacular as some work we might engage in, but we realize that it is an effective means of taking the children from the factories and bettering the conditions under which women work. The organization I have the honor to represent will take the child from the factory and bring about just such conditions as were pictured by our friend Mr. Jones when he referred to the roses and the sunshine. There is nothing we can do that will be as effective as refusing to buy the product of child labor. I urge all the delegates at this time, if they have not an organization of women looking after this part of the work in their localities, to interest the women and insist on organizing them. The reason we have not extended our organization to as many parts of the country as we would like to have it is on account of the limited resources we have at our command. We have to depend upon the limited resources of the organizations in the different localities to help us in this work.

I thank you for these few minutes, and I hope my words will not be idly passed by, but that you will give this matter some serious thought. It is a work we cannot afford to ignore.

Delegate Crozier—I would like to have unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution in regard to the American Federationist.

President Gompers—If there is any complaint of the Federationist the delegate can make it to the Executive Coun-

oil, the officials or the editor. Unanimous consent is not given for the introduction of this resolution. Objection is raised to its introduction.

Secretary Morrison—A resolution was introduced by the Hatters' delegation and referred to a Committee, but was not printed in the proceedings.

Another resolution was introduced by James H. Hatch. There were two resolutions on one sheet. I would ask permission to separate them and incorporate the second resolution in the proceedings this morning.

No objection being offered resolutions No. 171 and 172 referred to by Secretary Morrison were introduced and referred to the proper committees:

Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Fischer (J.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Organization begs to report that, of the thirty-three resolutions referred to us, twenty-one were requests either for the appointment of special organizers or the assignment of regular organizers to do special work.

The finances of the American Federation of Labor, as indicated by the reports of the Secretary and the Treasurer, are such as to make it manifestly impossible to increase the number of field workers unless there is a corresponding increase in the revenues of the Federation. And even did the Federation's funds permit, we would question the wisdom of recommending to the Convention the appointment or assignment of organizers, believing as we do that this is an administrative function which should be exercised by those in charge of the administrative work of the Federation.

Therefore, we are recommending that all resolutions in which application is made for special organizers or for the assignment of regular organizers to do special work shall be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to examine carefully the requests contained in the various resolutions and then to carry into effect, so far as it is possible, the purpose of these resolutions.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

The Committee further reported as follows:

We concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council that efforts be continued during the coming year to se-

cure the affiliation of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union and the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Fischer—The Committee also recommends that efforts be continued to secure the affiliation of the National Association of Letter Carriers with the American Federation of Labor.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Fischer—The Committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that work in co-operation with the farmers' organizations shall not only be continued, but that as far as practicable and advantageous it shall be extended.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Fischer—The Committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to designate a representative of the American Federation of Labor to attend the next annual Convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union as a fraternal delegate from the A. F. of L.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has inaugurated a movement to organize the migratory laborers of this country; and

WHEREAS, The present helpless, unorganized state of these workers, and the almost unspeakable conditions under which a great majority of them are compelled to live and labor, constitute an extremely grave menace to the American people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor recognizes the great necessity for organizing these migratory laborers in order that they may be given an opportunity for self-help and advancement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to appoint a committee of trade unionists in this state to co-operate with any committee that has been or may be appointed in other states to gather data regarding the workers herein referred to and to assist in organizing them.

The Committee recommended that Resolution No. 7 be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to co-operate with the various State Federations in an

effort to organize the migratory laborers.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Homer D. Call, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America has for the past seven years made a determined and consistent effort to organize the employees in the packing industry; and

WHEREAS, Their efforts have been vigorously opposed by what is known as the American Meat Trade Association, who have repeatedly declared for the open or non-union plant; and

WHEREAS, At the present time the wages and conditions of the employees have been systematically reduced until today the average wage of the Butcher Workman is less than \$7.00 per week; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the present system of government inspection, we believe the time opportune for organizing the said Butcher Workmen of North America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled do hereby request the Executive Council to instruct its general and special organizers to make a special effort to organize the Butcher Workmen of this country in their several localities, as far as possible.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate J. R. Crozier, of The International Union of Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Union of Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers have undergone a thorough reorganization; and

WHEREAS, Since the reorganization the membership has more than doubled; and

WHEREAS, Large sums of money have been spent and are still being spent for organization purposes; and

WHEREAS, There is such a large field to cover; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to take up the work of organizing men who are eligible to our organization and grant them charters under this International Union, in accordance with the International charter as issued.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Crozier in a brief discussion stated that he did not object to the resolution being referred, but desired to have

it referred with instructions to the Executive Council to carry out the intent and purpose of the resolution.

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee, stated that the Committee had already made a general recommendation in regard to organizers, which had been adopted by the Convention.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

In reporting on Resolution No. 19 the Committee recommended that the words, "and that in case such request is not complied with within ninety days, that the A. F. of L. proceed to organize local unions of Bricklayers and Masons and that when a sufficient number of unions are organized to form an International Union of Bricklayers and Masons," be stricken from the resolution, the resolution as amended by the Committee to read:

Resolution No. 19—By the Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.:

WHEREAS, The Bricklayers and Masons' International Union has time and again refused to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The said International is a building Trades Union, and should work in harmony and co-operation with other building trades unions, thereby assisting in the formation of a solid phalanx in the building trade industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Building Trades Council of the city of Milwaukee, affiliated with the D. of B. T., of the A. F. of L., that the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union be again requested to affiliate with the A. F. of L.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Donlin—The title of the organization referred to is "The Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasters' International Association." Remember that, for some day you may have trouble when they get in. I would like to have the change made.

Secretary Fischer—We are merely reading this resolution as it was presented.

Delegate Lavin discussed the question at some length, stating that he objected to money being spent in organizing the Bricklayers and Masons, but desired that such money be spent for organizers to work among the unorganized men and women of the country, and to better their miserable conditions.

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee, made a brief statement, in

which he referred to the fact that it was not proposed to spend the money of the A. F. of L. in large amounts in attempts to secure the affiliation of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union; that representatives were not sent to their local unions; that the American Federation of Labor was not organizing their men; that it was simply proposed that a representative of the A. F. of L., perhaps one living in the Convention City, would be sent to one session of that Convention to extend an invitation to them to affiliate with the A. F. of L., and perhaps urge that they enter the family of Trades Unionists.

Chairman Mitchell further referred to the fact that during the past year two hundred and seven Local Trades Unions, fifty-five Federal Labor Unions and sixty-one Central Labor Unions were organized by the A. F. of L., and stated further that the American Federation of Labor was carrying on the work of organizing as fast and as fully as possible considering the amount of money that was available for that purpose.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Resolution No. 20.—By Delegate J. Louis Engdahl, of the Stenographers' and Typists' Association No. 12755, Chicago:

WHEREAS, At the present time there are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor local unions of Stenographers and Typists in the cities of Indianapolis, Ind.; San Francisco, Cal.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Chicago, Ill., and Washington, D. C., the organization of additional locals through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor will, no doubt, make possible the organization of a national Union of Stenographers and Typists, thus enabling that class of workers to more effectively carry on their agitation throughout the country by placing their own organizers in the field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the American Federation of Labor Executive Council to encourage and assist wherever possible the organization of Typists and Stenographers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the five local unions of Stenographers and Typewriter Operators now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and that the Secretary urge these organizations to begin an active campaign to increase their membership.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 21.—By Railroad Helpers' and Laborers' Union No. 14085:

WHEREAS, We, the Railroad Helpers' and Laborers' Union No. 14085, a new body, having been in existence only about three months, and as yet not represented in the System Federation of the Great Southern, pray the Convention to take cognizance of and assist us, together with all of our craft on the System who may be yet unorganized, and beg your co-operation in bringing them into the fold; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention do all in its power to get the Machinists' Helpers organized and federated with the other five crafts of railroad workers, and to give the Machinists' Helpers the right of representation at the next meeting for the purpose of securing a contract; and

RESOLVED, That the Machinists' Helpers have a shop committee, and be locally federated with the five crafts and their shop committees; and

RESOLVED, That this Convention assign a special organizer to work among and organize the employees on the Great Southern and its allied lines.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 22.—By Delegate W. E. Bryan, of the International United Brotherhood of Leatherworkers on Horse Goods:

WHEREAS, The National Saddlery Manufacturers' Association, an organization of manufacturers, in the saddlery industry, combined solely for the purpose of combating labor, determined and exerting every effort to disrupt the Brotherhood of Leatherworkers, to this end demanding of men of our craft seeking employment that they give up their Union; to sign articles to such effect, and in many cases demand the surrender of their due books, as a condition of employment; and

WHEREAS, The Leatherworkers are reduced in membership to the minimum by reason of such antagonism, their finances at a low figure, reduced in an earnest effort to establish the universal eight-hour day during the year 1910; the revenue seriously impaired and confronted with almost insurmountable obstacles in the upbuilding of our organization by reason of such barriers, aided and abetted by men of our craft currying favor at the hands of unfair employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render every assistance possible to the upbuilding of the Brotherhood of Leatherworkers on Horse Goods; that the General and Voluntary

Organizers be instructed to devote all the time possible to increase the membership of their local branches to the end that they may better protect the interests and promote the welfare of all engaged in this industry.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate George Myers, of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Owing to the unorganized state of many locals not affiliated with the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor and in accordance with a resolution adopted in convention held at Cumberland, Md., Sept. 11 to 15th, 1911, requesting the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to place an organizer in Maryland and the District of Columbia; and to co-operate with the officers of the above named body, or federation, in organizing the unorganized in said localities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be requested and directed to place an organizer in Maryland and in the District of Columbia.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate M. E. Shay, of the State Federation of Labor of Texas:

WHEREAS, Texas is today confronted with conditions that are of much importance to organized labor, its growing conditions, and vast amount of territory to be covered, it's hundreds of unorganized, skilled and unskilled laborers. Trade differences and jurisdiction disputes are becoming so numerous and of such large proportions, that it will require constant and continuous effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor to handle; and

WHEREAS, Texas is the largest state in the Union, and has been sadly neglected in the past several years by the American Federation of Labor, and it would, with the very best efforts that could be put forth, require the entire services of an organizer to cover it in a year which would be necessary to get results; and

WHEREAS, New towns are springing up daily and the population is increasing at such rapid rate, that it is only a matter of time when it will exceed New York. With these growing conditions confronting it, it is absolutely essential that the American Federation of Labor give these matters consideration, educating

and organizing this great army of workers; and

WHEREAS, General organizers of the American Federation of Labor, sent into Texas are always allotted only a limited time, and are for this reason unable to cover only a small portion of the state, on account of the great amount or mileage and distances to be covered with added time for organization work, are totally unable to get the results required; and

WHEREAS, These same organizers are only available at rare intervals, their time being fully taken up in other places; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appoint an organizer for at least one year to work Texas exclusively, if results are obtained service to be continued; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the appointment be given a man conversant with the condition of Texas, a native Texan, if possible, who has had some experience in the labor movement, and is fully conversant in the labor movement.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Moffitt, of the Hatters:

WHEREAS, The Seamen of the Great Lakes have been struggling for four years to defend themselves against a system of the grossest servitude, which the United States Steel Corporation, through its subsidiary, the Lake Carriers' Association, is trying to impose on them; and

WHEREAS, This system, by employers called the welfare plan, by the Seamen the hellfare plan, may be used against any class of workers; and

WHEREAS, This system, once fastened upon the workers of any trade or calling, would deprive them of all independence and reduce them to a condition equal to the peonage of Mexico; and

WHEREAS, The Seamen have conducted this struggle, and are yet conducting it, without asking any financial assessment from other organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we congratulate the Seamen upon their fortitude and endurance; that we pledge to them our moral and financial assistance to the end that they may win this struggle, and thus prove that human courage, singleness of purpose, and endurance can win against money, no matter how unequal the contest.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, But a small percentage of the Hawaiian Longshoremen are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through the International Longshoremen's Association, and being informed that much good work can be performed in this territory if some good live organizer, or organizers, were placed or assigned to said field, which would benefit materially the Longshoremen of the Pacific coast, as well as all other crafts thereof; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of this Federation appoint an organizer for the Hawaiian Islands, using his best judgment as to length of time same shall continue.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate J. W. Holder of the Florida State Federation of labor:

WHEREAS, The present and existing condition of labor in the extreme South-eastern States is in an unsatisfactory stage of organization, owing to the influx of unorganized labor, caused by the continued and persistent advertising by employers; and

WHEREAS, There will be a still greater influx of unorganized labor, owing to the near opening of the Panama Canal, and the immediate opening of the East Coast Extension to Key West and Cuba, also the drainage, reclamation and opening of the Great Everglades, and

WHEREAS, The State and Central Bodies of these states, through lack of funds, are not able to place organizers in the field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize the placing of an organizer in this District at the earliest possible convenience of the Executive Council.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Barry, Suarez and Peterson, of the International Alliance Theatrical Stage Employees:

WHEREAS, During a conflict in the city of Hartford, Conn., between Mr. S. Z. Poll, of New Haven, Conn., who owns and controls many theatres in several sections of the East; and

WHEREAS, During a conference held in the city of New Haven, Conn., between Mr. S. Z. Poll and his attorney, one Mr. Slade, Mr. Charles J. Donahue, President at the time, of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor, did, entirely unsolicited by the members of the I. A. T. S. E., intrude himself into said conference as he, Mr. Donahue, himself informed the offi-

cers of the I. A. T. S. E., the request of Mr. S. Z. Poll; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Chas. J. Donahue did wilfully write President Gompers a misstatement of the true facts in the said controversy; and

WHEREAS, Said Chas. J. Donahue caused the I. A. T. S. E., considerable time and expense in the city of Hartford, Conn., and elsewhere in injunction proceedings, which had been served on the President of the I. A. T. S. E., and others; and

WHEREAS, Such actions are not in accordance with union principles and more especially so from prominent Labor officials, and members of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we do severely condemn the actions of Charles J. Donahue for his unwarranted and unsolicited interference in the controversy between Mr. S. Z. Poll and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees of the United States and Canada.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Connecticut State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Barry stated that he had no objection to referring the matter to the State Federation, but felt that his organization was warranted in asking that such action as that complained of in the resolution be condemned, and as much publicity as possible given to it in order that such action might not be repeated in other states.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Frank Butterworth, of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, the International Union of Stationary Firemen and the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen have, since April 13, 1910, been on strike against the Purington Paving Brick Company, of Galesburg, Ill., in defense of their rights to become members of the union of their trade; and

WHEREAS, The unions involved, with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, the Illinois State Federation and the Galesburg Central Body have been, and are still, maintaining an effective and vigorous resistance to the attempts of the Purington Company to destroy their organization therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, hereby extend our full moral support to the unions affected and request our officers and the officers and members of all affiliated unions to do all in their power to assist the battling men of Galesburg to secure the rights and ben-

efits of organization, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers:

WHEREAS, In September, 1910, an attempt was made by the American Federation of Labor to organize the glove workers employed by the Saranac Glove Co. of Littleton, N. H., makers of the Saranac and Parker glove; and

WHEREAS, This attempt was successful in securing about 40 employees in applying for a charter, who were threatened with discharge by the company unless they gave up their membership in the organization of glove workers; and

WHEREAS, The Saranac Glove Company discharged a number of men who had been employed by them for a large number of years, some of them eleven years, some eighteen years and one twenty-one years, for refusing to give up their membership in the Union; and

WHEREAS, The product of this company is sold largely among the working people, particularly railroad men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to take steps at once to thoroughly advertise the attitude of this company among the organized and unorganized workers, particularly the railroad workmen and unions where the product of this company is sold.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to endeavor to effect an adjustment of the question in controversy, and failing, to take such action as they may deem advisable.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate C. F. Russi, Jr., San Antonio Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The flour and cereal milling industries in the United States are in a deplorable condition, to-wit: Long hours, sometimes twelve or fourteen a day; defective machinery and, in many instances, unsanitary; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has assumed direct jurisdiction in the milling trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council give to the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor special instructions to try and organize Federal Local Unions of flour and cereal mill employees in the different cities throughout the country which they visit.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate W. E. Scoggan, of the Black Hills Trades Assembly:

WHEREAS, The Homestake Mining Company of Lead, South Dakota, has enforced a tyrannical and relentless blacklist against all Union men since January 1, 1910, by requiring of all applicants as a condition of employment the signing of the following card:

"OFFICE HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY, Lead, S. D.19

"I am not a member of any Labor Union, and in consideration of my being employed by the Homestake Mining Company, agree that I will not become such while in its service.

"Occupation

"(Signed) Believing this card to be in direct conflict with the Constitution of the United States and a violation of the rights of citizenship, submission to its demands would be a wrong against posterity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that we pledge our moral and financial support to our brothers now struggling against greed and oppression of this mining corporation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That organizers be placed in this District for the purpose of aiding and assisting our locked-out brothers in South Dakota to maintain their organization and rights of citizenship.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to make an inquiry as to conditions prevailing at Lead, South Dakota, and to render whatever assistance they can in promoting an adjustment of the dispute.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Scoggan requested that a copy of an appeal sent to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the Black Hills Trades Assembly be printed in the permanent proceedings of the Convention.

Secretary Morrison read the appeal referred to by Delegate Scoggan. Delegate Scoggan moved that it be made part of the permanent proceedings of the Convention. The motion was seconded, and carried by vote of 53 in the affirmative to 49 in the negative.

The following is the appeal:

Samuel Gompers, and the Members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

The Black Hills Trade Assembly, and its many affiliated Unions of the various International Organizations of Labor,

wish to call your attention to the Homestake lockout, of which you no doubt have some knowledge, as we believe there are many phases of the same that are not understood by the officials of the American Federation of Labor. This lockout has been in force since November 24, 1909, the first notice of the same being given by the following order or ultimatum:

Notice.

Notice is hereby given that the Homestake Mining Company will employ only non-union men after January 1, 1910. The present scale of wages and the eight (8) hour shift will be maintained. All employees who desire to remain in the company's service must register at the general office of the company on or before December 15, 1909.

T. J. GREIR, Superintendent.

November 17, 1909.

When this order was given no demand had been made on the above named company. The motive and object of this lockout can only be surmised, but without a doubt the Unions once out of the way it would mean a reduction of wages or lengthening of hours. The result also would be that where between four or five thousand men were employed, their former places would be taken by non-union men and this Trades Assembly and the unions of which it is composed, will all go out of business.

While this lockout has been in force over twenty months, it is not a successful venture for the mining companies, as they have expended enormous capital in their fight on Organized Labor, and its effect on the community morally and financially has been disastrous. Property has depreciated, homes have been broken up and business all but ruined outside of the company's stores.

At the beginning of this controversy, after being threatened by agents of the company and banks that are dominated by the company, most of the business men of the district signed a list in sympathy with the company and against the unions. Enclosed find running advertisement in the official paper of the company pointing to the fact, as they say, that all business deprives its support from the mining industry. By the experience of the last twenty months the business men have found they have made a grave mistake in bestowing their sympathy and we believe would lend support to a movement to bring about a settlement of this lockout in the near future.

The following card each employe must sign before obtaining work readily shows the damnable scope of the company's opposition to Union Labor.

Homestake Card.

I am not a member of any Labor Union and in consideration of my being employed by the Homestake Mining Company, agree that I will not become such while in its service.

Signed by Employe
This card that all must sign, thereby breaking their obligation to their Union and selling their right of citizenship, is

one of the main issues in this controversy. We look upon this as a direct attack on citizenship and the fundamental laws of the country, and it should be the concern of all laboring men, non-union as well as union, as it is nothing less than the meanest form of peonage.

That you may fully understand how well the unions were established in this district, we will state in the following lines of a brief summary of the principal ones involved and the effect on the same.

The Lead Miners' Union, owned a building (the largest in town), worth \$100,000, was paying sick benefits of \$10 a week to its members, and \$75 funeral benefit. It was known as the most benevolent institution in Western South Dakota, as it gave more to charities and taking care of the widows and orphans of deceased miners than any other organization. They were also the means of all other unions reaching the acme of their power and when it shall fall so will all the unions. In Deadwood, Terry and Central, nearby towns (six miles of territory include them all) the Miners' Unions owned property of like value and paid the same benefits besides charities performed. Now all this property must be sacrificed as well as that of the various members if this lockout is continued indefinitely.

The Electrical Workers still maintain a Union; all their men being employed by the Consolidated Light & Power Co. All men working for the mining companies have left the organization.

The Musicians' Union, formerly had a Union shop in their craft. Now in the city of Lead, there are three scab bands, five scab orchestras, and all the local show places employ scab musicians but one. The power of this once powerful union is practically disrupted.

The Carpenters' Union had almost a union camp. All carpenters working for the mining companies are scabbing and the union is powerless, with only 25 per cent of their former membership.

There is no vestage left of the Painters' and Decorators' Union, and they gave up their charter.

The Teamsters had very nearly a union camp, but had to give up their charter, the few loyal members being taken into the Western Federation of Miners, where they drew relief.

The Clerks were compelled to give up their charter, principally on account of the action taken by the business men who favored the tactics of the mining company.

The Working Girls' Union had a union shop, now disrupted.

The Bartenders' Union of Lead, was broken up on account of action taken by the business men.

The Barbers had a local union, now long since dissolved.

The Brewers still have a contract with the Brewing Company, but the owners are emphatically in favor of the action of the mining companies.

The Machinists were the first to give up their charter and those remaining in

Lead are all scabbing for the Homestake Mining Company.

The Homestake Mining Company, as the principal instigator of this lockout, forced the smaller mining companies to follow their lead, but several have lately started in with union men and abolished the Card system.

We know the Mine Owners' Association has taken an active part in our downfall and we believe it is but a start to disrupt Unionism in the entire West, and our defeat would mean an attack on other strong centers in the mining industry.

The city administration, county officials and the courts, have been emphatically against us, and when the situation and all the facts are understood the diabolical meanness of the company is beyond belief.

Like the charge of the Light Brigade, who gave the order is unknown. The local superintendent says it came from higher authority than himself, and the Hearst estate, also the Haggan estate both disclaim credit for the same.

While the Hearst estate is, we believe, the controlling interest in the Homestake Company, W. R. Hearst, the self-claimed friend of Labor, has remained silent as the tomb, while thousands of union men are paying for and reading Hearst papers, and in so doing contributing to the enemy. We believe such inconsistency on the part of W. R. Hearst, should be known to all Union men.

While it is said W. R. Hearst claims he owns no stock in said company nor any financial interest in the Homestake mine, and has nothing to say in its management, he or his manager for him, when he was a candidate for Governor of New York, in 1906, did ask the miners to brand as false statements made by a rival paper concerning his connection with said mine and endorse him as a friend of the laboring men and the Union.

The Lead Miners' Union met in special session and compiled with the above request as they at that time believed him to be a friend of them and their cause. We have here on file the telegram asking for this favor and also the minutes of the special meeting wherein the action was taken favorable to W. R. Hearst. These and affidavits of the same may be had should any action by the American Federation of Labor require them.

The union men of this district would like to know why this change and lack of interest on the part of W. R. Hearst.

The many hundreds of union men who have so loyally stood by their principal, and suffered many hardships are still as determined to fight to the end, if their comrades in the American Labor movement stay by them.

We beg of you to take this under your immediate consideration and investigation, and favor us with an early reply.

Any other information desired will be immediately forthcoming.

Yours fraternally,

J. C. MAY, Secretary.

W. E. SCOGGAN, President.

Lead, S. D., August 14, 1911.

Delegate Moyer discussed the question briefly. He stated that while William Randolph Hearst claimed that he owned no stock in the Homestake Mining Company, the property belonged to the Hearst estate, and Mr. Hearst and his mother were the beneficiaries of it. He stated that the matter vitally concerned the Western Federation of Miners, as 2,200 of their members had been practically driven out of the Black Hills country and forced to go elsewhere to secure employment. He stated that in addition to the investigation made by the Executive Council he desired that every delegate who could do so make a personal investigation, either through correspondence with some member of his organization who still remained in the Black Hills country, or by any other means he desired.

Delegate Cannon (J. D.) stated that while the Western Federation of Miners had no Label, and for that reason could not ask for support of a Label, they could ask that Organized Labor refuse to buy the paper of an enemy of Organized Labor.

Delegate Lynch (James M.), discussed the question at some length, and urged that a careful investigation be made before condemning as unfair a man who employed members of the five International Trades in the printing industry in all of his eleven newspapers. He stated that Mr. Hearst was one of the largest employers in the printing industry outside of the United States government; that he employed members of Organized Labor in all departments of his newspapers, and in every instance had paid a higher scale than the generally accepted scale in that locality. He stated that while he held no brief for Mr. Hearst he felt that an investigation should be made and all the facts ascertained before such a man should be condemned before a Convention of the A. F. of L.

Delegate Mead made a brief statement in which he referred to the fact that Mr. Hearst and his chief editor had been unfair to organized Steam Fitters in New York City.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee on Resolution No. 84 was adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates Wm. J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Jos. Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The White Rats Actors' Union has since the amalgamation of the White Rats of America and the Actors International Union and the rechartering of the Amalgamated Association by the American Federation of Labor upon the 7th day of December, 1910, conducted a thorough campaign of organization; and

WHEREAS, During this short period of time the White Rats Actors' Union has succeeded in practically organizing all of the desirable and competent actors and actresses engaged in vaudeville in this country; and

WHEREAS, The White Rats Actors' Union desire a thorough understanding with all of the allied trades and professions engaged in the production of theatricals for the purpose of perfecting their plan of organization and inducing a complete affiliation of all actors and actresses in all branches of the theatrical profession in this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the city of Atlanta, Ga., do hereby request the Executive Council of American Federation of Labor to arrange and set a date for a conference of all allied theatrical organizations that shall have for its purpose the outlining of plans for a better understanding between the allied trades to better protect and enforce conditions which will bring about reforms and make the business of the employment of actors and actresses and all others engaged in and about the stage one that will allow just and equitable treatment for both employer and employee alike and eliminate much of the present unfair methods adopted by many employers in this class of business throughout this country.

The Committee offered the following recommendation:

Owing to the fact that since the introduction of the resolution a conference has been agreed to by the organizations engaged in the production of theatricals, we recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to use their good offices in furthering co-operation among the trades referred to in this resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

The Committee recommended that Resolution 101 be amended by striking from the sixth line of the last paragraph the word "directed" and inserting the word "requested," and striking from the end of the same paragraph the words "within thirty days after this Convention adjourns or stands suspended by and from such National and International Unions," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 101.—By Delegates J. P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and

Maurice De Young, Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, A Central Body exists in the city of Brooklyn, Greater New York, known as the Brooklyn Federation of Labor, which is not chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and is antagonistic to it and the chartered Central Bodies of Brooklyn, Manhattan and the Bronx, which bodies are known respectively as the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity and the Bronx Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, Said Brooklyn Federation of Labor is composed of dual and seceding unions of National and International Unions and of independent unions, and these National and International Unions are chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Local Unions of National and International Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor are represented in the said Brooklyn Federation of Labor, and approve of action by that body undertaken against the American Federation of Labor, and the legitimate and recognized National and International Unions and their Local Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED by this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that all National and International Unions whose local unions are affiliated with the said Brooklyn Federation of Labor, are requested to instruct all such local unions to withdraw from the Brooklyn Federation of Labor.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the amended resolution.

Delegate Holland (J. P.) stated that he had no objection to the word "directed" being stricken out and "requested" inserted, but contended that something should be done by the International Organizations who had local unions seated in the dual Central Body in Brooklyn. He stated that members of locals affiliated with the dual Central Body were employed as strike-breakers when local unions affiliated with the regular Central Body were on strike.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 102.—By Delegates Chris Kerker and Henry Koch, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union has for many years been engaged in a terrific struggle against the gigantic "Bread Trusts"; which, with their enormous money power were enabled to either destroy or buy up good union bakeries throughout this country, and hence thwart the efforts of the union bakers; and

WHEREAS, The Bakers and Confectionery Workers' International Union has

made titanic efforts to organize and progress and finds itself in need of funds owing to the depletion of its treasury by this long struggle; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Atlanta, Ga., hereby authorize the Executive Council to confer with the officers of said International Union as to the best ways and means of raising a fund to assist the Bakery Workers in their determination to uplift their craft and defeat the "Bread Trusts."

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted:

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates Chris Kerker and Henry Koch, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Unscrupulous employers of the Baking industry employing thousands of craftsmen of the Baking trade have in the past year reduced wages and forced men to inhuman conditions, and while we are doing all within our power to uphold and defend our Constitution against the wanton attack of corporate power which seeks to take advantage and fasten upon its employes a slavish condition of servitude; and

WHEREAS, The members of Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America have been engaged in bitter strikes the country over, we feel that the conditions of the bakery industry must be sharply looked after; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed by this Convention to give to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union assistance in the way of organizing, by instructing organizers in all localities to give some attention to the organizing of bakers wherever they may meet.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate M. R. Pace, of the Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, There is great need for organization in certain portions of our country; and

WHEREAS, It is through this method that the gospel of unionism is disseminated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled in the city of Atlanta, Ga., that the Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to create a new district to be composed of the State of Maryland, the District of Columbia, and the States of Virginia and North Carolina, to be known as District No. —; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby requested to name an organizer for the District hereby created at the earliest possible moment.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates Joseph Smith, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, and Charles Schaffer, of the Kalamazoo Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The State of Michigan is fast becoming one of the leading industrial states of the Union and there is a vast army of unorganized workers in the State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor appoint a permanent organizer to assist the officers of the State Federation to thoroughly organize the state.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Smith (Leland), discussed the question briefly, and urged that the Executive Council give the matter very serious consideration, as at the present time there were about 5,000 unorganized building laborers in the city of Detroit.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Due to internal friction and differences there has existed in this country, two organizations of Steam Shovel men; and

WHEREAS, The existence of dual organizations is detrimental to those crafts in which they exist, in particular, and to our movement in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is authorized and directed to call a meeting of the representatives of the International Union of Steam Engineers and representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and representatives of the Associated Union of Steam Shovel men, before the next meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of uniting all the organized members of this craft into one organization affiliated with the International Union of Steam Engineers.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive

Council, with instructions to call a meeting of representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge-men and representatives of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, and such other organizations as are interested in the subject for the purpose of uniting all organized members of this trade into one organization in accordance with the laws of the A. F. of L.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates Martin E. Goellnitz, F. C. Gengenback and O. A. Tveitmo, of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of men employed at cement work who are as yet unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the proper authorities to pay particular attention and devote as much of their time as possible in organizing cement workers throughout the United States and Canada.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegates Thos. V. O'Connor, P. F. A. Vaccarelli, M. W. Kelleher and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The affiliation of all organizations of the workers employed in the industry of transportation, such as Longshoremen, Seamen, Teamsters, Railroaders, Freight Handlers, Street Car Men, Boat Men, etc., will be of advantage to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, The developments of industry will eventually force the workers to organize and affiliate on industrial lines; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, take such steps as they may deem necessary for the formation of such a Department, and that all Transportation Organizations be invited to join the Transportation Department.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate Joseph D. Cannon, of the Western Federation of Miners:

WHEREAS, Modern industrial concerns are constantly being brought into closer

inter-relation with each other and this result of the industrial trend of the age, makes the workers in the different crafts and trades, to a greater extent, inter-dependent upon each other; craft lines are more closely drawn, and in most trades there are constant infringements of jurisdictions, the exact boundary of which, it is impossible to define, this condition naturally familiarizes the workers of one trade with the technique of others; consequently, these workers when forced to seek employment seek it wherever they can find it; they do not limit themselves to their own particular trade or craft, but accept employment in any craft or trade of which they have acquired the necessary skill; and

WHEREAS, Under our crude form or system of Federation this makes it necessary for workers, securing such employment, to pay large initiation fees upon each such change of employment, thereby rendering it more difficult for our members to live and provide for their families under this regime of "Full Dinner Pail" and ever-increasing "High Cost of Living." It is in effect, equivalent to the placing of a premium upon non-Unionism and a discount upon our members who keep their cards in good standing; it is the placing of a cruel and unnecessary hardship upon those who make it possible for us to maintain our various unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this matter be referred to the proper committee or to the Executive Council with instructions to prepare a clause for the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which will provide for an equitable exchange of paid-up cards between all affiliated unions.

Secretary Fischer—The Committee reports that the American Federation of Labor has uniformly and consistently encouraged the acceptance of paid-up cards of affiliated Unions, and recommends a continuance of this policy. We recognize, however, that the A. F. of L. has no authority to direct the internal affairs of the affiliated National and International Unions. We, therefore, recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates M. W. Mitchell, Jas. A. Short and J. W. Bridwell, of the Journeymen Stone Cutters Association of North America:

WHEREAS, There are working in and around the marble quarries of North Georgia several hundred skilled and unskilled laborers who compete with the organized labor of the marble industry in other sections of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the Thirty-first Annual Convention assembled, pledges its moral support in bringing about better

conditions in the section mentioned, and directs its executive officers to assist in organizing these operatives by sending an organizer into this field at the time they may think will be the means of accomplishing results.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendations of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegates Matt Comerford, J. G. Hannahan, J. L. McNamara and John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers, and Timothy Healy, Wm. J. Brennan and M. J. Friel, of the International Brotherhood of Firemen:

WHEREAS, The Prudential Life Insurance Company of America, whose home office is located in Newark, N. J., operates a large power plant therein and refuses to permit the employees to become connected with the respective trade unions as are engineers, firemen, oilers, switchboard operators, etc., and do not pay the recognized union scale of wages; and

WHEREAS, The Essex Trades Council, of Newark, N. J., has made strenuous efforts by committee and correspondence to organize those employees and failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlanta, Ga., to instruct the Executive Council to take up this case with the Prudential Life Insurance Company in an effort to organize that particular department.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate Fred W. Sutor, of the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that a great number of quarry workers throughout this country and Canada are not organized; and

WHEREAS, Quarries as a rule are in outlying districts, the organizers of the A. F. of L. generally fail to reach them; and

WHEREAS, It is difficult for our organization to procure the services of a permanent organizer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, direct the Executive Council to instruct its organizers to give special attention to these unorganized quarry workers while in localities where the same may be employed.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 169—By Delegate James F. Brock, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Comparatively a small per cent of the Laundry Workers of America are organized and the larger portion of them are women and young girls of tender years, who have to work long hours under slavish conditions for the lack of being organized; and

WHEREAS, This vast number of Laundry Workers is by far the largest contingent of unorganized labor embraced in a single class now in existence; and

WHEREAS, The Steam Laundry Workers' International Union has organized a certain per cent of this class and increased their wages and shortened their hours from sixteen hours a day to nine hours a day through such organization; and

WHEREAS, The organization of this vast body of working women and children and working men is of paramount importance to the labor movement at the present time; and

WHEREAS, The International Steam Laundry Workers' Union had to withdraw their International President off the pay roll on account of no funds being in the treasury, and as the General President has been acting as the organizer of our craft, and without an organizer being in the field, the Laundry Workers' Union shall soon be on the decline; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this Convention to give to our organization assistance in the way of organizing by instructing organizers in all localities to give particular attention to the organizing of the laundry workers.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

The Committee reported the completion of their partial report.

A request was made that Resolution No. 130 be referred from the Committee on Adjustment to the Committee on Boycotts. No objection being offered, Chairman Lennon stated that the resolution would be so referred.

Report of Committee on State Organization.

Delegate McNamara (J. L.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 114—By the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs' Delegation:

WHEREAS, There exists at the present time, in the city of New York, a strike among the Garbage Workers, involving about 4,000 men, who are members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, duly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Great distress and inconvenience prevails to the general public; and

WHEREAS, The men have offered to submit the grievances existing to a committee representing the business interests and the Civic Federation, as well as a certain number representing the Central Federated Union of New York and the Chamber of Commerce; and

WHEREAS, The men have offered to return to work pending an investigation of the said grievances existing, thereby granting relief to the citizens of New York and eliminating the present inconvenience existing as a result of the strike; and

WHEREAS, The mayor of New York city has absolutely refused to agree to the above proposition, but has ordered that the strike-breaking agencies be called into the case and engaged to hire strikebreakers in every section of the city and country for the purpose of breaking the strike; and

WHEREAS, This is the first instance that we know of in the country, where a large city, such as New York, that ought to be a model employer of Labor, has turned to using the same tactics as the most unjust employers and haters of labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct President Gompers to investigate the statements herein contained immediately, and if conditions exist as herein described that he make known the facts to this convention and to the labor organizations of the country and to the general public.

The Committee recommended that President Gompers take steps to have an investigation made at the earliest possible opportunity, and report back to the Convention the findings of such investigation, if possible.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) discussed the question briefly. He stated that he did not ask the Convention to condemn the New York City government without an investigation. He stated further that the Garbage Teamsters had been working at nights and overtime without extra pay; that they struck as a protest against the treatment they had been receiving from the city of New York, and after they struck they requested the city officials through the mayor to have an

investigation of the grievances made; that they offered to work pending such an investigation and agreed to leave their grievances to arbitration. He stated that the city officials absolutely refused to listen to any plan for arbitration or conciliation, but on the contrary proceeded to employ strike breaking agencies to disrupt the union.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate J. T. Carey, of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers:

WHEREAS, Practically all paper used by the United States Government is made in mills where the employees, both men and women, are compelled to work thirteen hours per day or per night; and

WHEREAS, There is an apparent understanding or agreement between the manufacturers of book, bond, writing, ledger, tissue, wrapper and post card papers, to compel employees to work long hours, which is a disgrace to a civilized country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. through the Executive Council, make every effort possible to secure the appointment of a Committee of Congress and the United States Senate, to make a full investigation, as to the conditions under which book, bond, writing, ledger, tissue, wrapper and post card papers are made.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration and action.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

President Gompers—The Executive Council recommended to this Convention action for the appointment of a Committee to confer with the delegates of the White Rats Actors' Union in regard to proposed performances to be given throughout the country for the benefit of Labor.

Delegate DeYoung—I move that such a Committee be appointed.

The motion was seconded and carried, and President Gompers appointed as such Committee Delegates E. E. Tharp, W. W. Russell and A. J. Kugler.

Report of Committee on Laws.

Delegate Pierce, Secretary of the Committee, read the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Organizers," and also the following resolution:

Resolution No. 167—By Delegate W. B. Abell, of the Central Labor Union of Miami, Fla.:

WHEREAS, The efforts of the American Federation of Labor, for the accomplishment of our various principles is frequently hampered by an insufficiency of funds; therefore, be it RESOLVED, That this Convention does hereby authorize the increase of the dues at least 50 per cent.

Secretary Pierce—Your Committee gave these propositions careful consideration and recommended that Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution be amended by striking from the fifth line the words "one-half" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "two-thirds," so that the per capita tax of the International Unions will be two-thirds of a cent per member per month.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

The motion was carried by a vote of 123 in the affirmative to 27 in the negative.

Secretary Pierce read that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Union Label League" and also read the following resolution:

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate W. J. Pfeiffer, of the Indiana State Federation:

WHEREAS, The International Women's Union Label League is an organization created for the sole purpose of creating a greater demand for articles bearing the Union Label of all crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Said organization is doing a great work for all label trades as well as the trade union movement in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Law of this Convention is hereby instructed to so amend the Constitution that at all future conventions of the American Federation of Labor the delegate representing the International Women's Union Label League will be entitled to one vote on all matters coming before said Convention.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Union Label League," and recommended non-concurrence in Resolution 28.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:

Amend Article VII. by inserting a new section, to be known as Section 5, as follows:

"The Secretary shall, on the first day of each quarter of the fiscal year of the Federation, forward to the Secretary of each State Federation recognized as such by the A. F. of L., a sum equal to one-half cent per member per month for every union man connected with the A. F. of L., either direct or through affiliation, in such state jurisdiction."

Renumber Section 5, Article VII, by making same new Section 6.

Renumber Section 6, Article VII, by making same new Section 7.

(Section 6, as now in effect, (new section 7), gives the Secretary full power to secure the data necessary to put the proposed change into full operation).

Amend Article X, Section 1, by striking out the words "one-half of one cent," in line six, and inserting the words "one cent" (thus collecting one-half cent per member per month for State Federations.)

The Committee reported unfavorably on Resolution No. 3.

On motion the report of the Committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate A. W. Smith, of the South Chicago Trades Assembly:

Amendment to Constitution:

Article XIV.—Miscellaneous.

Add after twenty-first (21st) line:

"No employer shall be eligible to membership in a Federal Labor Union."

The Committee offered the following as a substitute for the proposition: That there be added to Section 2 of Article XIV the following: That employers who are members of a Federal Labor or local union directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall not attend meetings or have a vote in the management of the union, and shall work in accord with the scale and rules of the Union in which they hold membership.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be concurred in.

President Gompers—The chair would inquire from the Committee what they had in mind when they speak of employers as members of a Federal Labor Union or a local union?

Treasurer Lennon—The Committee is informed, and I know it from my own observation, that occasionally in a local union, as for instance, a Teamsters' Local, there will be a member who owns his own team and one other team. He drives one team and employs a man to drive the other. They both work regularly as employees for wages, but the second teamster, of course, works for the man who owns the team. In many cases

these men are in the small unions where it is impossible, on account of the small number, to have a Teamsters' Union without them. There being no law in the A. F. of L. governing the matter, although I know there has been a decision, the Committee thought it was best to offer this recommendation.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Walker (J. H.), President Gompers and Treasurer Lennon, a motion was made by Delegate Wilson (J.), that the matter be referred back to the Committee for further consideration. The motion was seconded and carried.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar, of Painters, Paper Hangers and Decorators:

Amendment to Section 7, Article IX.

Strike out the figures \$5.00 per day and insert the figures \$6.00 per day on line 4.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for careful consideration, with power to act.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be concurred in.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Tobin (D. J.), who spoke in favor of the recommendation, the motion was adopted.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar, of the Brotherhood of the Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers:

No delegate shall be admitted and seated in future conventions of the American Federation of Labor, who has been guilty of discriminating or using his influence among the members of the organization he represents or others against union label products.

The word voluntary association or membership wherever such may appear in the constitution, decisions or edicts rendered by the officials or persons representing this Federation, shall under no circumstances be construed and interpreted to mean and be regarded or understood as a license for members of this Federation and persons seeking to sit as delegates, to oppose the sale and patronage of union label products, or refusing to employ members in good standing of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Committee offered the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 95:

WHEREAS, The purchasing power of Trades Unionists and their families is not used to the extent possible; in fact, in thousands of instances the neglect to purchase union label products appears to be almost deliberate and certainly is gross

negligence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that failure or neglect by union men or women to purchase union-made goods or to hire union labor when required, if it is possible to obtain it, should be condemned by this Federation and by union labor so vigorously as to become in the near future effective in stopping such practice entirely.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Joseph Proebstle, of International Union of the United Brewery Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at all times favored the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum and Recall in our Municipal and State governments, and is now making every effort through the State and Central bodies, to have the Initiative, Referendum and Recall embodied in the Constitutions of the various states of the Union; and

WHEREAS, The Initiative and Referendum is the only true Democratic form of making laws and electing officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED (1), That this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, adopt the Initiative and Referendum in the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor, by providing for the nomination of candidates for elective offices by and through the delegates to the Convention, the names of the nominees for the various offices, to be placed on a ballot, and a sufficient number of ballots forwarded to every affiliated International, National and Federal Labor Union; these organizations to conduct the election and forward the ballots to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor where the same shall be counted by a committee to be composed of four members selected from different International or National organizations and one member of a Federal Labor Union; the officers as elected to take office the first day of March following the Convention; all officers to be elected for a term of two years; (2), that changes of law may be made on existing laws of the Federation repealed either at the Convention, or by the demand of one-eighth of all International or National organizations; single majority to govern all elections. (Specific rules and regulations governing Referendum vote to be worked out by Committee on Law.)

The Committee reported unfavorably on Resolution No. 97.

Treasurer Lennon—One member of the Committee desires to submit a minority report and has asked me to read it. The following minority report is submitted by Delegate Walker, of the Committee:

RESOLVED, That we favor the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum vote

of the membership of the affiliated unions who are paid up and in good standing, if after thorough investigation, mature and deliberate consideration, it is found to be practicable and for the best interests of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the question of the practicability and desirability of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum vote be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, with the understanding that they report on this subject to the next annual convention for its consideration.

Treasurer Lennon—I move the adoption of the report of the Committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I move to substitute the minority report for the majority report of the Committee. (Seconded.)

Treasurer Lennon—In the meeting of the Committee when this matter was before us for consideration, I offered a proposition almost identical as to the object to be secured with that of Delegate Walker. The Committee, however, nearly all the members being present except Brother Walker, decided that the whole proposition was not workable in the Federation, and as I concur in that belief I did not see fit to bring in a minority report or to sign any, but the view of the matter I took in the committee was that the investigation should be had and reported to this Convention. I know quite well the conditions of most of our international unions. I have a large degree of information as to their methods of conducting elections and legislation, and I know how inadequate those methods are in many instances. However, if the convention is desirous of taking up that line of action it certainly will have no disapproval from me.

Delegate Proebstle stated that he had no objection to the minority report, and spoke at length in favor of the initiative, referendum and recall.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.), spoke at length in favor of the minority report. Delegate Kelly (W. J.), supported the majority report. Delegate Walker (J. H.), and Delegate Cannon (J. D.), spoke in favor of the minority report.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

President Gompers discussed the question of the initiative and referendum at some length. He stated that he had always been in favor of the initiative and referendum and in 1877, in a Convention of the Cigar Makers' International Union, where but seven delegates were present, he proposed the election of officers and the adoption or ratification of laws for the International Union by the initiative and referendum; that in a later Convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union he had not only advocated that system but had drafted the laws which are now part of the Cigarmakers' International Constitution by which officers are nominated and elected by the initiative and referendum, that voting is not only made a right but a duty, and that failure to perform that duty is punishable. In closing President Gompers said, "I think the question of the election or the possibility of the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum is a subject worthy of honest investigation and honest report. Delegates to this Convention and the American Labor movement ought to know whether we can or whether we cannot elect by referendum vote. I am in entire sympathy with and will support, if I have an opportunity, the minority report.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.), discussed the question at length, and supported the minority report.

Delegate Hayes (Max S.), discussed the question at some length, referring to the fact that in former conventions of the A. F. of L. he and other delegates had introduced resolutions favoring the initiative and referendum, and they had been defeated. He stated that he favored the minority report, as it would give the Executive Council a year to work out a plan, and if need be they could obtain information from states and countries that had adopted the initiative and referendum and had worked it out successfully.

President Gompers in the chair.

Vice-President Duncan discussed the question at length, referring to the fact that the organization of which he was a member had not had a Convention for thirty-one years, but that all matters had been settled by the initiative and referendum. He spoke at length of the suc-

cess of that method of electing officers and adopting laws.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.), discussed the question at some length, referred to the fact that the Boot and Shoe Workers had at one time adopted the method of conducting their elections by referendum vote, had found it unsatisfactory and returned to the system of electing in the conventions.

Delegate Johannsen spoke briefly, and suggested that the discussion being carried on was not proper while the motion to adopt the minority report was pending. He spoke in favor of the adoption of the minority report.

On motion debate was closed.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.)—The minority report makes a declaration and it provides for an investigation. We may be in favor of the latter portion and not of the introduction. I suggest that it may be divided.

President Gompers—The sense of the minority report admits of a division. Secretary Morrison will read the first paragraph.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.)—I arise to a point of order on the division. The motion adopted was to close debate on the minority report as a whole.

President Gompers—The point is not

well taken. When attention has been called to the fact that there are two distinct propositions in a subject and a delegate raises that question, it is the duty of the chairman to direct a division if the sense of the matter will admit.

Secretary Morrison read the first paragraph of Delegate Walker's minority report, which was adopted.

Secretary Morrison also read the second section of the minority report, which was adopted.

The minority report as a whole was then adopted.

Vice-President Duncan stated that the Committee on Resolutions had a great amount of matter referred to it and that most of the time had been taken up in hearings. He stated that the members of the committee did not wish to work during the sessions of the convention, and some of them had to appear before other committees. He stated that, inasmuch as the morning session had been held until nearly 2 o'clock, that an adjournment be taken till 9:30 Tuesday morning.

At 1:45 p. m., on motion of Vice-President Duncan, the rules were suspended and the Convention adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 21st.

Eighth Day--Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 21st, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfeil, Roach, Coakley, Price, Gavlak, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schneider (John), Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Lebowitz, Schaub.

During the report of the Committee on Organization during the session Monday afternoon Resolution No. 54 was reported on, but through an error omitted from the proceedings. The resolution and the report of the committee are as follows:

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates M. M. Donoghue and E. R. Torrey, of the Montana State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At the eighteenth annual convention of the Montana Federation of Labor, the following resolution was presented and adopted:

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Montana Federation of Labor do request the American Federation of Labor to allow the salary of an organizer to work in the Western District of the State of Montana for a period of four months for the purpose of organizing the Lumber industry of this section of the state or such other organizations as may need this assistance, the name of the organizer to be suggested by the President of the Montana Federation of Labor.

(Signed)

J. B. EGAN,

TED FREY,

JOHN CLARKIN.

WHEREAS, We believe that it would be of great benefit to the Western District of the State of Montana if such an organizer were allowed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to this convention, that the request contained in the above resolutions be granted.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council. On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Report of Committee on Laws.

Delegate Pierce, Secretary of the committee reported as follows:

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Max Zuckerman, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America:

WHEREAS, The interests of labor are

more effectively protected and advanced by a closer affiliation and co-operation of the different organizations of a given industry; and

WHEREAS, With this object in view the American Federation of Labor adopted the Trades Department form of organization of the separate industries; and

WHEREAS, Such form of organization by the American Federation of Labor has proven to be a success and should therefore be encouraged and extended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should, as soon as practicable, call to a conference the representatives of the organizations comprising the wearing apparel industries for the purpose of the formation of a Wearing Apparel Trades Department.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Nestor moved as a substitute that the entire matter be referred to the Executive Council for consideration as to the need of such a department, and that the various organizations that would be affected be communicated with to find out whether or not they wanted such a department. (Seconded.)

Delegate Nestor discussed the question at some length, stating that she did not think it would be necessary to call delegates from the various trades into such a conference until there was some necessity of such a department. She stated that inasmuch as all the trades engaged in the manufacture of wearing apparel were already affiliated with the Label Department it would be merely an extra expense to have a department of the wearing apparel trades established.

Treasurer Lennon stated that the resolution referred the matter to the Executive Council, with the request that such a conference be called as soon as practicable, and that the Council would certainly not consider a conference practicable or advisable if any considerable portion of the people interested in such organization declared themselves opposed

to the forming of such a department.

Delegate Biggs spoke briefly in favor of the proposition to form a department of wearing apparel workers. He stated that the fact that there were no very well defined lines of jurisdiction between these trades made it advisable that they form a department.

The substitute offered by Delegate Nestor was carried.

The Secretary of the committee reported that the committee had considered the following three resolutions together, and had made one report to cover all of them:

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates J. P. Holland, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and Maurice De Young, Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

Amend Article XI, Section 2, first line which reads: "It shall be the duty of, etc., by striking out the words "duty of and substituting therefor the word "mandatory," so that Article XI, Section 2, shall read as follows:

"It shall be mandatory upon all National and International Unions affiliated to instruct their local unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction."

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate John M. Dowd, of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The amendment offered at the last Convention of the A. F. of L., to the American Federation of Labor constituted by the delegate from New York State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Said amendment does not make it mandatory on locals to affiliate with State Federations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 2, of Article XI, be amended to read as follows: "It shall be mandatory on all National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. to instruct their Local Unions to join Chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given to all Trade and Federal Unions under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate Maurice De Young, of the Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

To amend Article XI, Section 2, first line, erase the words "it shall be the duty" and substitute the words "it shall be mandatory on all national and international unions," also erase the words on line seven "similar instruction shall be given by the" and insert

"mandatory upon all locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor." So that this article and section shall read as amended as follows: "It shall be mandatory upon all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make it mandatory upon their local unions to join the chartered central labor bodies, departments and state federations in their vicinity where such exist. It shall be mandatory upon all locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with all trade and central labor unions in their respective districts."

The committee reported unfavorably on the three resolutions.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Daniel J. Tobin, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, The matter of sending fraternal delegates has now become an established and an important custom; and,

WHEREAS, We consider the work done in exchanging fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress is of the utmost benefit to the trades unionists of both countries; and

WHEREAS, The amount of expense now given to the delegates, in our opinion, is not sufficient to cover his actual expenses; and

WHEREAS, The labor leaders in our country are not receiving fabulous salaries, and many times those who are fortunate enough to be honored by being elected as a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, have very little money of their own; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention increase the amount which is now paid from \$400.00 and transportation to \$700.00 and transportation.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the recommendation that the subject matter be given favorable consideration, and that the appropriation for fraternal delegates be made fully ample to cover all expenses.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Kugler, in discussing the question, stated that he would like to have some explanation as to the amount of time necessary for a delegate to spend in attending a convention as a fraternal delegate. He stated that if the recommendation to raise the amount from \$400 to \$700 was adopted this year it might be found that next year it would

be necessary to raise the amount to \$1,000.

Treasurer Lennon, for the committee, stated that the matter was referred to the Executive Council in order that that body might make an investigation to ascertain what the real expenses of sending fraternal delegates to the congresses of other countries might be. He stated that the members of the committee were not familiar with the matter and could not fix the amount intelligently.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate Maurice De Young, of the Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

Amend Article XI, by adding the following to Section 7:

"Central bodies shall have the right and power to discipline any affiliated union if such union acts contrary to a majority decision of such central body, after having received a fair and impartial trial, upon written charges presented by other affiliated union or unions, and their action or determination has been found to be detrimental to such other union or unions and injurious to the general labor movement. Discipline to mean either by a fine or suspension from such central body.

The committee reported unfavorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate Maurice De Young, of the Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

Amend Article XI, Section 3, fourth line, erase the words "they may" and substitute the words "and it shall be made mandatory to organize, etc." so that this Article and Section shall read as amended as follows:

"Art. XI, Sec. 3. Where there are one or more local unions in any city belonging to any national or international union affiliated with this Federation, it shall be mandatory to organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union or shall join such body if already in existence."

The committee reported unfavorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

At a previous session Resolution No. 41 had been referred back to the committee for further consideration. The resolution and the report of the committee are as follows:

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate A. W. Smith of the South Chicago Trades Assembly:

Amendment to Constitution.

Article XIV.—Miscellaneous.

Add after twenty-first (21st) line:

"No employer shall be eligible to membership in a Federal Labor Union."

The committee offered the following as a substitute for the proposition:

"Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in federal labor or local unions, directly affiliated with the A. F. of L., subject to the approval of the president of the A. F. of L. Such members shall not attend meetings of the union or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members."

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Treasurer Lennon—That completes the report of the committee as far as we have matters in our hands.

JOHN B. LENNON,
Chairman.
DANIEL J. TOBIN.
JOHN H. WALKER.
JAMES J. HANNAHAN
JACOB TAZELAAR.
TIMOTHY HEALY.
JOHN MANGAN.
A. ROSENBERG.
JOHN ROACH.
M. W. KELLEHER,
T. J. O'DONNELL,
EDWARD MENGE,
JOHN J. BARRY.
JOHN DOWD.

W. S. PIERCE Secretary.
Committee on Laws.

Delegate McDonald (D.) obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, and presented the following:

Resolution No. 173—Presented by Delegates Duncan McDonald, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, United Mine Workers.

WHEREAS, There is an organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association in existence in certain portions of Canada, said organization claiming jurisdiction over the coal miners employed in the coal mines of Nova Scotia and purporting to represent them in negotiating wage contracts for them in that territory, and

WHEREAS, The men employed in and around the mines in Nova Scotia by a large majority some years ago decided to become a part of the United Mine Workers of America, and repudiated the organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association, its officers and agents; and

WHEREAS, This so-called organization through its officers have since joined hands with the employers in their efforts to destroy and disrupt the United Mine Workers of America in that section, and have assisted in furnishing scabs and strike breakers working under the protection of the detectives and thugs employed by the coal companies, thereby proving themselves traitors to the best interests of the workers; and

WHEREAS, This so-called organization through its officers is again attempting to represent the Mine Workers in formulating a scale of wages on a basis satisfactory to the coal companies and upon which no worker can hope to exist and live, as a worker should live; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention condemn the actions of the men in charge of this outlaw organization as a menace to a civilized community, and a band of traitors who are being paid for their dirty, nefarious work, and who by their action are helping to retard the work of the bona fide trades-unionists and who by co-operating with the thugs and detectives of the employers, are placing themselves on a plane lower than that of the meanest scab or strike breaker.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Report of Committee on Labels.

Delegates Hayes (Max S.), Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 5.—By Suspender Makers' Union No. 9560:

WHEREAS, The Harris Suspender Company of 138 West Fourteenth Street, New York City, in an effort to reach the working class, is using on its suspenders a buckle marked "union made;" this is done in order to deceive the public, their suspenders being a product of non-union employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be presented to the Atlanta Convention and that such action be taken as will acquaint union men of the deception practiced by the Harris Suspender Company, in order to properly protect the members of Suspender Makers' Union No. 9560 and further promote the sale of such suspenders as bear the Label of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates be informed that no suspenders be considered union made unless bearing the above Label.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 35.—By Delegates A. McAndrew and E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, A large number of the trades and crafts affiliated with the

American Federation of Labor have a union label of their own, its use being that of affording a mark of distinction to the purchaser to be used as a guide to the purchasing of union made products; and

WHEREAS, The union label on union-made products and the demand for goods bearing said label is one of the most potent if not the most powerful weapons within the hands of members of organized labor, for the betterment of the condition of the wage earners of the land; and

WHEREAS, It becomes the duty of each and every union man to use his purchasing power to advance the interests of fair products by purchasing such products as bear the union label only; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a Blue Union Label which it advertises as a mark of distinction between the union and non-union brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as there is an abundance of union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes, of all grades and classes on the market in all parts of the country, we consider it the consistent duty of all union men to purchase only such brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes as do bear the union label; be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates representing the International, State, Central and Federated Unions, in convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlanta, November, 1911, will use our utmost endeavor in creating a greater demand for the brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes which bear the Blue Label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; be it further

RESOLVED, That we earnestly request the members of our respective local unions to carefully observe when making purchases of tobacco, snuff or cigarettes, that the purchases made have attached thereto the Blue Label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, as none is genuine union-made unless the label is there to be seen.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 82.—By Delegate C. F. Russi, Jr., San Antonio Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The labels of the American Federation of Labor will not stick to bags containing flour on account of the gritty substance which is used in the making of bags; and

WHEREAS, The labels will fall from flour bags and be used on non-union flour by merchants to defraud union men who demand the label on flour; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor issue to locals having label contracts with flour

mills, a rubber stamp, same to be sold to the locals using same at actual cost.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Russi, who explained in detail the reasons why it was not practicable to paste labels on the bags, and why a rubber stamp would be preferable.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate D. G. Biggs, of the Journeymen Tailors:

WHEREAS, The Fourth Annual Convention of the Trades Label Department directed its Executive Board to devise and establish an official Label Button for those Label sections which desire to use one in their work; and

WHEREAS, The Label Department has been, and now is, doing efficient and commendable work along its special line of advocating the manufacture and sale of union-made goods; and

WHEREAS, There is not a more laudable effort in the trades union movement than the encouragement of union men to spend their union wages with union people, and for union-made commodities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-First Convention of the A. F. of L. recommend to all its delegates that they take up this subject of Label propaganda with their constituents upon their return home; that they urge a greater measure of enthusiasm, energy and work in behalf of the product of union-made goods; that they advocate the formation of Label sections in those cities which have not already established them, that when the official button is placed at their disposal that they will encourage their brothers to wear them, and that they will make any and all good, just and meritorious efforts to impress on the minds of the careless or thoughtless that it is their duty to spend their union-made wages for union-made products; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense and desire of this Convention that every Federal Union, Central Body, National and International Union should give the highest and heartiest support and encouragement to the Label Department and the various label sections to the end that they become the potent factors their possibilities portend.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Biggs, who spoke of the benefit the establishment of a label trades department had been to the members of organizations connected with it. He stated

that prior to the time of the formation of the department the agitation for the label would be successful in certain localities for a time, but interest would die out and the demand for union label goods would decrease. He stated that through the department the agitation would in time become general.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 103 be amended by striking from the second "Whereas" the words "proof of same as it distinguishes," and inserting "means of distinguishing," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 103—By Chris. Kerker and Henry Koch, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America represents bread and other bakery confectionery goods made under fair and sanitary conditions, honest wages, living hours, and by union men; and

WHEREAS, The Label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America is the only means of distinguishing union from non-union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, re-endorse the Label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be, and is, hereby requested to ask for the union label on all products he or she may purchase, thereby showing or proving his or her loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The charter of the International Cereal Mill Workers was called in by the American Federation of Labor last March, thereby necessitating application to the A. F. of L., by the cereal mill workers in order to maintain an organization; and

WHEREAS, The present sticker Label of the A. F. of L. is wholly impracticable for use on the sacks and bags used by the cereal mill workers in shipment of their product, by reason of its failure to stick on account of the many times it is handled before reaching its destination; and

WHEREAS, The label is the only guarantee to show that the product was manufactured by organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to devise some other means by which the label can be placed upon the articles manufactured by the cereal mill workers.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 127 be amended by adding to the last paragraph the words "in common with any other brands of collars and cuffs that bear the union label," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 127.—By United Garment Workers of America Delegation:

WHEREAS, There is but one firm in the United States that manufactures union-made collars and cuffs; and

WHEREAS, Retail merchants who sell this class of merchandise refuse to show the Bell Brand Collars and Cuffs, but do show and sell collars and cuffs of firms that are, and always have been unfair to organized labor, for instance, Cluett Peabody Company, make the Arrow Brand Collar; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor instruct the organizers to give special attention to union-made collars and cuffs, when addressing meetings, and urge upon the individual trade unionists, whom they may meet, to purchase Bell Brand Collars and Cuffs, in common with other brands of collars and cuffs that bear the union label.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 131.—By Delegates Matt Comerford, John Glass, J. L. McNamara and James G. Hannahan:

WHEREAS, It has been generally known that there has existed the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill employees; and

WHEREAS, A resolution was presented at the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor calling for an investigation into the affairs of said Flour and Cereal Mill Employees' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Same was referred to the Executive Council for investigation and they found later that same justified the annulling of said charter granted by the American Federation of Labor, and further recommending that all Local Unions of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees form

Federal Unions under the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Said International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees had a Union Label that was printed on the package and the bag of the union mills that were strictly unionized and in many localities said Label was well established; and

WHEREAS, In the disbanding of said Flour and Cereal Mill Employees' Union, and in the forming of Federal Unions of the A. F. of L., that in the adoption of the A. F. of L. Label, which is of the sticker variety, that it is impossible to use the same on the sack or bag of flour; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to provide or designate some factory or factories or offices whereby the printing of the Label of the American Federation of Labor that it may be done on the carton or bag or sack, for the use of Local Unions of the Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, or such other organizations as in the judgment of the executive officers may deem proper, that the label or emblem of fair paid labor may be placed on the products of all strictly union mills and factories.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 141.—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The question of the establishment of a general union label for all trades affiliated with this Federation has been up for discussion and action by Conventions of the A. F. of L. for about twenty years; and

WHEREAS, All that has been submitted to Conventions is a resolution or amendment to law, containing no comprehensive workable plan that would protect those trades which, in furthering a demand for the individual label, have expended much money and have devoted themselves to generous advertising; and

WHEREAS, It is within possibility that a plan might be worked out whereby an equitable apportionment or expense involved, and an intelligent direction of advertising of said labels, taking from no one organization the benefits achieved, nor lessening the demand for any individual label, but on the contrary assisting in a greater demand for a label, general in design, and greatly improving the sale of articles which are union-made, at the same time such label being an evidence to members of organized labor that any product which they may be called upon to handle is union-made in all parts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is empowered to appoint a commission of three, who shall be familiar with label agitation and its cost, which commission shall stand directed to make a thorough study on the feasibility of the establishment of

a general union label, and report, if possible, to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., and if not at the next convention or such succeeding Convention to which they may succeed our next; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all label trades are requested to co-operate with such commission by furnishing ideas, data, cost and such other information as may be desired, and the Executive Council is permitted discretion in the allowance of such necessary expense as this commission may necessarily incur.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council to take such action as deemed advisable.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 157—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and Frank A. Scoby, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A firm engaged in the manufacture of beer cooperage known as the Frank Denk Cooperage Company, doing business in the city of Pittsburgh, has, by duplicity, solicited the patronage of employing brewers in that section of the country; and

WHEREAS, The official stamp of the Coopers' International Union has been substituted by a bogus one, which is a close resemblance to the label of the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has placed its official endorsement on all packages bearing the label of the Coopers' International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby solicit the aid of and caution all members of organized labor, and especially the members of the United Brewery Workers of America, to see to it, that in the patronizing or handling of cooperage in that locality, the official label be sought for by the organized trades in America and Canada.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Hughes (A. C.), discussed the question briefly. He stated that acting in conjunction with the Denk Cooperage Company of Pittsburgh were some former members of the Coopers' International Union; that they had left the International some time ago and established a local union of the I. W. W. in Omaha, Nebraska, and later had migrated to Pittsburgh. He stated that they used a label somewhat similar to that of the Coopers' International Union for the purpose of deceiving those not well acquaint-

ed with the labels. He stated that if members of the Brewery Workers' Union would co-operate with the Coopers the matter could be adjusted.

Delegate Kugler stated that the Brewery Workers had a stipulation in all their contracts providing that union-made cooperage would be used.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee on labels recommended that Resolution 163 be referred to the committee on adjustment. No objection being offered, the resolution was so referred.

Resolution No. 165—By Delegate Maurice De Young of the Brooklyn Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The labor movement of this country recognizes the many benefits accruing from the use of the union label; and

WHEREAS, Many of our members fail to demand the union label on all articles they purchase; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 31st annual convention instructs its Executive Council to designate a day to be known hereafter as union label day and that all unions affiliated, be requested to make some demonstration on said day for the benefit of the union label.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee recommends that members of organized labor make every day upon which purchases are made a label day, and further recommends the reference of the above resolution to the Executive Council to consider the practicability of establishing a general label day.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate DeYoung discussed the question at some length, and urged upon the members of all organizations the importance of supporting all union labels. He stated that the members of many organizations worked for the establishment of their own labels, but when purchasing goods forgot the labels of other organizations. He spoke of the small number of employees engaged in manufacturing union collars, and stated that if all the members of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor would support them there would be twenty-five hundred girls employed in the manufacture of such collars instead of twenty-five as at present.

Delegate Lavin discussed the question

briefly. He discussed his experience while serving on the Label Committee of the Central Union of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, and vicinity, where the population was composed largely of laboring people, and deplored the fact that there was such a small demand for union label goods.

Delegate Gallagher (J. J.) discussed the question briefly, and stated that it was sometimes difficult to find collars and similar articles with the union label in some cities. He stated that the central bodies ought to adopt some plan of informing people who wished to purchase such articles where they could be found.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Hayes—That is the conclusion of our final report of the Label Committee.

JOHN F. TOBIN, Chairman,
MAX S. HAYES, Secretary,
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
LOUIS KEMPER,
A. M. SWARTZ,
MAX ZUCKERMAN,
HARRY MEYER,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
CHRIS KERKER,
J. J. HANDLEY,
EDWARD JOHNSON,
E. J. BRAIS,
A. M'ANDREW,
ED. ANDERSON.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee desires to refer Resolution No. 110 to the Committee on Organization.

No objection being offered, the resolution was so referred.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 77 be referred to the Committee on President's Report. No objection being offered, the resolution was so referred.

The committee recommended that Resolutions No. 15 and 107 be referred to the Committee on Organization. No objection being offered, the resolutions were so referred.

Vice-President Perham in the chair.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended that Resolution No. 6 be amended by inserting in line 3, of the third "Whereas," after the word "character," the words "in our belief," the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 6—By International Association of Machinists delegation:

WHEREAS, The ex-President of the United States (Theodore Roosevelt) issued an executive order known as "Executive Order No. 212 1-2" in which he very emphatically forbade any Government employee or any association of Government employees from interviewing or petitioning directly or indirectly any member of Congress or any committee of Congress, for legislation, appropriations or a redress of grievances, without first obtaining the consent, or with the knowledge of the heads of the Department; and

WHEREAS, His successor, Honorable William Howard Taft, President of the United States, not only reaffirmed the aforesaid executive order, but extended it under "Executive Order No. 1143," to apply to all Bureaus, Division Chiefs, and other officials in the Government Departments, ordering them, together with the aforesaid employees under the Roosevelt "gag order" not to exercise their inherent and fundamental rights while in the employ of the United States Government, infractions of these orders being sufficient to permit heads of Departments to suddenly and summarily discharge federal employees under the sweeping charge of "insubordination;" and

WHEREAS, Executive orders of this character in our belief are clearly beyond the constitutional powers of any official in our Government, and should not be tamely accepted by the employees of the Government under any circumstances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. are hereby instructed to use every honorable means to have adopted into law the bills now pending in Congress known as the Lloyd and LaFollette Bills, which have been introduced for the purpose of obtaining legislation that will guarantee to federal employees the freedom of petition and speech, and the freedom of organization.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:

WHEREAS, Lodge No. 195 of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, located at Kewanee, Illinois, has been on a strike at the plant of the Kewanee Boiler Company, manufacturers of heating and power boilers, at Kewanee, Illinois, since June 1, 1910; and

WHEREAS, The terms submitted and the position taken by the said Lodge No. 195 have been sanctioned by the Executive Council of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders; and

WHEREAS, The said Kewanee Boiler Company refuses to come to any reason-

able agreement with said Lodge No. 195, and continues to be unfair to said members of said Lodge and are seeking by their conduct to destroy and disrupt said Lodge No. 195, and are seeking to make this plant of the Kewanee Boiler Company an open shop; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that members of all crafts be urged to use every lawful means to compel the said Kewanee Boiler Company to recognize said Lodge No. 195, and to come to some fair terms with the members thereof; and we urge upon all men, who favor fair play, to encourage and uphold the members of said Lodge No. 195 in this continued and strenuous struggle for reasonable working conditions.

Secretary Frey—This resolution, which applies to the Boilermakers, was introduced by a delegate not representing that organization but representing the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Your committee called the attention of the officers of the Boiler Makers' Union to the resolution and they were favorable to the purpose of the resolution. After conferring with these International officers of the craft your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate McDonald (D.), stated that Delegate Lawrence, from the Illinois State Federation of Labor, had been called from the convention by the illness of a member of his family, and in his absence desired to state that the resolution had been presented to the Illinois State Federation of Labor and by them referred to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. He spoke at length in favor of the resolution, and urged that members of organized labor refuse to handle the boilers referred to until the company would agree to treat with its employees.

Vice-President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee—The committee through its Secretary reported the matter as it did in order to bring home to delegates of central bodies and state federations that when they present matters directly affecting a local of an international organization they should, before submitting it, have the approval of that international. We mention this so there will be no conflict between state bodies and central bodies and the locals of internationals.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Frey reported that Resolutions No. 10, No. 18 and No. 126 had been considered together and covered by one report. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:

WHEREAS, The Labor Unionists of this country are engaged in a bitter fight for better conditions and have banded themselves into labor unions for that purpose; and

WHEREAS, The employing class have also banded themselves into organizations for the purpose of fighting our every effort to better our conditions, and have also organized a body known as the Civic Federation, ostensibly for the purpose of averting strife between the workers and the employers but really for the purpose of bilking the workers as to their true condition; and

WHEREAS, At least one labor organization has decreed that none of its members can belong to the Civic Federation and others have called upon their members to resign from it; and

WHEREAS, There are other bodies known as Citizens Alliance, Chamber of Commerce and other kindred bodies of the same stamp; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention do condemn the Civic Federation, Citizens Alliance, Chamber of Commerce, and all kindred bodies as hostile to the interests of organized labor and call upon all members of organized labor to sever their connection with such bodies.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, The conflict between the employing class and the working class is constantly becoming more intense, and each succeeding year we see a greater number of strikes and industrial disturbances, demonstrating the fact that the conflict of interests is constantly becoming more keen; and

WHEREAS, In this great conflict that is to be seen on every hand the employing class is constantly becoming more brutal in their treatment of the workers, as is evidenced by the desperate attempts to throttle organized labor, by the use of the injunction, the black-list and the more recent method of kidnapping the officers of labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, The National Civic Federation which is largely composed of and financed by employers of labor, many of whom are the most bitter enemies of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, This institution, known as the Civic Federation, is built on the false assumption of "identity of interests," which is an economic falsehood; and

WHEREAS, There is a growing tendency in practically all labor organizations to view with suspicion and distrust the acts of any labor representative who

is in any way connected with the Civic Federation; and

WHEREAS, The United Mine Workers, numerically the largest organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, at their last annual convention, held in Columbus, Ohio, passed resolutions condemning the Civic Federation and prohibiting any member of their organization from joining or retaining membership in the same, and instructed their delegates to this convention to endeavor to have similar action taken; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention, recognizing the continual conflict between the two economic forces in society, respectfully request all officers and members of the great American Labor Movement who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to at once sever their connection with the Civic Federation.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates T. L. Lewis and E. S. McCullough, of the United Mine Workers of America, and Joseph Smith, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is an organization known to the country as the National Civic Federation, organized for the alleged purpose of harmonizing the interests of capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that institutions and organizations, like individuals, should be judged, not by their declared intentions, but by their actual work done in behalf of humanity; and

WHEREAS, A number of the members of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation and a number of those who contribute to the financial support are enemies of the labor movement and are working to destroy the labor unions of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, express our unqualified disapproval of any member or officer of the labor unions of this country holding membership in the National Civic Federation.

Delegate Frey, for the committee on resolutions, read the following report on Resolutions 10, 18 and 126:

Your committee in connection with the consideration of these resolutions has endeavored to secure such information relative to the National Civic Federation as could be presented by the delegates introducing them, and in addition such information as could be given by those who as trade-unionists have held membership in that body, or who have in any manner noted the influence of the National Civic Federation upon the safety and progress of the trade-union movement and the principles for which it stands.

In addition your committee has examined its official records for the purpose of discovering the aims and objects of the National Civic Federation and of assuring itself as to whether there existed any variations between the principles of that organization as laid down in its organic laws and the rules it has adopted, and in its practice.

Your committee finds that the National Civic Federation was organized in part for the purpose of furthering the adjustment of disputes between employers and their employees through the methods of friendly conference, conciliation or arbitration, when mutually acceptable, and the consummation of joint contracts and agreements covering the terms of employment. In addition, to bring together representative men from all groups for the public discussion of the questions affecting the relations between employers and organized workmen. This organization, we find, at the time of its inception, set the official seal of its approval upon the recognition of trade unions by employers, and as endorsing the consummation of formal agreements covering the terms of employment between employers and organized workmen.

Your committee has had no information placed before it which would indicate that the National Civic Federation has at any time departed from its policy as above outlined, but evidence has been presented which demonstrates that it has extended its original program by creating departments whose entire work has been to give a wider-spread influence in favor of the peaceful adjustment of all questions arising between employers and organized workmen.

In evidence of this fact your committee quotes from the official announcement of the National Civic Federation creating the department of conciliation, as follows:

"Declaration of the Purpose of the Conciliation Department.

"The scope and province of this department shall be to do what may seem best to promote industrial peace and prosperity; to be helpful in establishing rightful relations between employers and workers; by its good offices to endeavor to obviate and prevent strikes and

lockouts, and to aid in renewing industrial relations where a rupture has occurred.

"That at all times representatives of employers and workers, organized or unorganized, should confer for the adjustment of differences or disputes before an acute stage is reached, and thus avoid or minimize the number of strikes or lockouts.

"That mutual agreements as to conditions under which labor shall be performed should be encouraged, and that when agreements are made, the terms thereof should be faithfully adhered to, both in letter and spirit, by both parties.

"This department, either as a whole or through a sub-committee by it appointed, shall, when requested by both parties to a dispute, act as a forum to adjust and decide upon questions at issue between workers and their employers, provided in its opinion the subject is one of sufficient importance.

"This department will not consider abstract industrial problems.

"This department assumes no powers of arbitration unless such powers be conferred by both parties to a dispute."

We have carefully examined such records as were available, to learn whether the National Civic Federation has officially or unofficially committed itself to the assumption that the interests of capital and labor are identical and we have failed to find any evidence that this question has ever been passed upon; we have found, however, in the public statements of the officers of this organization, who were not members of trade unions, and in its official publications, expressions of the conviction that in the profits arising from production, the interests of the employer and the workman were not identical, as both endeavored to secure to themselves as large a share of the value of products as possible.

From its attitude and official expressions of opinion the National Civic Federation seems to have committed itself to the belief that the primary purpose of trade unions is to secure a larger share of the actual value arising from production, through collective action, than would be possible for their members to acquire through their efforts as individuals, and that the employers frequently associate themselves together

that they might be in a better position to retain the largest possible portion of the profits.

Your committee has had no evidence presented to it which would indicate that the influence of the National Civic Federation has ever been unfriendly to organized labor or that it has been detrimental either when negotiations were in progress between employers and trade unions or when industrial controversies had led to strikes and lockouts. Officers of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have appeared before your committee and testified that on numerous occasions interviews and conferences were secured with employers who had previously refused to meet any representatives of their organizations, through the kindly offices of the National Civic Federation, and that as a result of these interviews and conferences and the friendly influence of that body, satisfactory adjustments of controversies were effected.

Your committee is aware of criticisms which have been directed against the National Civic Federation by some members of organized labor, but none of these compare with the vindictive and vicious attacks which have been made against it by every association of employers in America which is organized for the purpose of opposing and antagonizing our trade unions and the principles they are contending for.

The bitter hostility of the anti-trade union associations has evidently been directed towards the National Civic Federation because that body has emphatically declared its conviction that trade unions are essential to the workmen's welfare, and that as indispensable organizations they should be given full recognition and encouragement.

It appears to your committee that the criticisms which have been made by members of labor organizations are directed more towards certain individuals holding membership in the National Civic Federation than against that body itself.

It is not to be expected that in an association composed of representatives of trade unions, employers and the general public that every member will be equally

acceptable to all of the others because of his views and personal attitude; men differ in their view-point, and these differences become more apparent when representatives of such groups as organized workmen and employers meet upon a common footing to discuss problems affecting both directly. But are we to hold that we shall not meet and discuss the grave problems which affect the wage earners' standard of civilization with an association whose membership may include some whose vision has not yet been sufficiently broadened?

These individual members of the National Civic Federation, against whom criticism has been directed, are in many instances active members of the church, of fraternal and of other civic organizations, contributing to their support. Their attitude toward many questions may fail to meet with the approval of their associates, but is this sufficient reason why any member should withdraw his affiliation from such organization or organizations, or that recommendations should be made by this convention that members of organized labor should withdraw from any of them?

Since the formation of the National Civic Federation there has been in its membership a number of trade-unionists, among these being men who have deservedly earned our full confidence, and who for years have been selected by organized labor in this and their own organization as among the most trusted and capable officers and members. These representative men have had the fullest opportunity of becoming familiar with the policies and the influence of that body upon the welfare and progress of our trade union movement, and we are convinced that if any of them had discovered that the National Civic Federation was in any manner inimical to the welfare of our movement that they would have been the first to sound a note of warning.

Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence with the resolutions.

Vice-President Duncan moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded by several of the delegates.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—I want to say, Mr. Chairman, in discussing the

matter that I hope reference to individuals will not be made and that discussion will be entirely upon the principles involved in this case. I want to say, in the first place, that some of those trade union representatives connected with the Civic Federation have been neighbors and friends of mine all my life. I introduced this resolution upon instructions from our International Convention. I have the records of the convention here and also the motion that was adopted. I also have the records of two conventions of the National Civic Federation, and a list of some of the members and officers of that organization. The resolution that was adopted by the convention of the United Mine Workers was a substitute for several resolutions bearing on the subject that had been introduced. The original resolutions were so drastic in their character, and directed especially at one individual, as I considered it, that I requested a member of our organization to introduce a substitute. The resolutions, in my opinion, were directed more especially at our former International President, John Mitchell, who at that time was being tried in the courts of this country on the contempt charge with which many of you are familiar. Knowing that some action was going to be taken by the Convention one of my associates and myself got this substitute introduced to head off the other resolutions. The substitute is as follows:

"The National Civic Federation, an organization launched and financed by and composed chiefly of men whose antagonism to organized labor is well known, has as its alleged purpose the harmonizing of the interests of capital and labor, a position which is economically unsound. It is well known that every achievement labor has made has not been as a grant from the employing class, but has been fought for and in altogether too many instances paid for at the price of life by our comrades of the working class army.

"The spirit of revolt against economic oppression has manifested itself in a degree that threatened the forts of capitalism, and to chloroform the labor movement into a more submissive mood, the National Civic Federation was conceived.

"We need not look for favors from the Belmonts, Carnegies, Tafts, etc., who are

the moving spirits of the Civic Federation; their records as enemies of the interests of labor cannot be disputed.

"In the light of these facts we, the United Mine Workers of America, in annual convention assembled, condemn the National Civic Federation as an auxiliary to the capitalistic class in the exploitation of the workers, and as an agency to further fasten the fetters of wage bondage on the limbs of labor."

Those of us who were opposed to the proposition in the form it was presented favored this as a substitute. Our convention, after discussing the matter very thoroughly, adopted the substitute and later passed a motion instructing the delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to have similar action taken here. For that reason I presented the resolution, and every delegate from the United Mine Workers is instructed to vote for it.

I have here a copy of the proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the Civic Federation, held in New York December 22nd and 23rd, 1909. In looking over the list of officers and members I find several who are directors and controllers in the United States Steel Corporation. And if there was ever an organization of capital that was fostered in this or any other country that has been more brutal in its treatment of the workers employed in its institutions, it has never come to my knowledge. We have had occasion to enter into several struggles against auxiliaries of the United States Steel Corporation, and they have resorted to the vilest and most brutal methods ever recorded in the annals of industrial history. They have not only refused to deal with organized labor, but they have refused to permit a union man in or around their institution; and yet these men, directors of this concern, controllers of this concern, meet with representatives of labor to ameliorate the conditions of the toilers. I want to ask you if that is consistent? If the National Civic Federation is a good proposition and these men who are referred to were consistent in their position, instead of going to New York to try to ameliorate the conditions of the toilers they would go to their own institutions and there ameliorate the conditions of the employees by at least recog-

nizing their right to join a labor organization.

I find among the members of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation Andrew Carnegie. I noticed a statement in the Peoria, Illinois, Journal, a few days ago with reference to the United States Steel Corporation being dissolved. Perhaps you have noticed that it is being dissolved! The article stated that Andrew Carnegie was drawing annually \$13,750,000 from his investments in the United States Steel Corporation. Andrew Carnegie may be sincere as a member of the Civic Federation, but as a controlling factor in the steel industry he has been one of the worst enemies organized labor has ever gone up against.

I have had occasion to take part in two of the greatest strikes our organization has ever faced, and in both of those controversies the forces on the other side were the representatives of the United States Steel Corporation. If they would change that term from "Steel" to "Steal" it would apply properly to the manner in which they got their property in some places. When our men were driven from the company shacks where they were required to live, and put on land bought by the United Mine Workers, while the tents were being shaken by the cold winter blasts, tents in which women suffered and children were born, Andrew Carnegie and some of those fellows were giving a Civic Federation dinner in New York.

I want to repeat that I am not directing my remarks at any individual connected with the labor movement. If men had to put up with these conditions, if little children had to go about in December and January barefoot, while the wind was blowing through those tents, and Andrew Carnegie and those other Shylocks had been sincere they would have ameliorated conditions there instead of at a Civic Federation dinner in New York. Here is a photograph of a dinner, a banquet, or something of the kind, in the Civic Federation. It is a very nice affair, but I want to say I voice the sentiment of every member of our organization who has been up against the guns of the Steel Company in their fights, when I say if there is anything that will arouse class hatred and feeling against the Civic Federation

it is to look on that beautiful picture and then think of the time when the United States Steel Corporation had our tents cut down in Alabama during a strike two or three years ago.

So far as the Manufacturers' Association refusing to join the Civic Federation is concerned, I am not responsible for that, but I would rather have a man come out in the open and fight me and say he was going to fight me than to clothe himself in a white robe and pose as a friend of labor, then stab us in the back at every opportunity when we attempted to organize. I care not whether it is a labor organization, a church organization or a fraternal organization—and I belong to several—that institution will be governed largely by the feelings that permeate the individuals who constitute it.

I will not take up much more of your time, but if this matter is gone into I propose to show what these men have done to crucify organized labor at every jump in the road. The men who constitute the National Civic Federation may be friends of labor, but my experience in our organization has demonstrated to my satisfaction that they are the most bitter, heartless enemies organized labor has ever had. Some people may take the position that I am sore because I did not have a chance to take part in the National Civic Federation dinner. When I was a member of our International Executive Board I was asked to attend one of those meetings and dinners. I said I did not want to go because I did not think I would enjoy it, that I knew too much of the conditions in the places where those men got their money.

If this National Civic Federation is a good thing, why is it financed almost entirely by the enemies of labor? These men I have referred to are the ones who are putting up the money to run the Civic Federation, and at the same time they are taking it out of the life blood of our people at home. Whenever these men whose names are listed as members of the National Civic Federation will demonstrate their real interest in the workers' will demonstrate their real interest by helping to improve the conditions where their blood-stained dollars come from, then I will lend my endorsement to the cause by permitting them to organize,

National Civic Federation, but not until that time.

I notice in the list another gentleman, Mr. Kruttschnitt, of the Union-Pacific System, where the shopmen and machinists have been on strike. D. R. Francis is from St. Louis. The St. Louis boys will tell you of his actions. There are a number of others in the list who have been the worst enemies the workers have ever had.

So far as our organization is concerned, never to my knowledge has the National Civic Federation done them one iota of good; and I think if you will consult the rank and file of the organization, especially those who have gone through the terrible fights where the United States Steel Corporation has practically annihilated our organization they will agree with me in my expression of opinion so far as those gentlemen are concerned. In the State from which I come, where the United States Steel Company got possession of certain mines we know to our own satisfaction, President Walker, myself and every other official of that District, that right at this very moment there are detectives at work in the local unions trying to destroy the effectiveness of our organization, with the full knowledge and consent of the directors of this United States Steel Company.

I want to repeat that I do not want it understood that my remarks are directed against any individual. I am willing to grant that labor representatives in the Civic Federation are there for a good purpose, but I will refuse to associate with, or so far as my influence is concerned, permit men to represent me and take part with those fellows in their so-called uplift work, until they can show that their skirts are clear.

Delegate Furuseth.—Suppose Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Kruttschnitt should subscribe to the statement or to the principles of the common ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, would they be refused admission to the Socialist Labor party?

Delegate McDonald (D.).—I can understand the drift and intent of the question. When the gentleman will ask a civil question in a civil way I will answer it or any other question if I can.

Vice President Hayes—I am a member

of the National Civic Federation. I am there as an individual, not as a representative of my trade. It is a voluntary organization. No one induced me to join it; I did so of my own accord and in doing so I exercised the same privilege that I did in joining a trade union. It was my lawful right as a man and a citizen, and if there is any power in organized labor or in this convention that will deprive me of these rights, I have never known it before, have never believed it, and it will take a far more powerful argument than the one I have just heard to convince me that my rights as a man and as a citizen can be restricted by this body or any other.

In everything that pertains to labor, to industry, to the American Federation of Labor or to my trade union, I will obey absolutely; but, remember, that I have rights as a man with which this convention has no right to interfere. When I was a boy an employer said to me "If you join a labor union you will not be allowed to work here." I joined the labor union, and I no longer worked for him. That employer tried to do with me, what the resolution just read by the delegate from the Mine Workers aims to do, that is, to curtail my rights as a citizen.

The statement made by the speaker has no direct bearing at all upon the Civic Federation. We know the attitude of capital towards labor; the cruelty and inhumanity of it existed before the Civic Federation was ever instituted, and it will continue for years to come, or until organized labor and its principles are better understood and embraced by the whole mass of people. And that day will not be hastened by refusing to hold intercourse with Andrew Carnegie, Belmont or the other men who wield such powerful influence over the industrial interests of this country. It has always been my belief that where prejudice against organized labor is most formidable that is just where we ought to be, and whenever possible explain the objects of our unions, and give our reasons for the faith that is in us. We were not brought into this movement to be put in a nursery or to join some select school of economics, where we would hear nothing but that which appealed to our own prejudices and views.

What has Andrew Carnegie to do with

this question? Every year I meet manufacturers in conference who in the past did everything in their power to crush our union. They tried to starve men into submission, have broken up homes and scattered families. Why did they do this? Because they were dominated by prejudice—they did not understand the practical value and benefits accruing to industry as the result of trade unions; but in the course of events their plants were unionized and they came into our wage conferences. They have now learned to respect the rights of labor and to respect its representatives. We have gained probably more increases in wages and reduction in the hours of work by meeting employers who were at one time as bitter against organized labor as Andrew Carnegie and Belmont are alleged to be, than in any other way. And herein lies one of the purposes of the Civic Federation. We want to learn the views of our enemies, to be able to answer them, and we want them to know our views. No man living is invulnerable to truth, and no man living is invulnerable to facts. Nothing will obstruct the truth so much as prejudice.

I heard President Gompers, Vice-President Duncan and Vice-President Mitchell meet the very men referred to here,—Andrew Carnegie, Belmont and others, and they put the cause and objects of organized labor so thoroughly and impartially before them, that they made friends for our cause. I was glad to see them sitting together in the same hall, with other representatives of trade unions who are here now. I believed then that the occasion afforded us an opportunity to aid in bridging the chasm that exists between the workmen and their employers.

If Andrew Carnegie and the other capitalists have not yet embraced our faith or belief, or unionized their mills, can anybody say that this will not yet be done? The Glass Bottle Blowers Association has been in existence over seventy years, and still we have non-union factories, and we have a few employers who imagine they could sleep more soundly if there were no trades unions on earth; but even so, union conditions govern the industry.

The statement is made here that the

National Civic Federation has never done any good.

Delegate McDonald (D).—I said so far as our organization was concerned.

Vice-President Hayes.—How do we know? Has the National Civic Federation or any other institution that exists fulfilled its mission in this world? Has that institution or any other reached the point of culmination in the course of its existence? Has it? On the other hand, did the organization you represent, or any other body of men, appoint representatives to investigate the National Civic Federation? Or, did it pass its own verdict, bring it here and say "This settles it!"

I say from my own experience with the National Civic Federation that it has done good. I know where it has done good. But that is not the point. Whether it has done good in the past does not really matter. It is committed to things for which we stand. It is committed to trade agreements and appointed and employed one of the foremost labor men in this country to encourage the trade agreement system in the different industries. You know the action which his organization took in regard to John Mitchell.

I cannot approve the action against him, for I believe that his work would have widened our opportunity to spread the gospel of trade unionism. We must teach—we must educate the antagonistic employer, the enemies of organized labor, upon the justice of our cause, and we stand in our own light when we obstruct any avenue that offers us opportunities in this direction.

All this talk about chloroforming the representatives of organized labor, blinding them—why, one would think we were still in knickerbockers! If we are so easily chloroformed and blinded we would like to learn something here from the opponents of the National Civic Federation. We are here to learn. Chloroformed! Blinded! There is not a particle of truth in that statement. Take our record for the past twenty-five or thirty years in conferences with the employers, and tell me if we have ever cringed before or bent the knee to employers of labor? Chloroformed! Blinded! Bywords, catchwords, gotten up to appeal to prejudice. When you say that to us we want you to come forward with the evidence. You cannot do it!

A resolution was introduced in the last convention of our organization, ordering me to quit the National Civic Federation—to move out—that I was one of those who had been chloroformed. It would require a whole lot of chloroform to befog my mind into such a condition as to make me think like the man who brought that resolution into our convention. The resolution was overwhelmingly defeated. Chloroformed! Blinded! If this is the case, why do our fellow workmen select us to represent, protect and defend their interests in conference with manufacturers?

If the argument holds that we should leave the National Civic Federation, what about our religious affiliations and our political affiliations? Here again comes in the question of our rights as men and as citizens. The main contention of organized labor from the beginning has been that working men have the right to join any organization that is lawful and peaceful. When we have gone before the public in support of our cause, we base our argument on that fact. Now suppose this convention should pass the resolutions offered against the National Civic Federation, would it not be a restriction upon our liberties? If you should say that we cannot join the National Civic Federation because there are employers in that body who are antagonistic to organized labor, you would recognize that there is reason and logic in the argument of the employer, who says to his employees "You cannot join this trade union! Look who is at the head of it! Its representatives hold views which if put into execution would interfere with my interests; would interfere with my right to run my business as I see fit," and all that kind of claptrap. I fear there are some here who believe that by being members of the National Civic Federation we in some way compromise our trades unionism. I deny that.

I really believe this whole matter is out of order here. If the National Civic Federation is inimical to the interests of organized labor, I surely know enough to leave it and to come here and tell you why I had done so. If there is anything wrong with that body it ought to be exposed; but when you start to expose a thing, and you are addressing intelligent men, a mere statement is not sufficient;

you must come forward with evidence and facts. The mere mention of Andrew Carnegie and other capitalists does not in this case prove anything. To base an argument on the dissipation of wealth, its banquets, its finances, its attitude toward labor is not the question at all. I believe that the mission and the object of organized labor is to make for brotherhood, more love for one another, more charity towards all people. To talk of more democracy and more liberal conditions of employment, and at the same time foment feeling between classes seems to me like a contradiction. It is something I cannot understand. Prejudice should be the furthest thing from our minds in this convention. If we do not believe in class differences and prejudices, let us try to abolish them ourselves. I am in favor absolutely of the report of the committee.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.)—Mr. Chairman, I want to make it clear first that the matter before this convention should not be clouded with other issues, and passion and prejudice should not be aroused by an attempt to make it appear that this is a proposition emanating from Socialists. I am not a member of the Socialist Party, and I am opposed to the report of the committee. I agree with Vice-President Hayes that he has a right to belong to anything he sees fit. He can retain his membership in the National Civic Federation if he desires as an individual and a citizen; he can join the Manufacturers' Association in a like capacity if he believes that it is a good thing; but as a wage earner, as a tax payer to the labor movement, as a member of the labor unions of this country and as a member of an affiliated International Union I have a right to give expression to my opinion as to whether it is good or bad for the labor movement and union men and women for our official staff to belong to the National Civic Federation.

I do not believe in attempting in any way to appeal to men's prejudices; but the Miners' Union in this country has in the last eleven years spent ten million dollars in defense of our right to organize and to secure what we believe is our right and a fair share of the results of our labor. That money has been spent for strikes alone, not counting the other cost to our membership. I am not going

to discuss Andrew Carnegie, because he spends very little of his time in this country, only long enough to come over here and donate for charitable purposes some of the money I believe he is illegally taking from the wage earners of the United States.

Let me call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to something else. In the year 1908 we had a strike in the State of Alabama, a strike for our right to organize and to improve the working conditions of our people in that State. That year our fight was not against the independent coal operators of that state, our real fight was against the United States Steel Corporation, because that is the largest mining interest in that state and dictated the policy of the mine owners of Alabama. We find, according to this record of the National Civic Federation, that Mr. Henry Phipps is a member of the Executive Committee on behalf of the employers, and he is recorded here in this same volume as being a director of the United States Steel Corporation, address New York City. I cannot understand how under those circumstances that gentleman can be in harmony with the trade agreement idea or with the purposes of organized labor, when on the other hand he sits in the councils of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation to outline a policy to crush the Miners' organization in Alabama, and that was done with the assistance of the Governor of that State.

Those of you who know anything about the conflict in Alabama that year know that by orders of the Governor the tents we had furnished and erected on grounds we had leased were cut down by the soldiers of that state, working in conjunction with the policy of the United States Steel Corporation. I do not understand where the consistency of these men lies if they are in favor of union labor on the one hand, sitting in a meeting in New York with members of the National Civic Federation, and on the other hand go out and crush organized labor.

We find here another gentleman who is a member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation from Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. Mather. Is there anybody in this hall who will attempt to defend his record as applied to organized labor on the docks of the Great Lakes? I

want to find out why it is that they have crushed organized labor everywhere along the docks.

Here is another member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation of Labor on behalf of the employers, Mr. Vanderlip, of New York. What is his position? He is President of the National City Bank. What is the National City Bank? It is the center that practically controls all the industries and the transportation system of the United States. Does anybody believe for a minute that Mr. Vanderlip's sympathies are with organized labor? I want to have, as stated by Vice-President Hayes, detailed, specific statements from men of the Civic Federation to show where those men have gone out and thrown the weight of their influence on the side of the working men in the contests that have taken place. I judge men, not by their association for a day or two, I judge men by what they actually do. And it may be interesting for this convention to know that when the United States Steel Corporation had issued its mandate that the Amalgamated Association had to be exterminated from every iron, steel and tin mill in this country, at the same time, according to the very best and most reliable information I have, they were contributing two thousand dollars a year to the support of the National Civic Federation. I do not see the consistency in the position of men who take the stand that the National Civic Federation has done good for the labor movement and is determined to continue to do good.

What is the first declaration in 1900 of the National Civic Federation? It states here, "First, that employers and wage earners should enter into annual or semi-annual agreements or contracts. Why did they change that next year? There is a clear-cut declaration which was a part of their purpose in 1900. In 1901 that language was changed. It was too plain. Then we find, "the scope and province of this Department shall be to do what may seem best to promote the industrial peace and prosperity." Who are going to be the judges as to what may seem best?

This Executive Committee is composed of men representing the public, composed of men representing employers of labor who have been always antagonistic, and

composed of representatives of labor unions. There are three elements. If you will look over their names and investigate their records you will find the representatives of labor, to begin with, are handicapped by a vote of two to one, if even they were to vote on a question.

This continues, "To be helpful in establishing rightful relations between employers and workers." What are "rightful relations?" Who is to be the judge of what rightful relations are? The employers of labor? Retired capitalists representing the public, or we as the wage earners? I say we are better able to determine what the rightful relations are than the other fellows who are employing us.

It continues, "By its good offices to endeavor to obviate and prevent strikes and lockouts, and to aid in renewing the industrial relations where a rupture has occurred." Quite a difference in the opening declaration of 1901 and the opening declaration of 1900! They say things but they don't do things—that is the criticism we have. And what is true of Alabama is true of the coke regions of Pennsylvania; it is true of the Norfolk and Western Field of West Virginia; it is true of every section where the United States Steel Corporation controls, except where we are able by our own strength to compel them to recognize our right to organize and make contracts.

I am opposed, not to the individual belonging to the Civic Federation if he wants to; that is his business; but I am opposed to officials of the American Federation of Labor continuing their membership in the National Civic Federation. You would not be wanted there if you did not have an official title behind your name. They do not allow the men in the ranks to come to their meetings, take part in their discussions and ventilate their grievances. Not at all. There isn't anything at all in this volume that shows they discuss the industrial conditions; in fact, they declare it is not their purpose to handle abstract industrial propositions. What are we interested in if not in the questions that directly concern our surroundings, our earning power and the conditions of employment where we are working? And it is not fair to discuss these questions except from the standpoint of what those men have act-

ually done. They have had ten years experience. Time to do something, and I want to know what they have done so far as establishing trade agreements between the organizations is concerned.

Brother McDonald has stated that we are instructed on this proposition. That is true, and in order that there may be no misunderstanding I want to inform this delegation that this question was brought to the attention of our convention one year ago last January through correspondence received by the President of the organization, but the matter was deferred or no action taken until January of this year. If you want to find out how intensely our people feel on this question, go out among the miners of the country who have contributed these millions in defense of their organization. You would be convinced.

I hope that this convention will keep in mind that our officials, the members of the Executive Council, while we have no right to dictate to them what they do in their individual or their citizenship capacity, we have a right to say to them how they shall represent our interests in defending our rights as wage workers and union men.

Vice-President Mitchell—As one delegate to the American Federation of Labor who is under instructions to vote in favor of a resolution carrying into effect the purposes of the resolution adopted by the Miners' convention, and as a man who perhaps more than any other man in this convention has been affected by the action of the Miners' convention, I want to have a few words to say.

First, let me ask that you be patient with me if I pursue my argument beyond the time determined by the rules of the convention.

I helped to organize the National Civic Federation. I helped to write its laws. The President of the American Federation of Labor, some other representatives of labor and myself wrote the declarations declaring for the trade agreement. For eight of the ten long years I was President of the United Mine Workers of America I was also a member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation; and I make the statement now that no organization in the history of America ever grew so fast or secured so many advantages in the same

period of time as while I was President of the Miners' Union and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. Indeed, I make the statement, and I defy contradiction, that the United Mine Workers of America, with its average increase of twenty-seven thousand members a year during that period, has not grown one member since the day I left official position; and all this progress and achievement were made while I was supposed to be suffering under the effects of chloroform administered by the National Civic Federation.

It is said we spent \$10,000,000 in strike benefits. Yes, we did. I presume those figures are correct, but I assume we would have spent the \$10,000,000 if the Civic Federation had never been dreamed of. But there is another statement that must go along with the declaration that we spent \$10,000,000 in strike benefits. The statement must be made that we gained \$500,000,000 in increased wages. It was a fine investment, an investment that the miners of the United States would be glad to make over again!

Now, I am a member of a great many organizations, and some of them count among their members and officers many of the same men who are officers, members or directors of the National Civic Federation. If you will be patient I will read the names of a few of the various organizations with which I am now and have been for many years connected: National Conference of Charities and Corrections; National Women's Trade Union League; Committee of One Hundred on National Health; The National Child Labor Committee; Child Conference for Research and Welfare; Commission to Inquire into the Question of Employers' Liability and into the Causes and Effects of Unemployment in the State of New York; American Association for Labor Legislation; Equal Franchise Society; Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace; The Civic Forum; The People's Institute, New York City; Citizens' Recreation Committee; Society for the Promotion of Social and Industrial Peace; American Peace Society; National Conservation Commission; The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Society; Lecturer in the Course in Pastoral Functions, Yale Divinity School, Yale University; American Red Cross Society; National Society

for Promotion of Industrial Education; National Committee on Prison Labor; North American Civic League for Immigrants; Committee on Safety of the City of New York; Travelers Aid Society of New York.

Those I have selected from among a large number in which I am a member or director, and upon the executive committees of most of those associations are to be found the names of men who are on the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation; and who is there who would say I should withdraw my name and my influence from the splendid work those various associations have undertaken to do?

I said that for eight years of the ten years I was President of the United Mine Workers of America I was also a member of the National Civic Federation. The miners of the United States were well aware of my connection with the National Civic Federation. It was a matter of common knowledge. It had been brought to their attention on more than one occasion. Did they object? Not an objection of any moment was ever heard from the miners to my connection with the National Civic Federation. As a matter of fact, it was not until after I left the presidency of the United Mine Workers that a movement was started, not to take me out of the National Civic Federation, but to drive me out of the United Mine Workers of America. The movement did succeed, I am free to confess, in imposing upon me some hardships, in placing me in the position of either having to give up my employment, give up an association I regarded as honorable and helpful, or give up membership in the Union, the Union I have done so much to build, the Union that, unconsciously and perhaps incorrectly, I had learned to regard largely as a child of my own creation. However, to the disappointment of those who thought I would regard lightly my membership in that union, I gave up any position in order that I might continue to pay dues to the Union.

But, let me call attention to the fact that even after I left the Presidency of the United Mine Workers of America I had not lost the confidence of the miners. Indeed, at the very convention that amended the constitution and adopted

these resolutions there was a report made of the ballots cast in the election of officers. Now you would naturally imagine that if representation in the National Civic Federation affected the standing of members of the Union, the members of the Miners' Union would have expressed their opposition when they had an opportunity of casting their votes. But what did they do? In keeping with their usual custom they gave to me the highest vote cast for any candidate for election as delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. In that recorded vote 113,285 votes were cast for me, which is over 27,000 more votes than were secured by the next highest candidate, and 59,924 more than were received by the candidate elected as delegate to this convention, who had the lowest number of votes. Is that not an evidence of the confidence of the miners? Can it be construed by any flight of imagination as an indication that the miners had lost confidence in me because I was an officer of the National Civic Federation?

The National Civic Federation of which I was a member, I am no longer connected with, and I presume I never shall be again. It would not have required the amendment to our constitution to have me give up my membership in the National Civic Federation. The resolution would have done it just as well, because I would not have continued my membership in the National Civic Federation after a resolution had been passed by my organization denouncing it as unfair to organized labor.

I can truthfully say that, so far as my knowledge of the National Civic Federation goes, never by one act has it placed itself in opposition to the ideals of organized labor. It is very well to point out the names of men who do not stand well and who perhaps deservedly stand badly in the estimation of the organized workingmen; but I say that common justice demands that we shall give to those employers of labor who have been in constant agreement with their workmen, who year after year make contracts with the representatives of organized labor, credit for what they have done. And among that group of men who are classed as employers there are many who have been continually in agreement with their organized workmen.

Mr. Carnegie! I am not here to defend Mr. Carnegie. God forbid that I should ever say one word in defense of a man who has struck a blow at organized labor. Yet Mr. Carnegie would tell you, if he were here, that he was not responsible for the riot at Homestead. I do not know as to the truth of his statements, but I only know he says himself that during his ownership of the Carnegie Mills he always had contracts with the Amalgamated Association, but during his absence in Europe Mr. Frick, perhaps the blackest and most relentless enemy of organized labor on this continent, took advantage of his absence and sought to scab the Homestead Mills. I don't know whether Mr. Carnegie tells the truth or not, I only know that that is what he says.

Mr. Carnegie may be a controlling factor in the United States Steel Corporation. However, my information is that he is a bondholder. And while I am not an expert in the management of corporations, my information is that bondholders are not directors and have nothing to say as to doing his absence in Europe. Mr. Phipps, was a member and an officer of the National Civic Federation. But let me say, there is something that has not been said, and that is that following the Alabama strike Mr. Phipps was required to resign his membership in the National Civic Federation; and Mr. Elliot, of Harvard University, another one of those who lost no opportunity to assail the ideals of organized labor, was also required to give up his membership on the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. There is much to be said in order that the truth may be known and in order that the delegates to the Convention may cast their votes in accordance with the facts.

I am not going to talk on abstract propositions. I am not going even to suggest for the credit of the National Civic Federation those numerous settlements made by organized labor as a result of conferences secured by the representatives of the National Civic Federation, but I want to refer to a few specific instances in which I myself participated. It is true they did not involve millions of men, but they do indicate the real purpose of that organization. While I was chairman of the Trade Agreement Department, in the employ of the National Civic Federation, a dispute arose on

the street car lines of the Scranton Street Railway Company. I was selected, as chairman of the Trade Agreement Department, as umpire in that dispute. The decision was absolutely in favor of the men. Shortly thereafter I was called on to arbitrate a dispute between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the Printing Pressmen's International Union, and the decision was unequivocally in favor of the Union. In fact, it was so much in their favor that the Publishers took an appeal, as they had a right to do under the terms of their contract, and my decision was reversed by one of the Supreme Court judges of the State of New York. That perhaps suggests to my mind that instead of being an impartial arbitrator my prejudice in favor of the Union had carried me beyond the safety line. Again, a dispute arose between the Tobacco Workers and the cigar manufacturers of Boston. Mr. Gompers represented the workers, a manufacturer represented the employers, and I refereed the dispute. That decision was written by Mr. Gompers. The manufacturer saw him write it, and the workmen are employed now, with my concurrence, under the terms of the agreement written by Mr. Gompers.

Now, just one other instance, before I speak of how the resolution was passed by the Miners' Convention. The last legislature in the State of New York enacted a comprehensive factory law, a law drawn by a commission of which I was a member, and which had on it also some of the same men who are on the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. The bill appealed to the organized workmen of New York, and they gave it their support. It was passed and sent to the Governor. The Governor, in accordance with his prejudice or perhaps in accordance with his policy of financial retrenchment, decided to veto the bill. An appeal was made to one of the great financiers of New York, a member of the National Civic Federation, the much-denounced August Belmont. August Belmont went to the Governor and asked him to sign that law, and the Governor signed it. That was not an evidence of hostility; that was regarded by those who knew of it as an evidence of friendship. I have here a letter written by a member of the Legislature who introduced the bill, extending his thanks to the National Civic Federation because of August Belmont's action.

How does this resolution come here? How

does this resolution come here? Is it the expression of a majority of the delegates duly elected at the last annual Convention of the United Mine Workers of America? I say to you, and I am prepared to prove, that it is not. I say that a sufficient number of men voted for the resolution amending the constitution who were never elected by local Unions of the United Mine Workers of America, to secure its adoption. I say that I suspected when the action was taken, and I now know, that a large number of delegates, about fifty from one district alone—a large number of men, not delegates elected by local Unions—sat in that Convention with credentials fraudulently furnished to them and cast the votes that sent the resolution to this convention denouncing the National Civic Federation.

And, gentlemen, it is through action of that kind that I am compelled to sit here and cast my vote in opposition to the Committee's report. Some may say, "Why yield to these mandates?" Because I am a Union man. For the same reason that I said when they passed the resolution amending the Constitution, "My Union, May she ever be right, but right or wrong, my Union."

Let me first absolve, for fear misunderstanding may arise, my friend Duncan McDonald from any knowledge of the circumstances which I have just related; but I shall not soon forget, because of the sting in my heart, as long as God gives me life, I shall remember the circumstances surrounding me at the time this action was taken. Was I asked to come to the Convention to say a word in my own defense? No. No, those who conspired for this act waited until my hands were tied behind my back, waited until the government had figuratively placed its clutches on me, waited until I was seated in the Supreme Court room of the United States listening to the enemies of labor denouncing my associates and myself because of our advocacy of the cause of organized labor. And as we sat there, tied hand and foot, that was the day and that was the time that this resolution was passed.

Gentlemen, let no man misunderstand the purpose of this statement. It is not done to censure the members of my Union, because I am proud to say there are no better men, no more generous men, no more just men than comprise the membership of the United Mine Workers of America. I owe

much to them, and I should be the last one on earth to cast aspersions upon them, and I would not advert to the subject surrounding the passage of this resolution were it not that I now have the full knowledge that the resolution was passed with the votes of men who had no right to seats as delegates in the Miners' Convention.

I would like, in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to what I have said, that a record of at least that part of my address dealing with the packing of the Miners' Convention shall be furnished, either in the daily minutes or directly to the delegates from the Miners' Union; because there is much I could say in connection with it; there is much I expect to say. I believe that in passing upon this, gentlemen, it should be passed upon without regard to the personalities of the labor men who sit as executive officers of the National Civic Federation. It should be passed on with the unbiased purpose of what will be for the greatest good of the men of labor. We should have, of course, due regard for that principle of organized labor that gives to its members, that guarantees and conserves to its members the widest possible civil, religious and social liberty.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—I desire to ask the last speaker a question, with his permission. Delegate Mitchell made the statement that he had proof now that there were delegates seated in the last annual Convention of the United Mine Workers who had no right to be seated. If that is correct, I will ask him if he will furnish it to our next Convention when it meets?

Vice-President Mitchell—I shall be delighted to furnish the evidence on which my statements are made.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—I believe Brother Mitchell made it plain, and I want to make it more emphatic, that if there was any packing in that Convention—and while I suspected it at that time, I knew nothing about it, so far as proof is concerned—if he furnishes that evidence I believe he knows me well enough to be assured that I will go as far in having it cleared up as any delegate in that Convention. When the motion was made instructing the delegates to bring the resolution to this Convention, if they were all bought and paid for, about four-fifths of our delegates must have been bought and paid for.

At 12:40 the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2:20 p. m. of the same day.

Eighth Day--Tuesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:20 p. m., Tuesday, November 21st, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: Pfell, Coakley, Dold, Gaviak, Ryan (Ed. H.), Kelly (William E.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schneider, Hobbs, Davis (Wm. A.), Wangberg, Welsh (Edward F.), Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Cornette, Lebowitz, Schaub.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"New Orleans, La., Nov. 20, 1911.

"Hon. Samuel Gompers,
President American Federation of Labor,
Atlanta, Ga.

"My Dear Mr. Gompers:

"Urgent business of the Farmers' Union compels me to absent myself from further attendance upon the sessions of the Federation of Labor, a fact which I regret keenly. I have watched with interest and profit the growth of your splendid organization and appreciate to the farthest the mission it is accomplishing. I sincerely trust your sessions will be fruitful in good results and abundantly productive of good to the great cause in which you are enlisted. With best wishes, I am

"Very truly yours,
"C. S. BARRETT."

President Gompers—The question before the house is the recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions, and the substitute for the resolutions on the National Civic Federation. Are you ready for the question?

Delegate Abell—Is it the sense of the resolutions to restrict the action of the individual, or to restrict the action of the official, or to restrict the action collectively of the persons who hold positions both as officials and as individuals? What position does the chair understand the resolution to take?

President Gompers—That is an abstract proposition. The resolutions are before the house. The recommendation of the committee is before the house, and until it is finally adopted it is not within the province of the chair to place an interpretation on it. He cannot place an interpretation on an unadopted resolution. I think it is only fair that the entire

subject shall again be read. There will then be no misunderstanding.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, read Resolutions Nos. 10, 13 and 126, and the report of the committee.

Delegate Abell—The resolution presents the idea of the condemnation of the existence of the National Civic Federation. Then it takes up the question of the control of the individual or the official. The resolution does not state specifically the action desired in that respect. In the preamble of our constitution of the A. F. of L., we allow the individual his personal liberty in every respect. As an official we control that liberty. I cannot see where in the resolution is consistent in that respect, as long as it does not specifically state whether the ruling is asked in regard to our officials as officials of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate McCullough (E. S.)—Mr. Chairman, being a representative from the United Mine Workers, and one who attached his name to that resolution, I feel like expressing my views on the matter in a brief way. So far as the National Civic Federation is concerned it differs only in form with many other methods that have been used during the past ages to deal with the problem of capital and labor. From the beginning of time, or so far as we have any recollection or knowledge of the struggle of humanity, we find various means and divers ways employed to deal with these conflicting interests. We have as one militant force on the economic field the Manufacturers' Association, which employs the method of extermination. We have the other, the Civic Federation, that employs the more enlightened and up-to-date method of mutual assimilation. Each has its own way of dealing with this great problem of the wage-worker and the employer of labor; but so far as their methods have been employed in the past and so far as their methods will be employed in the future, in my opinion, it all depends upon

the economic strength of the wage-working class of this country as to what they will secure on the economic field. Just in proportion to the wage-workers' strength on the economic field will these chloroforming agencies be employed.

That word "chloroforming" has been resurrected and brought in use here and much comment has been made upon it. Whether or not the men who sit in that august body are being hypnotized or chloroformed, the wage-workers of this country do not propose to have the hypodermic run into them and the anesthetic administered by any one on that board. The wage-workers of this country are beginning to realize that if they gain anything on the economic field or the political field they must be united, and by their united political and economic power receive from the employers of labor that which rightfully belongs to them.

Take the history of every strike and every settlement that has been made in this country and you will find that the employer of labor never was willing to go into the halls of peace and fight it out there until he had been licked to a standstill on the economic field, or had measured the strength and power of organized labor on the economic field. They will only arbitrate, they will only grant to us those things our power allows us to take. Some of the speakers have claimed the right to join any society they choose. I believe the men who work and toil should have a voice in the affairs of this organization and that they should express their approval or disapproval of the methods of organization. I grant that any representative of labor has a right to belong to any organization he believes in, just so long as that organization is not opposed to or comes in contact with the principles of the wage-working class of this country. I believe the rank and file, the men who pay to this organization to keep up the officers who are the servants of the men who make this great organization, have the right to say: "You shall not belong to this organization." We have right in our individual capacity or as citizens of this country to belong to what we want to; but when we represent the men who toil, the men who struggle, the men who battle for their bread and butter in this world, they are the ones to tell us wheth-

er or not we should belong to such organizations as they deem inimical to their interests.

I don't know of any representative who belongs to the Civic Federation who ever came to their organization and asked for privilege to belong to it. They took the initiative. We have no criticism to offer as to the character of the labor representatives who sit in that council. We are not bringing any charges or any impeachment in any way against the integrity or the honesty of these men. What we claim is that the policy is wrong and that nothing can be secured from, by and through the methods of such men as represent the employers of labor, and the retired capitalists who represent the public. Their very lives have grown in an atmosphere hostile to the best interests of the wage-workers of the country. These men have no sympathy with us. They do not understand our wants and our rights. They have been raised in a world different from ours. They do not know the smell of powder smoke, they know nothing of toil in the mine, the mill or the factory, and they are not in sympathy with the wage-working class.

What does it mean to submit to them our proposition? I know that it has been said that peace hath her victories no less than war, but I want to say to you that when you take the history of the labor movement, you will have to admit we were more often defeated in the halls of peace than on the economic battlefield. We have lost when these men of keen mind have passed upon our claims in the halls of peace. And many a grand and glorious victory won on the economic battlefield has been lost in the halls of peace. Gentlemen, we will only secure that which we are strong enough to take. And I don't know that anything given to us would be worth the having. I have been in these conflicts all my life. I have met in these conferences for many years. I have listened to discussions and everything we have gained has been based upon the measurement of our strength and power. When we were weak no attention was given us. If we are strong enough to take they are willing to arbitrate and compromise.

So far as the United Mine Workers' Convention is concerned it was not a personal question. It may have been to some. No doubt it was. But in the

great majority our Convention unanimously repudiated the Civic Federation. When it came to a division on the amendment to our constitution, many men believed it was casting reflection upon ex-President Mitchell and voted against the constitutional amendment. They said, as Mr. Mitchell has said here, that it was unnecessary, that all our Convention would have had to do would have been to express its displeasure of the Civic Federation and he would have resigned at once. Our people have confidence in Mr. Mitchell, as he said. His election as a delegate here has shown that it was not a personal question at all, because his personal friends voted to repudiate the National Civic Federation. It was not a question at all of Mr. Mitchell, it was a question of the growing sentiment of the coal miners, the men who worked at the pick, who believed the Civic Federation was but a chloroforming agency.

If we are going into diplomatic relations, if we are going to settle our differences in the halls of peace, then why assess our members to secure money to send organizers out to strengthen our forces on the economic field? Why don't those great friends of labor come to our rescue with their power to settle those questions? But, as has been said by a great many, "God save us from our friends," and when it comes to labor dealing with these great economic questions we can apply that to the men who claim to be friends to the labor movement and sit in that council. Their money is wrung from the blood and sweat of the workers. Let them make reparation, let them go back and take care of the widow and orphan whose husband and father they have killed. Then we as a militant force on the economic field will welcome them into the realms of peace legislation with the wage workers of this country. But so long as they are giving \$2,000 a year to the cause of peace and spending millions in crushing labor, gentlemen, we don't believe in their sincerity.

There is a difference between the Manufacturers' Association and the National Civic Federation. We know where the manufacturers are. They are hostile, bitter and antagonistic to human interests and the wage-workers. We know them. The others we do not. They come

in the guise of sheep, but many of them are wolves in sheep's clothing. No doubt there are men on that board who are there honestly and truly for the benefit of the wage-working class; but as one member of the working class I want to say to you that I have no faith in these great employers of labor giving anything to the wage-working class only a sufficient amount to keep them quiet and from rising in their might and strength and power and shaking off the shackles that have bound them for so many years.

That is my private opinion, publicly expressed. There is nothing personal in this. When we are organized strong enough, when our men have come together in sufficient force and power to make themselves felt on the economic field, they are always willing to give to us that which belongs to us, but until we do there will be nothing but deferred hopes and blasted ambitions from what they intend to give us through the halls of peace.

Vice-President O'Connell—I had hoped during this discussion that if there was any evidence to be had it would be brought out. The resolution is of a denunciatory character, in the broad way it stamps with disapproval the National Civic Federation. It is to be expected that those who introduced the resolution would give us something that would warrant us in voting in support of their resolution, some evidence of the unfair character and makeup of the National Civic Federation.

I am not now a member of the National Civic Federation, although I was for a number of years. I was one of the early members of the National Civic Federation, when it was known only as a local organization in the city of Chicago, before it moved to New York and became of a national character. I know something of its early history and its associations. I know something of the benefit it has been to me and to the trade in the organization I represent. I have attended its conferences and I have attended some of its dinners, not all of them.

If you propose to denounce a man or men in an association and declare them unfair, there should be some evidence to substantiate that sort of thing. The broad assertion that the National Civic Federation is inimical to the best inter-

ests of labor and that it is fostered and maintained and financed by the enemies of labor, is not shown here. The mere fact that there may be one or two or a dozen men associated with that body whose past records may show unfriendliness towards labor, unfairness towards labor, does not indicate by any means that the institution or the association is unfair in any way. The mere fact that Mr. Carnegie is associated in some way with the National Civic Federation, and according to one of the gentlemen who has addressed us today, is a bad man, a bad actor, does not prove to me that the National Civic Federation in itself or its makeup is a bad thing.

If a preacher falls from grace, as he does sometimes, it is no indication that we should tear the churches down. If a union man becomes intoxicated it is no evidence that the union is drunk. And because Mr. Carnegie and other men whose names have been mentioned, and some whose names have not been mentioned, are associated with the National Civic Federation, is no evidence at all to me that the principle and purposes for which the National Civic Federation was organized, and so far as I know stands, are not good things.

Some few years ago the men of my trade in the part of the country where our Convention is now being held, the southeast territory, were involved in a great railroad strike. All the way from Washington to New Orleans the roads were tied up. They fought for months. No adjustment of the strike could be brought about. Conferences were finally broken off. We fought and spent out money. Thorough the good offices of the National Civic Federation President, then Mr. Seth Low, a conference was arranged for with the Southern Railroad Company representatives in the city of New York. I went to New York, taking with me a delegation of our own men from the system. Through the good offices of the Civic Federation an adjustment of that strike was brought about, and today it is a union system all the way through. There is not one non-union machinist employed on that railway system, not one non-union man in the mechanical department.

There have been other conferences brought about through the officers of

that organization. They have brought us in conference with our employers throughout the country with whom we had fallen out.

A bank was spoken of this morning as the institution that finances the corporations of this country. Settlements in this part of the country were gone about and the men are in full contract and agreement with the railways. Is there any evidence there of unfairness? Is there any evidence of being chloroformed? The hours have been shortened, the wages increased and their working conditions have been improved. Only this last year we met in joint conference and a joint agreement between all our organizations was brought about in one conference in the city of Washington, settling all this territory in the very short period of a couple of weeks.

This thing of denouncing men and denouncing associations is most popular with some men. It is very easy to throw mud, and if you throw it continually some of it is bound to stick some place; and it is the habit and becoming the custom for some men in the labor movement and for some alleged newspapers in the labor movement, to continually throw mud and hammer men and denounce men and misrepresent men and poison the minds of the members of the organizations against their officers with no evidence of wrong, with no evidence of weakness on their part at all; but simply to destroy them because they may not agree with them on some economic matters, because they may not believe with them on political matters.

I do not think I disgraced myself or my organization by sitting down in a hotel and eating dinner in a room as big as this hall, where there were millionaires and paupers—I include myself in the latter class—any more than if I would sit down to dinner with Mr. Carnegie at a church fair. I have the same right to sit at a church luncheon or at a banquet or anywhere else I think I can be of service to the men I represent in the labor movement.

This organization, the American Federation of Labor, may have the power to pass resolutions here declaring the officers cannot belong to the National Civic Federation or any other association. They may have the power to say they shall not belong—whether they have

the right or not is another question. You have the power to say the President of the American Federation shall wear a wooden leg if you want to. You have the power, if you desire, to say that he must be red-headed, but whether you have a right to do those things or not is another question. If you are going to curtail the liberties, the rights and the possibilities of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and from the American Federation of Labor, of course, will go back to the International Union the atmosphere created here, naturally they will follow in your footsteps.

If the power and influence of the leaders of the labor movement are going to be curtailed here at the whim of some few men who come here to denounce us, they should at least give some reasons for doing it. I know of nothing in all my associations in the National Civic Federation where we did not see that our interests were taken care of, rather than leave these things alone to be taken care of by the enemies themselves. We have discussed the labor question with the men on the other side in the National Civic Federation, and I think I may safely say that the men who have been on the Executive Board of the National Civic Federation from the labor organizations have been fully able to take care of their side.

Yes, go ahead; Pass your resolutions! Denounce right and left! Come back next time and denounce somebody else or some other association! It is easy to pass resolutions, but they mean nothing. Some of them are not worth the paper they are written on. They only furnish an opportunity to give vent to somebody's feelings! I believe the National Civic Federation or something of the kind—I don't care what you call it, a rose by any other name would be just as sweet, it would be a rose just the same—has possibilities and opportunities of extending our opportunities and our benefits. There are opportunities there of meeting men you cannot meet elsewhere, and trying to inject into their make-up some knowledge of what the labor movement stands for.

I am not afraid to trust my interests in the hands of the leaders in the labor movement. I prefer to have them do it rather than to have some shyster lawyer,

or mushroom organization, or seceding organization do it. I want the leaders to do it. Make your leaders responsible, authorize them, hold them responsible. If you don't do that you have no right to criticize. They are breaking no rule, they are breaking no law, they are breaking no resolution that has been passed. But be careful that you do not overstep the bounds of propriety in this matter and do something that may pull down on your own heads the house you have erected. There is danger ahead. Today you say your officers cannot belong to the National Civic Federation. Next time you may say they have got to be Catholics or Protestants. Then the next time you will say they have got to be democrats or socialists. And the next time you may come back and say something else, and after while you will have rebellion in your ranks. The wisest policy is to move along lines of least resistance, and the least resistance in this case would be for the men who introduced those resolutions to investigate and then come back and show us something wrong in the Civic Federation besides mentioning a number of men's names.

I believe the report of the committee is correct at this time. No evidence has been shown that the National Civic Federation is anything except what it stands for. The fact that there are in its ranks some men who may be unalterably opposed to organized labor means nothing. Until something is shown other than has been shown by the authors of the resolution, I am going to maintain the position I have taken, and support the report of the committee.

Delegate Wilson (W. B.)—Like a number of those who have preceded me I represent the United Mine Workers of America and consequently am instructed to support resolutions of a character represented in these three. And yet I doubt whether the instruction goes sufficiently far to authorize me to vote for either one of the resolutions. It will be observed that each one of them not only deals with the officers of this organization, but with the membership as well. I believe that this organization has a perfect power within itself to determine what the qualifications of its officers shall be. The fundamental right to define it along the lines here expressed

is another proposition. But I positively deny that this organization has any right to determine the qualifications for membership in the United Mine Workers of America or any other affiliated organization. If we have the right to define the qualifications for membership in the United Mine Workers, then we have the same right to remove disqualifications. If we have a right to say to the membership of that organization, "You must not belong to the National Civic Federation," then we have the same right to say to that organization, "You must repeal that portion of your law which prohibits your membership from belonging to the National Civic Federation," and I do not believe my instructions carry me far enough to take that ground. Nevertheless I will give to my organization the benefit of the doubt, and when this question comes to an issue will vote in opposition to the report of the committee.

In discussing this question I will endeavor to be as impersonal as it is possible for me to be under the circumstances, where the sole issue presented to the Convention is the personnel of a portion of the National Civic Federation. The National Civic Federation has two very definite and distinct purposes. One of them is to provide a forum where the viewpoints of all men representing various lines of ideas may be presented to the world; and the other purpose is to foster, as far as possible, collective bargaining. Both of these purposes, in my judgment, should be taken advantage of by the American Federation of Labor and every organization affiliated with it. It may be the benefits derived therefrom will not be great; it may be that the influences there exerted may not redound to the benefit of all our industrial organizations; but it must be admitted by those who have observed the workings of the Civic Federation that at least some good has come from it and that no harm has come.

There have been statements made on the floor of this Convention that if any man demonstrated that the Civic Federation had at any time been of benefit to the labor movement it would not be condemned. Other statements have simply alleged that certain individuals who are associated and connected with the

Civic Federation are also directors of large industrial institutions where the conditions of workers are deplorable. And there has not been a statement made upon the floor of this Convention relative to the condition of the workers in the plants mentioned that has been overdrawn. I have seen those conditions myself; I have been in some of those fights that have been mentioned, and I know that the picture of the horrible conditions of the workers in the plants of the United States Steel Corporation have not been overdrawn. I know that similar conditions exist in the plants of other corporations, and I have noticed in the past where the owners of the plants have been grinding down to the very lowest possible standard of existence those toilers who produce their wealth. And yet when those conditions existed we have gone out, using every means within our power, to seek a conference with those individuals so that we might enter into trade agreements with them and better the conditions of those who were toiling under those circumstances. And if it is an advantage, and I assert it is, to have those trade agreements, then every movement that tends to bring about those trade agreements should be fostered. It is no argument to say that those men are responsible for those horrible conditions. Every man who is a representative of an international trade organization on this floor knows that men who have any part of the control of those corporations where those conditions prevail should not be avoided, we should get as near to him as possible in order to change those conditions.

The National Civic Federation has given an opportunity of that kind. It is true that those opportunities are limited; but just in so far as they give us any opportunity whatever we ought to avail ourselves of it. I believe that the trade union movement is, or ought to be, aggressive, it ought to utilize every opportunity that presents itself. Anything that tends to move us to a higher standard of living and a higher plane of civilization should be taken advantage of. We cannot afford to refuse to accept any of those opportunities that present themselves. They are too few.

Yes, it is true the conditions exist in

Alabama that have been cited; it is true that conditions of that kind exist in the coke regions of Pennsylvania; it is true that those conditions exist in the steel plants of the country; it is true those conditions exist in many other industries; and it is also true that we will not solve the problem and change those conditions until by some method we are brought into touch with the employers of labor and an opportunity is given us to enter into contractual relations, thereby changing existing conditions.

So while I shall vote against this report of the committee, personally, individually, I heartily concur in it and say to you here and now that if you believe your officials are not trustworthy, that they cannot be trusted to present your viewpoint to the enemy wherever they get the opportunity, then, instead of passing a resolution of that character, the proper thing for you to do is to turn those officials out that you cannot trust and place others in there that you can trust, and make the issue clean-cut, square, open and above board.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I have listened with a great deal of interest to the debate on the question now before the house, and I am frank to admit that from statements that have been made by some of the delegates on the floor I am more firmly convinced than I ever have been before that the National Civic Federation is an economic absurdity. And I want to discuss this question, not from the point of view of any of the resolutions adopted by international organizations or now before this Convention, or aimed at any individual. I have the highest regard for John Mitchell as a union man and a citizen. I can say the same thing for Sam Gompers and other men who are connected with the National Civic Federation. I have a right, however, to disagree with them respecting principles and policies. I will not even admit, although in the Miners' organization there may be factional differences, individual likes and dislikes, that John Mitchell himself built up the United Mine Workers, because I know there are many efficient officials and many of the rank and file who made great sacrifices during the past decade or more in organizing that body, in the

same manner that men in all our international unions have struggled night and day to build up their organizations.

Let it be understood that this is not a fight in which the personalities of delegates are involved. The question is: Is the Civic Federation as at present constituted a benefit to the working people of this country? Neither am I discussing these questions from the point of view that I might be accused of envy in not being a member of the National Civic Federation, for I was given an invitation to join that body by one of its promoters, the late Senator Hanna. I told him no, that the Civic Federation could not change the economic evolution that is going on in this and every other civilized country under the sun, despite the fact that some of the individuals may be more or less in sympathy with our labor movement whose interests are allied on the other side. I believed that then and I am more firmly convinced of it now.

Why was the Civic Federation organized? Fifty years ago when the industries of this country were only being developed, when the tools with which the working class toiled were in a primitive state, there were no class alignments such as we observe under the phenomenal expansion of modern capitalism. Fifty years ago the employer usually was acquainted with or worked with his employees, and it was an easy matter to adjust differences that may have occurred in workshop, factory or mine. But under the inventive genius of our age the primitive tools of production that our grandfathers used become obsolete and were thrown upon the junk heap, to be supplemented by labor saving devices which gradually assimilated capital about them, until it was an impossibility for an individual worker, or a co-partnership of workers, or a company, or even a corporation such as existed immediately preceding the Civil War to own and operate profitably these new machines with which we produce and distribute wealth.

The result was that the companies, co-partnerships and gradually the corporations were merged after the great political campaign of 1896. After the polls were closed and the results were known corporations were merged into trusts and combinations so rapidly that

it was an impossibility for the most careful student of modern economics to follow them. Now with the rapid concentration of capital there arose a new problem that was discussed among the leaders of American finance—the captains of industry, if you please. And they said to themselves, "The people of this country oppose trustification of industry and the abolition of competition. Something must be done, something must be placed on foot to divert the attention of the masses of the people, and particularly the working men who are under the domination of the trusts." From 1896 to 1900, in the space of four years, there were more than five hundred great trusts and combinations of capital organized. These trusts, according to the very best obtainable data today, control more than two-thirds of the manufacturing capital in America. As these trusts were formed and broke down and drove out of existence independent concerns their monopoly became more pronounced and a great outcry went abroad in the land. Anti-trust agitation was started, and some of the political demagogues came out and made promises to the American people—and I refer to demagogues who stood for the presidency down to the constable of your village—that if elected to power they would see that this burden that was heaped upon the people of America in the shape of over-capitalization of these trusts would be materially lightened, either through federal regulation or "busting" the trusts. Up to date I don't believe any of us were compelled to duck our heads to keep from being hit by flying pieces of trusts! It is true several of the trusts were smashed by a Supreme Court decision. The Standard Oil combination, the Tobacco Trust were smashed, but I have not yet heard that John D. Rockefeller has been compelled to knock at the door of the infirmary in Cleveland to ask for a hand-out, or that the Tobacco Trust magnates have distributed their trust stocks among their employees who produce the wealth for them.

So they said, "In view of the intensified struggle between the two elements in wealth production, the owners of labor power and the owners of capital, that is inevitable we will prepare for the future." And they did. They organized

the National Civic Federation with the distinct purpose in view of attempting to appease the demands of the workers for more of the wealth they knew they were producing; but which wealth, by some subtle method known only to capitalism was extorted from the miner, the worker in the factory, the shop, on the farm, and piled up for a comparatively few individuals. These five hundred trusts were organized. If I am not mistaken, in previous Conventions, particularly in Detroit and in Kansas City, we discussed this thing, and I know there are delegates on this floor right now who ridiculed the idea of American industry becoming centralized and monopolized in our own life time. And yet today the leading capitalist newspapers, The New York Sun, The Cleveland Leader and other publications have printed the statement that John D. Rockefeller controls more than five billion dollars of capital, that J. P. Morgan, through his interests, controls more than eight billions of capital. Then we have the Carnegies, the Goulds, the Vanderbilts and various other of the new American nobility, who likewise control billions of this capital.

And as the power of these combinations has increased just so much more of a bludgeon was placed in the control of J. P. Morgan—who is the walking delegate of American capitalism—to be used against the working class when they make a demand for better conditions. In this short period of half a century the wealth production of the workers of this country has increased enormously. In 1850 and 1852, when the first figures were collected in the matter of the production of wealth, the workers received about 80 per cent, but steadily the ratio has gone towards zero, until today it is estimated that the worker receives only about 17 per cent. Today the worker, as has been demonstrated by statistical information, produces more than the worker in any other civilized country in the world, and in proportion to the amount produced receives less.

So we are going ahead producing wealth at an accelerated pace, but we are not producing fast enough, and they are springing a new scheme to compel the workers to speed up the machine in the shape of "efficiency" methods. They

intend to wipe out waste on every hand. That is all right, I have no objection, but they are driving the machinery and compelling you to produce more and still more wealth, under the excuse that we must go into competition with Germany and Great Britain in the markets of the world to dispose of the two billion surplus wealth we cannot consume. We are going to consume it in foreign countries instead of here at home.

Now I want to refer, in order to illustrate this point as clearly as possible, to an article that appeared a little more than two years ago in the New York Press, one of the largest daily newspapers in the United States, in discussing the centralization of capital. The New York Press, being owned by a great corporation, is not in the habit of posing as a labor sheet, Socialistic or otherwise. In discussing the enormous income of one individual the New York Press said that John D. Rockefeller's income is now computed at \$2.06 a second, \$123.00 a minute, \$7,420.00 an hour, \$178,000 a day, \$1,246,000 a week, and \$65,000,000 a year. In order to show what this means the New York Press goes on to say that if the daily income were paid to Rockefeller in twenty dollar gold pieces they would number a little more than 8,900. These piled one on top of the other would reach to the height of a six-story building. I judge this is an average four story building to the roof. Put two more stories on, pile up \$20 gold pieces from the sidewalk to the roof, and you have the income of John D. Rockefeller for twenty-four hours, that is absorbed from the toll and sweat of the working class of this nation. Placed on the scales the daily income would amount to 741 2-3 pounds, or more than five times the weight of the richest man in the world. Of course he invests the greater part of that \$65,000,000 a year in new stocks and bonds and securities, and he has acquired control of about forty trusts, among which is a large share of the ownership of United States steel. In company with J. P. Morgan Mr. Rockefeller is substantially in control of the huge steel trust. It stands to reason, it is perfectly logical, that J. P. Morgan, through George W. Perkins and through H. C. Frick and other distinguished gentlemen, is satisfied and per-

haps willing to chip in quite liberally for the purpose of paying the running expenses of an organization that has been formed and the purpose of which is to divert attention, to chloroform, to hypnotize the working people of this country to the abject conditions that exist.

Reference has already been made to the terrible battles that have been forced upon the workers in many of the trades. The miners have felt the power of the Steel Trust, the coal miners in some of the districts, the metal miners up in the Lake Superior region, the men on the docks down on Lake Erie and up around Duluth. And some of the railway men, I am informed, have been victimized by the United States Steel Corporation during the last two years. We know what happened to the tin plate workers. Don't you suppose that Morgan is keen enough to understand that if he can destroy these organizations it will enhance his privileges, his profits and increase his wealth?

I might go on and refer to Belmont's attack on the street railway employees, or to the three years' struggle of the sailors on the great lakes, and they are still compelled to fight the Pittsburg Steamship Company, one of the creatures of the United States Steel Corporation. The Harriman system at the present time is controlled by Kruttschnitt and others of those sanctimonious plutocrats in the Civic Federation, where they dine once a year with our brothers, where they go and say, "We really ought to do something for the poor working man!" And when they get through with their champagne drunk they hand it to the working man! How long is this centralizing system to go on? If two-thirds of the capital of the country is centralized in a dozen years, how many more years will it be until the little one-third remaining is absorbed by J. P. Morgan and Company? When that is absorbed we can crown the Honorable J. Pierpont as the monarch of American industry!

We are confronting a very grave crisis. Don't forget that when you men came into this world the most of you had opportunity still to acquire a livelihood. Many had opportunities to possibly secure a chance to go into business and become independent, whereas today the entire middle class, even the retailers and

wholesalers in practically all lines of business have simply become the clerks of the monopolized system of American industry. If the trades have been or are being revolutionized by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, if centralized capital has acquired control of that machinery, what future confronts your boy and your little girl that you have brought into the world! Those are things that come home to you if you are thoughtful citizens, and you and you alone must solve the problem. And for that reason I am opposed, upon the ground merely of the principle of the thing, to being affiliated directly or indirectly with such an institution as the National Civic Federation, which is simply attempting to obscure the lines of demarcation between the working class on the one side and capitalism on the other.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.)—I am a member of the National Civic Federation and have been for ten years. I don't believe that if the National Civic Federation would dissolve Rockefeller would lose all his money. When I went into the National Civic Federation the International Typographical Union had 35,000 members. Now it has 55,000 members, and they are earning millions of dollars more than they did ten years ago, and that despite the chloroform that has been administered to the organization on account of my affiliation with the National Civic Federation. I think my colleague has indicated the spot the chloroform has found.

The National Association of Manufacturers is also opposed to the National Civic Federation, and the National Manufacturers' Association, in declining to send representatives to a conference called by the Civic Federation, expressed its opinion of the organization Delegate Hayes is affiliated with by this paragraph:

"In this connection, I will express the hope that the day is not far distant when the National Civic Federation will clear its literature of the union label and will stand squarely before the public committed absolutely to the interests of all the people, and freed forever from any alliance with the labor trust and from any affiliation with labor union demagogues."

So that by his opposition to the Civic Federation my colleague is in distinguished company.

Delegate Hayes referred to the plutocrats who dine once a year with our

brothers, and also referred to a "champagne drunk." I have attended these dinners. I don't know whether it was because of my capacity or not, but I never came away from them drunk with champagne, and I never saw any other labor leader or official who came away drunk with champagne. I want to say to the delegates that the officers of the labor organizations who are associated in the Civic Federation meet the captains of industry on the forum of the Civic Federation and render a good account of labor's interests.

Now the proposition before the house is not so much opposition to the Civic Federation as it is opposition to the guileless labor leaders associating with certain men who belong to the Civic Federation. If that is good doctrine as applied to the National Civic Federation it is good doctrine as applied to other associations. If it is good as applied to the Civic Federation, it is good as applied to the Newspaper Publishers' Association. Ten years ago when we made a contract with the Newspaper Publishers' Association, Otis was a member and he opposed any relations with the International Typographical Union. Since then we have increased wages in ninety-five per cent of the cities where we have gone to arbitrate with the newspaper publishers, and Otis is still a member of the Newspaper Publishers' Association. Reasoning the same way as the delegates who have spoken of Carnegie and others, there can be but one conclusion, and that is that the officers of the International Typographical Union, when they took up the negotiations with the Newspaper Publishers' Association made a mistake, that they have made a mistake in continuing their relations with the Newspaper Publishers' Association despite the increase made in wages. Their argument is fallacious, to start with, founded on false reasoning and not worthy of consideration.

From what I know of the National Civic Federation through my association with it, and what I know of my brother officers of other organizations who are members of the Civic Federation, and from what I know from being on the ground—not from what I surmise and not what suits my particular theory—I am going to support the report of the committee.

Vice-President Mitchell—I would like to ask Delegate Lynch if the eight-hour strike of the Butterick Company was brought to a successful end through the good offices of the National Civic Federation?

Delegate Lynch—The negotiations were opened through Mr. John Mitchell, who was then chairman of the Trade Agreement Department. We had tried for four years to open negotiations, but were unable to do so until it was done through the influence of Mr. Mitchell, then chairman of that department.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I want to make clear one phase of the discussion this morning that may lead to some confusion in the minds of the delegates, or that may leave a false impression.

The amendment to the Constitution of the United Mine Workers of America, which prohibits our membership from belonging to the National Civic Federation was adopted by a roll call vote. There were something like 443 votes in the affirmative and 378 in the negative, or a majority of 165 in favor of amending the constitution. As those who are familiar with our law know, each delegate can cast five votes. A delegate has a vote for each 100 members and an additional vote for each hundred or majority fraction his local union represents. If there were fifty-four delegates from one state under the pay of some outside influence and they cast their votes on this roll call amending the constitution, then, so far as that amendment is concerned, it is quite possible that if there were no paid delegates from anywhere else the votes that were brought there and paid for by those outside influences were the balance of power that amended our constitution. There were two motions on this subject. The original resolution contained a condemnation of the National Civic Federation, and also a provision to amend the constitution to prohibit our membership from belonging to that organization. I knew, although I could not prove it, that while a great many of our members—and I was one and am yet—were not favorable to the Civic Federation as at present constituted, were willing to condemn it—and I don't usually do that without giving the worst enemy I have a hearing—I did know that the condemnation of the Civic Federation on the part of those who were re-

sponsible for raising the money that was paid to bring the delegates there to do that dirty work were in there for the sole purpose of destroying John Mitchell, if it were possible to do it, and the condemnation of the Civic Federation was the kite on which that tail was hung.

I took the matter up with some of the men responsible for the introduction of the resolution and they agreed to modify it. And it was modified so that it would not affect the membership of any one so far as our constitution is concerned. However, I knew in my own heart that John Mitchell would not remain in the National Civic Federation after unfavorable action in our own Convention; but I wanted to give him the right of his own volition to pursue the course he believed best, rather than apparently put it in the light of using a club on him. Those men agreed with me and the resolution was changed. It was adopted, and, in so far as we were concerned, we thought that ended it. But men are not going to pay \$10,000 to corrupt an organization for a certain specific purpose and then drop it as long as there is a hope of their accomplishing their purpose, so they again renewed their efforts and a roll call was had on that matter, with the vote as stated to you from our official records.

I am one of those also who do not believe in attacking either men or institutions for what they say they are going to do. I also would rather judge from what they actually do. I want to say to you that when the United Mine Workers of Illinois were in the midst of one of the bitterest troubles they ever went through—and I was their President at that time—when 25,000 of our members had won out in the struggle, had a contract signed up carrying with it an increase in wages, better conditions that meant more in money than their wages amounted to, that meant saving the lives of men and the health of our members, John Mitchell, Chairman of the Trade Agreement Department of the National Civic Federation, voted and helped us win that struggle, and the man in our organization I consider the biggest Judas since Judas himself lived, lined up with the Coal Operators' Association, went behind doors in secret and stabbed those men in the back, trying to make them lose out in the fight, give up what they had won and take the

life out of our movement. I say, "Yes, I would like to judge men by what they do rather than by what they say."

I want to point out things I do not like to do about the present status of this question. I venture to say there is not an official of the labor movement who is connected with the National Civic Federation who, if he could honestly believe that this question was acted on there and because of that action brought here, because of the honest belief of the best part of the actual workers that it was the best thing to do, and that there was no personal animus in the matter, no personal prejudice or desire on the part of some one to grind an axe of his own, I venture the assertion that if, so far as the United Mine Workers are concerned, they did not believe there was a tool of the coal operators who was using it as a method of getting campaign propaganda for himself to get control of our organization, there would not be much opposition or ill feeling of any description connected with their attitude in this matter.

In less than ten years a certain man, who started in as a labor reporter and acted as a go-between in the different conferences in a portion of the country where our industry is located, working for ten-times millionaires, made men, originally good, traitors to our organization in our international convention through that same influence, and that the people originally responsible for this thing being here had paid representatives at that gentleman's service, and the prospects were that if they were successful there might be some more millionaires, that being the real object they had in mind. If these things were not true, gentlemen, this matter under consideration would not have taken up much time, either with the men on the one side or the other.

I don't like, because of my convictions, to have to get in with a bunch of that kind, because it is not safe for them or for me. For the first time in our history a candidate for office in our organization has been able to make a campaign tour which has only been equalled by President Taft. Presumably he has been paying the expenses out of the wages he has made digging coal—and I doubt whether he has dug enough coal to cook your breakfast on a gasoline stove! These are the things at the bottom of this proposition. And

this is what I had in mind in our own organization—and there isn't a bit of danger of that bunch ever getting control of the organization again. I want to point out that in every instance where the paid hirelings of the organizations that were trying to disrupt the labor movement had been uncovered they have been gentlemen who pursued those tactics to get control of the organizations to disrupt them and serve the men and earn the money they have been paid from the other side. In the Western Federation, in the eastern organization, wherever one of those snakes has been uncovered, that is the kind of tactics he has been using. They pick out some phase of the questions under consideration that they can use for the time being without detriment to the people who are paying them their Judas pieces of silver, try to destroy the men that cannot be used or bought and get themselves into power. They generally select an issue that they can appeal to men on, and in which they can use men innocently who are acting from honest convictions. I have honest convictions in opposition to the Civic Federation as at present constituted, but they are not using me innocently, and I am going to see to it that everybody else I can inform on the subject knows that they are not using me that way.

I believe that it will be for the best interests of the labor movement if we have an open forum that will enable able men from the different organizations in time of trouble to meet the men on the other side face to face and make our position clear and plain to the entire world. I believe such a thing as that would be beneficial, I believe an institution of that kind could be arranged for in such a way that we could get the most good possible from it, and at the same time protect every interest of the workers. I believe ultimately such a thing will be done. And I know, gentlemen, that the men representing the labor movement in the Civic Federation, at least in so far as one of them is concerned, one who has been an official of our organization, who gave up \$8,000 a year so that he could belong to the Coal Miners' Union, is not going there to betray our interests. I honestly believe that he and others went there because they could take advantage of this institution and the opportunity it

gave them to derive benefit for the rank and file of the organizations they were members of. I believe that some of the employers who are in there have absolutely the motives ascribed to them by Delegate Hayes. I believe a majority of the employers are in there in the hope of being able to get something out of us they could not get any other way. I doubt very much that the men who are supposed to represent the public, the men who are supposed to be disinterested, impartial humanitarians, would or could get a vote from the labor unions declaring them to be such if they had a chance to pass judgment on them.

If we were engaged in a great labor struggle and the other side said, "Here, we are willing to refer this thing to the National Civic Federation as at present constituted," we could not very well refuse, and it would be absolutely suicide to not refuse. The employers who are known to be opposed to organized labor would have as much voting strength as the men who are representing organized labor. Among the fellows who represent the public at the present time, so far as I am capable of judging, there is not one of them who would vote for us under any circumstances if he could avoid it. Here we would be in a position of refusing to refer a dispute to an organization comprised of practically all the officials of the labor movement in our country. That would put us in an ugly light before the public; and if we did not refuse and let it go there they would have a majority and control the settlement of it.

I believe some day we will be able to evolve a plan along the same line we do business with the coal operators, where every man on each side will have the same voting strength. They cannot commit us to anything unless we agree to the proposition. If it can be instituted along those lines and an open forum made of it for the discussion of all our troubles as workers, I think it would be a good influence and something beneficial to us. And if the employers' associations of this country want to take up that kind of a proposition and come here to the Federation and offer to organize along those lines, then we could take it back to our unions and find out whether or not they were willing to

have an open forum here, then come back and organize in such a way that what good could come from it we would get, and we would be absolutely protected from any harm.

In passing judgment on this matter I am going to vote in accordance with the instructions of my Convention, notwithstanding that I know one of the henchmen of this hireling Judas, who served as a strike breaker in Maryland, served as a guard, served as a solicitor for scabs and testified in court—perjuring himself to send our men to jail—worked for the passage of that resolution. I will stand for what the majority of my organization says we shall do, because I believe in their hearts they wanted to do what was right, and just as soon as they make a mistake and the facts are called to their attention they will rectify it. That is why I will vote as I shall on this proposition, although, as I said, if it were coming up here without any axe to grind on the part of any one, without any paid hirelings working under cover for position in the movement to betray it if there is advantage to themselves in doing so, if it came here purely as an honest measure, I would vote in opposition to our members or officers belonging to the Civic Federation at the present time, as it is at present constituted, because I feel it cannot do much good except as the individual members of our side that are in it can do good, and possibly at some time it may do real, serious injury if it is continued as it is at the present time.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—In view of the fact that I introduced a resolution on this matter, and in order to get this matter clearly before the Convention, I would like to have Delegate Walker state if his remarks had any reference to me.

Delegate Walker—In reply to that question I want to say that I voted with Brother McDonald on the question when it carried with it a condemnation of the Civic Federation. I do not believe there is a truer, cleaner trade unionist in the country than Brother McDonald, and I want to say in reference to the Alabama coal miners' strike that if John Mitchell or Duncan McDonald had been President of the miners' organization the Steel Trust would not have prevented us from winning it.

Delegate Mahon—I want to speak on a phase of this question about which a great deal has been said throughout the country, the subway strike, but before touching on that I want to touch on my own reason for being a member of the National Civic Federation. I cannot date my membership back to the early formation of the Civic Federation, for it had been in existence some time when I became a member. My first connection with that organization, or my first dealing with it, was at a time when our men in San Francisco first organized and went on strike. I received a telegram through President Gompers inviting me to come at once to New York in connection with our San Francisco strike. I reached New York on Sunday, met John Mitchell at the hotel and he introduced me to Senator Hanna. Senator Hanna informed me that the representatives of the San Francisco Company had been reached and desired me to come on and meet with them.

The strike at San Francisco had come on very suddenly, as the delegates from that portion of the country will remember. I telegraphed to San Francisco for copies of our agreement, and on Sunday morning, according to the arrangements made by the Senator at that meeting, the treasurer of our organization and myself met with the President of the San Francisco Railway Company. We went into a side room of the Civic Federation and discussed our agreement, only the three of us being present, for some time. We went over the entire agreement, and we succeeded in chloroforming Mr. Calhoun and getting him to agree to the demands of our men on the Coast. Word was telegraphed from both sides and the officers signed up their agreement. The result was that our organization in San Francisco was established. Later on that organization, striking for the eight-hour day, was lost, but with that the Civic Federation had nothing to do.

I was then invited to become a member of the Civic Federation. I laid the matter before the executive committee of my organization and was instructed by them to take part in the National Civic Federation. From that time on I have been a member, not a very active one, for I have not been able to attend

many of its meetings. I understood before I joined that it was an organization bringing together men from all walks of life, capitalists and representatives of labor, men of the different schools of thought and economics, for the purpose of discussing these questions. I understood before I became a member that it was not the mission of the National Civic Federation to attempt to solve the labor question or establish harmony between the great forces; but that its mission was to bring together the men of different schools of thought and from different institutions and have them discuss the differences that existed between them. So far as labor and capital is concerned, I was told at the first meeting, "Our mission is to bring you men together. When we have brought you together our mission is fulfilled."

Next came on the organization of New York. Herman Robinson, the organizer in New York, organized that city as far as the elevated roads were concerned. In the spring of 1903 we brought together the organization. Our men immediately made demands for increased wages and improved conditions. In a short time they had come to a deadlock because of the demands for the hours of labor and a strike was voted on. I hastened to New York. Belmont was not then a member of the National Civic Federation. I could not get in touch with any one. I went to the office of the Civic Federation. Mr. John R. Commons was then in charge. We got in touch with a gentleman I had known as an employer, a man for whom I had worked many years ago. The first time I ever met him I was chairman of a strike committee. He said on account of the fact that his daughter was to be married that day he could not do much, so we started out to find some one else. Through Mr. Cook we secured a man who wanted to bring about a conference, and he did bring it about. That conference between our committee and the company resulted in a very satisfactory settlement, establishing a raise of wages to our men, and a day's work that should not exceed nine hours and thirty minutes.

That agreement was put in force and the benefit of it went to the members of our organization. I was introduced

to Mr. Belmont and he said to me after our conference that it was his first meeting with any representatives of labor. He said he had never before consented to meet them, that he hired the best men to transact and direct his business and he had always left it in their hands; but he believed that he had made a mistake, and he assured me that at any time in the future there was trouble between our organization and his Company the door of his office was open and he would be pleased to hear our side of it.

Before the opening of the subway they had on the elevated system in New York an organization of locomotive engineers. They ran the engines in the days when the locomotive engines were used. They had continued their organization. There were about 250 or 300 of those men. We did not interfere with them. They said they had their benefits in their Brotherhood. We knew that was true and that they could not join our organization. We did not wish to deprive them of their benefits and left them in their organization. The firemen who had fired those engines had something like 99 members in two small organizations. Prior to the opening of the subway these two organizations made demands on the Company. They went to our organization and got the co-operation of our men. Their chief, Mr. Stone, came on. They made their demands, but could do nothing. I went on to New York again and through the influence of officers of the Civic Federation we again got in touch with the company. I was able through their influence to work out a settlement in the subway.

That was in the fall of 1904, I believe. We agreed in the subway upon a contract for two years. I wanted our men to remain out of that. Our men insisted that that be part of the subway contract, and they signed it. The contract in the subway was made for two years, dating from August 1905. The next spring when the subway strike, of which so much is said, took place, our organization on the elevated made demands, outlined a new agreement, sent it to our office and had it approved. It was sent back and given to the Company. An arrangement was made that prior to the

expiration of the agreement conferences would be held and the agreement discussed. In the meantime the engineers for some reason, I know not what, and the firemen, became dissatisfied and again got into conference with our men. They decided that they would present an ultimatum to the Company repudiating the two years' contract that was made the fall before in the subway. They decided to go to the Company and lay down an ultimatum at two o'clock in the afternoon and give the Company until eleven o'clock that night to sign. They were not to notify the International officers, we were to know nothing about it, but the Secretary secretly wired me. I did not know he was simply doing it as an individual. I went on to New York and met the secretary at noon with the vice-president of our organization. He notified me that he was going down town to meet the balance of the committee and they were going to deliver this ultimatum, which he read for me. I protested and told him it was ridiculous, that the position they were taking was contrary to all the laws of our organization. I appealed to him and to the vice-president to go down and protest to the committee. They went down, but the committees met and presented the ultimatum. If it was not agreed to by eleven o'clock that night they would enter into a strike. They said they knew it was contrary to our laws and contrary to the Brotherhood laws, but that they expected the strike would be won before we could protest.

I got in communication with Mr. Moffett, then editor of the Bricklayers' journal, with Mr. Healy and other men. We found that everything had been prearranged, that no meetings would be held. The strike took place. The ultimatum had been delivered contrary to all the laws of the Brotherhood of Firemen, the Brotherhood of Engineers and our International organization. Mr. Gompers came on to assist us. Mr. Mitchell was already there, and Mr. Thomas I. Kidd, in no way interested in the Civic Federation, came to us. We tried to get those men to see the mistake they were making. Mr. Hurley wanted to annul the charter of the engineers. We pleaded with him not to do so. He said if the Companies wanted to make any

proposition to let them come to us. After that position was taken I issued a statement. I have it here, but I am not going to read it, I have said too much, I know, already.

The strike was already lost. The Company had a ship load of men ready to go to work on the New Haven and Hartford. When the strike took place they put them in the subway and on the elevated. The strike was lost the second day. Brother Mitchell and I went through the subway on the second day and inspected the whole situation. The truth is the men had disregarded every law of our organization. We simply made a statement to the public and let them go. We repudiated their action. Mr. Belmont had been assured when the representatives of the Engineers called on him a few days before, when he wanted to know their position, saying he wanted the matter settled as he was going away, that nothing would be done until he returned. He said, on the other hand, that the Amalgamated had put in their contract and he knew their policy would be to discuss them and work them out. He left New York feeling that the whole situation was one that would be dealt with according to the laws of the organization. I will not criticize Belmont for the action he took in that strike; it is the position I would have taken, or that any other man would have taken under similar circumstances.

Mr. Belmont came into the Civic Federation. I was one who, after getting acquainted with him, persuaded him to come in, and we were able to settle many grievances that came up. I went to him on other railroad affairs and got him to assist us. I say this in behalf of the subway strike that the delegates may know that some of the stories that have been circulated around the country are absolutely false. The Civic Federation in these matters has given us assistance. When our men in New Orleans were about to be locked out, after our formation, and the new syndicate of which Mr. Fairchilds was the head took the road, they had already taken into New Orleans over two hundred men under cover. The Union notified me of the situation. I went to New York and to Mr. Easley to get in touch with that syndicate. After lots of hard work he

succeeded in getting a conference with Mr. Fairchilds. We had our conference. He informed me that the whole matter was referred to Mr. Miller, of Miller and Hornblower, attorneys, who were going to handle the situation. There was a banquet that evening at the Civic Federation—where we were going down to get more chloroform! We got Mr. Miller there. Archbishop Ireland and others discussed questions. At the close of the meeting Senator Hanna brought Mr. Miller and myself together. He said, "You and Mr. Mahon settle it. Make a contract with the Amalgamated Association and they will carry it out."

Mr. Miller and I agreed to meet in New Orleans, and there with our committee of the organization we would work out a contract. They dismissed their strike breakers. Mr. Commons, who sits here with me, accompanied me, and we worked out a contract. Today these men are members of our Association and their wages have been raised from 13 1-3 cents an hour to 23 1-2 cents an hour.

When we formed our organization in Chicago we were opposed by the most powerful railroad companies in America. We had 130 men discharged. The rest of the men were timed, we could not rally them. Brother Kidd had started out in the beginning with a secret system of organizing. Nobody knew how many members we had—and if they had known, God pity us! We kept our fight on and I went to see Senator Hanna, who was then President of the Civic Federation. I told him the greatest strike in the history of Chicago was about to take place. He pleaded with me not to strike the men but to try to get a settlement. I said, "That is up to you men of influence." He got in touch with Mr. Franklin McVeagh, who was also a member of the Civic Federation. I went East with letters of introduction and presented the story. He said to present the same story to the Company. I went to the eastern men interested financially, while Franklin McVeagh worked the other end. We succeeded in working out an agreement that recognized the Association. Our men got 16 and 17 cents an hour, and today in Chicago we have 13,000 members with a maximum pay of 25

cents an hour, and 30 cents an hour commencing in August.

Now, these are some of the benefits we have been able to secure by meeting with these gentlemen from time to time. I meet and eat with them, yes, and I will meet with them and eat with them as long as I can ease up a situation like that at New Orleans.

I do not think the labor men ever believed the Civic Federation was going to settle the great economic question at all. I agree with those who say it cannot do so. It will not do so, in my opinion. I have never heard it discussed that labor and capital were identical and that we were brothers. If you had listened to the discussions you would have changed your opinions. I told the Civic Federation on many occasions just what I thought without regard as to who was present. If you doubt that, gentlemen, get copies of my speech at Mrs. Potter Palmer's house in Chicago. I did not compromise, I did not surrender one iota of my independence when I joined the Civic Federation. I went there to meet with these men and argue with them and secure all I could out of them, without any guarantee of giving them anything in return.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.)—In all the discussion we have had on this question the main issue at point has been lost sight of. Personally, I am very glad the discussion has taken the wide range it has, for if it has had any effect whatever it must have been to convince the members of the Convention that the movers of the resolution under consideration have given little or no inquiry into the topic, they have not investigated the merits of the case before they have presented their proposition.

For the sake of argument, or rather to avoid argument, I am going to admit the truth of a great many extravagant statements that have been made on the floor of this Convention, even to the pathetic picture of poor old John Rockefeller tottering up to the gates of heaven dragging his 721 pounds of daily gold behind him. That is not the question. The question is, "Shall we keep in touch with our employers?" We are called into existence to represent the workers of America, to have their interests in our charge and to take up the matters in

contention from time to time with the employers. There is not a minute we are not in contact with the employers on one question or another concerning our employment. The Civic Federation has opened an avenue where employer and employe can meet on ground that is as nearly neutral as any that has yet been suggested. The question that is being presented to this Convention is squarely and simply, "Shall we close that avenue of opportunity?"

I am not going to waste any of the time of the Convention in detailing the benefits that have or may accrue from that organization. I think it is apparent to every thinking man that there are advantages that can be gained in no other way from having an avenue through which we can at any reasonable time get access and assistance in coming in touch with the employers who would otherwise bar the door against us. And it is absurd to put this organization or any of the affiliated bodies that make up this organization, in the position of saying to the world at large that we are afraid of the representatives of organized capital, that we fear to meet them in the Civic Federation or in any other forum to which we may be admitted for the purpose of debating our questions of difference. It appears to me the question that is involved, and the question we are going to vote on, no matter how long this debate continues, is whether we are by our own action going to close a door that is now open to us and through which it is not improbable we will gain some benefits, and through which it is not at all probable any harm can come, because if the employers could have struck us through the National Civic Federation they would have done so long ago.

Delegate Healy (T.)—I hope this debate will not close before I have a chance to say a word on the question. I have been a member of the National Civic Federation for a number of years, and I have been a member because it has helped me to better the conditions of the men I represent. If the men who attack that institution would look into the work it is doing and post themselves in regard to it before making such attacks, I am sure the time of the

Convention would not be taken up as it has been today. I believe the men who attack the Civic Federation are not sincere, are not honest to the interests of the labor movement of this country. Myself and other men in the Civic Federation, and others who are not in the Civic Federation, are in this Convention to represent the men who sent us here. We don't meet and conspire night after night and make plans to attack the men who built up this movement, the same as the men who are attacking the Civic Federation do, as they have been doing since they have been in this Convention, and as they have done in every other Convention of the American Federation of Labor I have attended. It is not the National Civic Federation they want to attack, it is the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and that is well known.

I have thought, while listening to the discussion here today, that if Mr. Parry, Mr. Post, Mr. Kirby and Mr. Walter Drew were here, how they would applaud some of the orators who have made these talks. Yes, and tonight in the evening papers throughout the country these attacks will be read, and the Manufacturers' Association will certainly gloat over the fact that the National Civic Federation and the men in the labor movement who are connected with it have been attacked. The Manufacturers' Association does not come here, there are those who will do their dirty work here. And they are doing it, and they are gloating over it. Only night before last, in talking to a Socialist on this resolution, he said, "Oh, I know we won't win out this year, but we will next." They won't! They won't win out this year nor next, and God forbid that the day should ever come when gentlemen of that stripe will dictate the policy of the American labor movement.

At a recent banquet of the Manufacturers' Association in New York, Mr. Kirby had this to say, "If it had not been for the Civic Federation the labor organizations could not have maintained their position. The Civic Federation is the greatest asset of the American Federation of Labor. It is incomprehensible that manufacturers should support the Civic Federation, an organization that helps the labor trust to obtain its goal."

What do you think of that, my Socialist friends? You ought to be proud of yourselves! You certainly ought! And I want to say to the trade unionists, especially the new delegates to the Convention: Don't take any of the Socialist chloroform! The National Civic Federation is not in it with the dope the Socialists would administer!

The organization I represent is almost isolated from the labor movement. Our men work in the great office buildings, power plants, hotels and other buildings where there are no unions of any kind. There may be a few firemen and engineers in the basements working twelve hours a day for three hundred and sixty-five days in the year. We are helpless. We must reach the employers, the heads of the firms, if we are going to get anything in these places. We never could and never did reach one of them until we got in the National Civic Federation. They found a way for us to reach them. Mr. Mahon has explained how they can be reached and will be reached. They are not all bad in the National Civic Federation! There may be some bad ones there, the same as we have here.

As a sample of the work the National Civic Federation is doing, I will say they are calling to the attention of the world the large number of men and women who are maimed, crippled and killed throughout this country every year through industrial accidents. I have here a large number of clippings from newspapers telling of explosions of boilers in mines and buildings. It is compiled by Mr. Schramm, a very active member of the National Civic Federation. I might say for Mr. Schramm that only five or six weeks ago in Chicago, in response to a letter we sent him saying that the men in the brewery interests he represents work three hundred and sixty-five days a year, they were given a week's holiday with pay every year. These men never knew what a week's vacation meant, and we have to thank Mr. Schramm of the Civic Federation for this vacation. A few years ago we never knew what it was to get a vacation. That is one of the very things the National Civic Federation is doing, as well as helping us get eight hours where we formerly worked twelve.

Nobody knows the work that has been

done by the Civic Federation, and there are a whole lot of people here who don't care what they have done. I do. I notice here in this pamphlet it says, "With Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell, not only participants but moving spirits in the movement, as well as officers in good standing in the Civic Federation, I cannot reconcile my own mind with what seems to me to be such an extremely inconsistent proposition, nor can I find it in my conscience to wink at the great danger to the best interests of our common country that lies hidden in the endorsement by your organization, of these men and the doctrines they preach and which, insofar as they can, they execute in the name of the Civic Federation, and for which that organization will some day have to recognize its responsibility."

I want to say to President Gompers and Vice-President Mitchell that you will have a whole lot of things to answer for. You are dangerous men! We not only have it from Kirby, but we have it from the Socialists, therefore it must be so!

I don't give any man or any body of men the right to say what organization I must belong to. I belong to the Civic Federation, and until they prove to me that it is not a proper place for me, I will stay there. They have not succeeded in doing that. If they succeed in this they might tell me in the next Convention that I must get out of the Hibernians. The next thing they would come along and tell me what church I should go to. Now, I will go where I like.

My friends, if these resolutions were to go through here, you know as well as I do that the Manufacturers' Association of this country would be giving banquets tomorrow night to celebrate the fact that they had driven President Gompers out of the National Civic Federation. It is too bad that things of this kind should be brought into the American Federation of Labor to give an opportunity to the press of the country to come out with great headlines, "Gompers Attacked by the Labor Unions!" "Gompers Attacked by the Delegates!" There may be and will be always men willing to attack Gompers or any other man who is here, but I want to tell you, my friends, that the American labor movement is going

to stand by Samuel Gompers and allow him to stay in the Civic Federation until his hair will get gray.

President Gompers—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: This question before the convention gives me occasion for mingled feelings, one of regret and the other of pleasurable welcome; regret that serious men in the labor movement of America, in the year 1911, should suggest, much less propose, a question and a subject so absolutely foreign to the purposes of the American Federation of Labor. I welcome it in the same way as I regretted and welcomed in the past the introduction of the famous, or otherwise, resolutions of a Socialistic character of a few years ago in which was attempted to commit the American Labor movement to the Socialist political party. My regret is because the time that is taken up with a discussion of this character is to the detriment of the constructive work in which this organization should be engaged. I welcomed it then as now because it gives us the opportunity in a convention of the American Federation of Labor to meet our traducers face to face upon an equality, where we can refute their statements and confound their slanders, and where we can give our younger men in the labor movement of America the ammunition with which to meet the trade union antagonists, regardless of the cloak under which they try to hide.

The fact of the matter is that there isn't anything the American Federation of Labor can do to satisfy the Socialist Party unless we go over, body, boots and breeches, to that party. And then we could do just as we pleased, so long as we "toted" straight as subordinate to them! For years they started their policy of antagonizing the trade union movement from without, and then they decided upon changing their tactics to boring from within. If it were not this question of the Civic Federation it would be something else. Let this convention adopt the resolutions introduced upon this subject and there will be another question arise, no matter what it will be—anything to antagonize the trade union movement as a militant, independent, persistent organization of the working people of our country. One would imagine that if those three resolutions were adopted as a whole, or any one of them, they would

placate our friends the Socialists. They haven't any such thing in mind, and we who know them, know that they haven't.

It may be interesting to you to know that two years ago the American Federation of Labor elected me by unanimous vote to accept the invitation extended to me by the British Trades Union Congress, through its Parliamentary Committee to visit that Congress and at the same time elected me to proceed to the International Secretariat, then about to hold its meeting in Paris. There was not a Socialist paper in Europe but which declared that my coming as a representative of the American Federation of Labor was a pretense; that, as a matter of fact, I came there selected by the National Civic Federation, and that I was paid fabulous sums to try to fool the workmen of Europe. Wherever I went that was one of the things I had to meet. The fact that the National Civic Federation had no more to do with it than "the man in the moon" mattered little to them, those statements were sent ahead of me to the Socialist press of Europe, and by American representatives of the Socialist Party.

The difficulties I had in overcoming there were overcome to a considerable extent, or at least I think I helped pave the way to beat down some of the misrepresentations of our movement here and of our men and of myself. But I cared less for what they thought of me than what they thought of the American Federation of Labor. What most concerned me was the attitude of mind towards the American Federation of Labor.

If you have read some of the speeches or some of the editorials and articles in the Socialist press of the United States you may have seen some things that have reflected upon me in so many ways it would be difficult to attempt to describe them. I have here a paper in which is published in parallel columns some statements made by the President of the Employers' Association, Mr. Kirby in his "Square Deal," and also some other papers which I shall name. I shall not take much time in quoting.

"The American Federation of Labor plan is a delusion and a snare and a downright insult to the toiling masses who make this country great." (Social Democratic Herald, 1904.)

"The National Civic Federation is a delusion and a snare, an enemy to public welfare and prejudicial to the interests

of the working classes as fully as is the American Federation of Labor." (Square Deal.)

Is there anything like a similarity of language in those two statements? Don't you detect it? There have been read this afternoon some extracts from utterances of Mr. Kirby. I have had placed on the tables a four-page circular letter reproduction, being an attack on Mr. Mitchell, the National Civic Federation and myself by John Kirby, Jr., President of the National Association of Manufacturers. I will quote this from it. It is a letter under date of December 27, 1903, and is addressed to the Honorable Seth Low, President of the National Civic Federation, in which he says among other things:

"Therefore, with Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell not only participants but moving spirits in the movement, as well as officers in good standing in the Civic Federation, I cannot reconcile my own mind with, what seems to me to be, such an extremely inconsistent proposition, nor can I find it in my conscience to wink at the great danger of the best interests of our common country that lies hidden in the endorsement, by your organization, of these men and the doctrines they preach and which, in so far as they can, they execute in the name of the Civic Federation, and for which that organization will, some day, have to recognize its responsibility."

In declining to have his organization represented at a meeting of the National Civic Federation to consider uniform legislation he quotes telegrams and excerpts from letters of members of the Executive Board of the National Association of Manufacturers in which his letter is endorsed. I will read some of them.

"Under no circumstances should national association confer on any subject with Gompers, Mitchell and Co. subterfuge called Civic Federation."

"Am opposed to appointment of delegates to any convention which includes those whom our courts have decided to be willful and defiant law breakers."

"I approve your action in not appointing Civic Federation delegates but favor uniform laws."

"Most heartily approve your position in not sending delegates to Civic Federation meeting; also your letter to Low in its entirety."

"I absolutely agree with your action in declining to appoint delegates to the National Civic Federation of Gompersism. I most certainly would refuse to attend the meeting if you would see fit to appoint me."

"I would rather see this matter settled as to representation by the combined opinion of yourself, Mr. Emery, Mr. Van-Cleave, Mr. Parry and Mr. Jarvis, I therefore await with much interest your final decision."

"When the Civic Federation will change its methods and stand squarely before the people in the interests of the people, we can co-operate with them, but not so long as their literature carries the union label and their councils are dominated by the selfish interests of the labor trust."

"There ought to be some way to enlighten the innocent or assumed innocent members of the Civic Federation that they are tools of organized labor. Is there not some way in which it can be done?"

If the same subject were before the delegates to this convention for a vote, or before those delegates who favor the resolutions under consideration, would they not use about the same language?

I ask you to consider this matter upon its merits. What is there to it? What is the purpose? Is there any one who seriously believes that the men in the American labor movement, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the International Typographical Union, or the Street Railway men, the Firemen and others, are not glad of the opportunity to testify to the work done by the Civic Federation in behalf of their organizations? Is there any one who imagines for a minute that these men, my colleagues on the Executive Council and myself, can be chloroformed or hypnotized by anything an opponent of organized labor may say or do? I venture to say that except as a figure of speech, except as it is intended to prejudice the mind of the uninformed, not one of those who have introduced the resolutions really believes it.

In the meetings of the National Civic Federation, if I may go so far as to say it, not only for others but certainly for myself, I think we have been more radical and persistent in our utterances than we would have been in the meeting rooms of any of our unions. I don't know that I could find language in my vocabulary to more strongly present the claims of labor, the rights of labor, or to portray as best I could the wrongs from which labor suffers than I have in the meetings of the National Civic Federation. I challenge any man here now to point to one utterance of mine in the National Civic Federation that he will challenge as a trades unionist, that he will question as to its accuracy and its insistence.

But there is another phase of it. Ask—no, you need not ask, the statement will be volunteered by Socialists—that "after all your trade union activity, after all

your trades unions are played out institutions, your strikes and boycotts are played out, they are obsolete weapons, what is the use of them? Vote right, and you will vote yourself into glory and salvation!" And how strange it is for those who so insistently claim that trade union activity is futile, and yet charge us with being chloroformed on the industrial field! If the strike and the boycott are obsolete and useless, where is the danger of chloroforming us in our conferences with the employers? For it is those things which we primarily and principally discuss.

The idea upon which that claim of the uselessness of trade union activity, the strike and the boycott, are declared to be obsolete, is this: When trade unions increase wages the Socialists say "employers of labor will put up prices higher than really the wages that you have secured are increased." If such a statement were founded upon facts it would be in the interests of the employing class to concede every demand for an increase in wages which we make. The truth is that frequently prices are increased about the same time, or shortly after, frequently before an increase in wages is secured. I imagined that Socialists no longer believe what LaSalle laid down as the "Iron Law of Wages." That has been disregarded by even as much intelligence as the average Socialist can acquire.

But the fact is this: That decade by decade, or from generation to generation, wages, and the relative purchasing power of wages, are continually increased and expanded. If there be any man who doubts it and wants to know the truth, let him go into the homes of the American working people. Let him compare his own home and his own condition with the home and the condition of his father, if his father was a working man. If there is any one who doubts it, let him compare his own children and the time they are sent to school and kept out of the factory and the workshop with the time that he and his brothers or his father, if they were working people, spent in school.

There is a sort of reason—misnamed a philosophy—upon which all this antagonism is based. It is the idea that the working people must get into a condition of abject poverty and misery and by a cataclysm, called a social revolution,

"come into their own and take charge of society and government." As if an impoverished people ever really made for constructive revolution! The poorer the people the more abject they become. There may be a revolt, like a riot and a flash in the pan, but the constructive, constant work, day by day, hour by hour, and year after year, is the work in which the trades unionist is engaged.

A few months ago a delegate to this convention visited the office of the American Federation of Labor and we had a rather interesting conversation. He asked me a question which I shall relate, and give very briefly the answer I made. He said: "President Gompers, did you ever give this any thought, how it is that there are comparatively such a few of the younger men who are now actively engaged in the work of the trade union movement?" I was astounded, particularly at the source from which it came, because I doubt if ever in my long life I have had an opening like that given me.

I said: "Yes, I have given that consideration. Do you know the reason?" He could not find the reason. I made this answer, substantially: "The reason is, if it exists at all, that if you tell the young working men of this country that all they need do is to vote for your party one day in the year and that it is enough, would not they be foolish to give every day's effort in the hard and bitter struggle of the working people?" If the philosophy urged upon us by our Socialist friends is right, then this American Federation of Labor and its constituent trade unions are a mistake and it is a waste of time to continue them, and they ought to be disbanded.

It is so difficult in a matter of this character to deal with the fundamentals. The Civic Federation! Has it done anything for labor? I want to say here and now that personally I have profited not one dollar by my association with the National Civic Federation. I would lose not one cent if I severed my connection with it. As a rule it is not necessary to use even the good offices of the National Civic Federation for me to obtain an interview with almost any man in America. I seem to have at least sufficient of the respect of the people in all walks of life to secure any personal interview I may want, but my only desire for an opportunity for

a conference is to discuss some concrete proposition in which the men and women of labor are interested.

Has the National Civic Federation done anything? Let me read to you just about ten or eleven lines of the departments which the National Civic Federation has established. The first is on Uniform State Legislation. I suppose that, in view of our knowledge of the difficulties we have by reason of our dual form of government, it is necessary for us to have some associated effort for uniform legislation among the states. Other departments are:

Department of Regulation of Industrial Corporations; Department on Regulation of Interstate and Municipal Societies; Department on Reform in Legal Procedure; Taxation Department; Banking and Currency Department; Department on Pure Food and Drugs; Industrial Conciliation Department; Department on Compensation for Industrial Accidents and their Prevention; Industrial Welfare Department; Public Employees' Welfare Department; Women's Welfare Department. In all of these it has been active.

Replying to one question as to what the Civic Federation declares and does, let me say this: If the National Civic Federation were to meet and have these discussions which they have and adjourn, if these discussions were of an academic character, then there would not be one word of criticism or accusation. It is a fact that the Civic Federation tries to do the things it discusses and agrees upon that causes the criticism.

Answering the thought expressed that the votes in the Civic Federation are as two to one, the representatives of the employers and the representatives of the general public voting one way and the representatives of labor another, my experience is that there is no proposition which goes forth as a declaration from the Civic Federation unless it is by unanimous vote. I suppose it may be true that some proposition which Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Mahon, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Healy, myself and others may have advocated has not been approved. If that be true, this also is true, that there has never yet been a proposition adopted by the National Civic Federation affecting the rights or the interests of labor unless the men of labor approved it. One vote cast

by any of us against it vetoed that proposition.

I shall not attempt to discuss the various propositions in regard to trade disputes, the conferences secured and the adjustments reached. I should prefer that others, when the time may come, if not now, some time in the future, shall tell the story. I want to deal with a few general propositions. At a conference held in Chicago about five or six years ago for the purpose of discussing the legislation affecting the regulation of industrial combinations, the consideration of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and how an amendment might be obtained, I was a member of the Committee on Resolutions. The resolutions recommended that any proposed legislation should include modification of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law excluding from its provisions:

1. "The national and local organizations of labor and their trade agreements with employers relating to wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment."

Does that language sound familiar? Isn't that trade union language? Are these words not contained in resolutions times without number that were passed by conventions of the American Federation of Labor and by our various unions throughout the country?

2. "Associations made up of farmers intended to secure a stable and equitable market for the products of the soil free from fluctuations due to speculation."

3. "Business and industrial agreements, or combinations whose objects are in the public interest as distinguished from combinations determined to be contrary to the public interest."

I have no apologies to make for anything that may have been said in regard to the personnel of any one connected with the National Civic Federation, but I ask you if an association such as that can agree upon such declarations to free the organizations of labor from an unjust position in which they are placed, due to the interpretation placed upon the Sherman Anti-Trust Law by the Supreme Court of the United States, is not that effort worth the making?

The United States Steel Corporation has been mentioned, and I think I ought to say something in connection with it. Do delegates who introduced the resolu-

tions recall any action on the part of the American Federation of Labor upon the Steel Trust question? Do you not know that with the aid of representative labor men called into conference, and having the volunteer assistance of two of the ablest lawyers in America to prepare our brief and charges against the United States Steel Corporation, we presented those charges against that Company to the President of the United States and later laid them before the Department of Justice and before the Governor of Indiana? And that later the whole basis of complaint, and the effort now being made to dissolve that giant corporation, that cruel corporation, were upon the initiative of the American Federation of Labor and its "chloroformed" officers?

As a matter of fact, every man who attends these meetings of the Civic Federation knows—because he is reminded of it at every meeting—that we meet there without surrendering one jot of our judgment or our convictions or our faith in the justice of our cause. When we meet these people we endeavor to drive home the claims of labor. They do not often get this otherwise, and now the proposition is that they shall not get it at all!

I agree with you that the mere cultivation of friendly personal relations between men of means and representatives of working men should be avoided. Living in Washington, where half the population are government employees or government officials, I have often been invited to the social functions of those higher up, sometimes the highest up. Except once, a little more than a year ago, when I could not pursue the course I always had pursued without causing some reflection upon another, I have never attended one of those functions. Personally I have no relations with those people, but as a trades unionist and an officer of the American labor movement it is my duty to defend and protect and advocate the cause of labor wherever and wherever I can.

And I ought to say parenthetically that whenever I am at one of those dinners given by the National Civic Federation one of the things I consistently do is to abstain from eating or drinking. And I do that because I am usually called upon to speak, and I do not care to speak with my make-up full of food. But

suppose we all ate heartily and suppose we all enjoyed it thoroughly? What then? Are our friends the Socialists to take umbrage at that? Reference has been made to the fact that we have eaten dinners, and "glorious dinners," while some of the working men have gone hungry. I think that if that logic were pursued we ought to fast until all of us have gotten enough to eat! I know we are all affected, some more some less, as our sentiment, our humanity, is touched by the misery or the poverty of men; but why should we go to a theatre and hear and see the performers to make us laugh and be merry while there are others in the land who shed tears of hunger and misery? I think it might be not at all remiss if we were consistent as well as sophistical.

But I have something to which I desire to call your attention. With the close of the Socialist International Congress at Copenhagen last year this appears in one of the Socialist organs, Jaures' paper, of France, *L'Humanite*.

"At the conclusion, however, all shook hands and held a great reception. 'In short, it was a congress of compromise which ended in a dance. Mr. Bourdeau thinks there was something droll in the sumptuousness of the supper given by the delegates at the magnificent town hall of Copenhagen. He says the German paper Vorwaerts described 'the Pantagruello sideboard,' on which figured 'hams and scarlet lobsters, and various choice dainties and delicacies which stood among long-necked bottles.' 'We saw nothing of the cabbage soup which Proudhon served out to his guests.' *L'Humanite* (Paris) protests against against such luxury. 'To tell the truth,' cries Mr. Jaures in his paper, after sharing the good things of the Pantagruello sideboard. 'I was ashamed to indulge in all this fine fare.' The innocent orgy, says this writer, concluded with a dance. To quote his words:

"To the voluptuous measures of Viennese waltzes the couples joined arms and hands; round and round they whirled, and the god cupid was one of the party. The congress ended in delight, for the most celebrated Socialists were to be seen and admired circling in the most frantic of farandoles. A fine comment on Bernstein's dictum, 'congresses are all humbug.'"

Nor do we need to go to Copenhagen to find the representatives of the Socialists dining or lurching with the hated *Bourgeoise*. A few weeks ago our famous "swing-around-the-circle" President happened to go to Milwaukee, and

there a luncheon was given by the manufacturers and large business men of the city. At the table occupied by the President of the United States, his military aides, and big business men (surrounded by secret service detectives) were seated the irreconcilable Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee and the redoubtable Socialist Congressman, Victor Berger. And they sat there at that table listening to the President of the United States make an attack upon the trade union position and the labor movement! And they had that as a dessert for their lunch!

During the past few years the columns of the Cigar Makers' Official Journal, the official journal of the organization of which I am a member and have been a member since my fourteenth year, and in which I hold the membership card No. 1—and I have not been a member of my union often, only once—a discussion took place attacking the National Civic Federation and myself. There are only one or two of our men whose names I saw in our Journal who took up the cudgels and defended us. A few months ago an election occurred by the initiative and referendum system. The membership of the International Union throughout the continent of America, including Canada, Cuba, Porto Rica, as well as the United States, nominated and elected officers. On the first ballot there were five candidates for the office of first vice-president. I was elected, having received a majority of all votes cast for the candidates. As one of the five delegates from the International Union to the American Federation of Labor, I was a candidate. There were twenty-four others, twenty-five in all. In spite of all that attack and denunciation, it so happened that I was the only delegate elected on the first ballot. I received a majority over all the other candidates. That was the answer the rank and file, the members of the Cigar Makers' International Union, gave to the attacks upon myself as a member of the Cigar Makers' International Union having any connection with the National Civic Federation.

Oh, yes, I might say, and I think I want to, that the Socialist Party was not at all remiss in its activity in that campaign and that election. Neither was it remiss in its activity in the Machin-

ists' election. So active were they in the election in the Cigar Makers' International Union that a revulsion of feeling was created among some of the local Socialist bodies, and one I know, the Socialist party of Toledo, Ohio, proposed a new law prohibiting the officers of the Socialist party from participating in the internal affairs and elections of international unions.

When Delegate Mitchell this morning read a list of the civic bodies of which he is a member and to which he is giving service, it reminded me that I ought to just tax my memory a bit, and with the assistance of my secretary I wrote this list of the organization to which I belong: National Conference of Charities and Corrections; Committee of One Hundred on National Health; National Child Labor Committee; American Association for Labor Legislation; Roosevelt Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace; The Civic Forum; The People's Institute of New York; The Society for Industrial Peace; The National Conservation Congress; The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education; The American Academy of Social and Political Science; The National Geographic Society; The New York State Commission to Investigate the Factory Conditions as They Exist in the State; The Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis; the Lincoln University Endowment Society; Friends of Russian Freedom; Good Roads Congress; The Peace Society of New York; The Washington Peace Society.

Besides, I am a member of the Odd Fellows, an Elk, a Mason—I am not eligible as a member of the Knights of Columbus—but I think you will realize that I am rather a well organized man. I do not refer in this list to my primary membership, the one to which I owe my first loyalty, the Cigar Makers' International Union, my trade union.

Just a few minutes more and I shall be through. I have found that as a matter of experience—and I think nearly every one who has had some experience with the National Civic Federation will testify as to its truth—that there are a number of employers of labor, not very many, who themselves are most difficult to reach when a question arises affecting them. Some of them are most ac-

tive and energetic in helpfulness to secure adjustments for organized labor when the question affects another employer. Only quite recently an incident of that kind occurred.

I want to say to you candidly this: I am going to stick to the trade union movement, no matter what you do. It is dearer to me than any other institution on earth. I owe it so much. The opportunities it has given me, the opportunities to be helpful to others. To have witnessed the gleam of light and life that has come into the homes of our working people where gloom and misery obtained before, is no mean thing to surrender. I suppose there were some who imagined that when the question came up to John Mitchell in the position in which he was placed, the choice of leaving the Civic Federation where he was doing constructive, helpful work and being paid a good salary, so that he could live comfortably and perhaps lay something by for his advancing years, or leaving the union to which he belonged, he would leave his union. Some who have not the broad conception of the deep sympathy and convictions that are in the breasts of some men imagined he would leave the union rather than leave his position. But he didn't.

I will say for myself that I am going to stick. It is true I am sixty-one years old. I think that if I only take a little bit of care of myself I will outlive lots of fellows, and I am not going to let up, I am not going to quit, I am going to stick to the union. It is too late for me to change my whole mind and life, it is too late for me to learn new tricks. The labor movement is ingrained in my very being. The cause of labor, the cause of humanity, the cause of justice, the cause of freedom, have too deep a rooting in my make-up for me to give up this movement in which I see the future hope for liberty and justice and humanity. I want to be of service. I have tried to be of service. I propose to be of service. I think there would be no greater mistake made in the labor movement of our country than to attempt to cripple or limit the service that the men of labor propose and are anxious to give to the cause of organized labor and humanity.

Vice-President Duncan—Mr. President and Brothers: I will not detain you very

long, but on behalf of the committee that gave this subject a great deal of attention, I rise simply say for them that after we had gone into the subject, as we did go into it, the report was the unanimous conviction of the members. One of the first speakers this afternoon made a statement which I feel should be answered, and so far it has slipped the memory of those who have preceded me. One delegate, I think Mr. McDonald, of the Mine Workers—in that I may be wrong, but of the statement I am sure I am correct—said that as far as the coal miners were concerned they knew nothing that the Civic Federation had done for their organization. The same speaker also said that others might have information of what had been performed and they could speak for themselves. If I be wrong as to the delegate on the floor of the Convention, I am certainly not wrong as to the same delegate before our committee.

I desire to say that the first information I got about what the Civic Federation might and could do was a turn it made for the Mine Workers, and my whole concept of its purpose has been predicated since that time upon the act to which I refer. And I do not know, even from the statements made this afternoon by the other organizations, if there is any other organization that has received more of a helping hand than did the mine workers at the time to which I refer.

When the first great coal strike took place in the anthracite region, and John Mitchell and his lieutenants, as the coal barons in that district called them, were endeavoring to do something for the coal miners there, he found it impossible to reach the men whom it was essential to meet to get something in the way of recognition and betterment for the people he represented. As a last effort the suggestion was made that the National Civic Federation might get these people to meet with him. The first effort was unsuccessful. The second effort was successful, and the four great coal barons of the anthracite valley, including Baer, who afterwards claimed partnership with God, were told to meet John Mitchell. And they met him. He got a hearing before them through that influence, and it was primarily because of that hearing that

the success which followed it was attributable.

It is true the anthracite mine workers did not gain a great deal in compensation at that time, but a foundation was laid through the act to which I am referring whereby their organization was built up, their position better understood, people who prior to that time had not been given any hearing whatever were given a hearing by those barons; and the conflict in the second contention was carried to the White House, where John Mitchell and three or four of his colleagues met the President of the United States with the coal barons of the hard coal fields of Pennsylvania, in defending the position of the mine workers of that region.

At the conference that was held in the second strike, I was present when Brother Mitchell and his committee met those coal barons, and I have told a story in connection with it several times that I am going to repeat. Among the four coal mine owners and railroad magnates who met us was Mr. Olyphant, of the Delaware and Hudson. When we were ushered into the room where these four men stood awaiting us one or two of them, without a smile, I assure you, very stiffly bowed to us as we said good morning to them; Mr. Olyphant placed himself back of a chair, folded his hands securely at his back for fear he might forget himself and put out his hand to shake the hand of a union man. In the discussion that followed, and all of which was predicated upon this act of the Civic Federation for the Mine Workers, Mr. Olyphant said that in the hard coal valley there was peace and plenty and contentment among the mine workers until John Mitchell's organizers came along and preached the gospel of discontent and got them dissatisfied. He went on to tell what he had done for them.

And in my own rugged way I could not help asking Mr. Olyphant the question if it was true that there had been so much peace in the valley, and it was attributable to him, why was it they had not instituted Olyphant Day in the hard coal field as a holiday instead of Mitchell Day because of the accomplishment of John Mitchell for those people? I asked him if he knew that after the first great conflict there, when John Mitchell vis-

ited the locality after the conferences I have referred to, and which were got by him for the National Civic Federation, that among the many thousands of people who lined both sides of the streets and the road that sturdy men unhitched the horses from the carriage that was carrying him and considered themselves honored by pulling the carriage themselves, while thousands of women with the picture of misery on their faces sat or knelt by the roadside in prayerful attitude and said in seventeen languages, "God bless John Mitchell," as he went by. Some of them reached out their hands, feeling a new impulse would come to them if they could but touch the spokes of the wheels of the carriage as it went by. Not only that, but I asked Mr. Olyphant if he knew that, under the shadow of the big breaker in Scranton, hundreds of breaker boys surrounded John Mitchell, some of whom had been working in the very breaker in whose shadow they stood, and presented him with a silver dollar medal changed to suit the occasion. Upon one side of the silver dollar was the word "From" and a cut of the breaker. Upon the other side was the word "To," and under it the shape of a school house—From breaker to school house.

And I assure you from my knowledge of John Mitchell's magnificent and sympathetic nature there has nothing been given to him in the way of a gift by the coal miners as a whole, or by any of their states or state conventions, whatever the value may have been, that he prizes more highly than the medal he got from the breaker boys in Scranton in commemoration of the act he performed in helping them get an education and preventing them under a certain age from being employed in the breakers.

I am sure that Duncan McDonald has heard of that. Perhaps he forgot it, but I again say, and it is all I am going to say at the present time, because the others who have preceded me have covered the ground thoroughly, that my whole concept of the value of the Civic Federation to organizations so situated is predicated upon the act of the Civic Federation in getting the first hearing for the President of the Mine Workers' organization from the coal barons of Pennsylvania.

Delegate McDonald (D.), asked that a

roll call be had on the motion to adopt the report of the committee. A sufficient number of delegates supporting the demand, Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

Roll Call on Report of Committee on Resolutions Nos. 10, 18, and 125, in Regard to the National Civic Federation.

Ayes—Kennedy (A. J.), Noschang, Klapetzky, Fischer (Jacob), Anderson (Ed), Franklin, Casey, Weyand, Flynn (Joseph), Sovey, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Brewery Workmen's delegation (180 votes). Butterworth, Ryan (F. M.), Butler, Clark, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Macfarlane, Young, Flynn (T. F.), Kelly (W. J.), Swartz, Crozier, Richardson, Tveitmo, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Smith (J. T.), Conway, Pfell, Christman, Pinson, Hughes, Scooby, McNulty, Collins, Fay, Yount, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Kinsella, Mangan, Smith, Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Landers, Altman, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Duncan, Bianchi, Russell, Lawlor, Moffitt, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Etchinson, D'Andrea, Marshall, Kenahan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller, Pattberg, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Brock, Bryan, Gehring, O'Connor, Kelleher, Cole, Vonnacrell, O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Lowe, O'Donnell, Gerry, Price, Call, Daly, Rumsay, O'Sullivan (M.), Bobb, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Painters Delegation (563 votes), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Hannah, Sheret, Woll, Donlin, McGivern, Ward, Clark, Alpine, Tracey (Wm.), Murphy, Malley, Nelson, Menge, Berry, Marks, Johnston, Malin, Perham, Soyster, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Nolte, Mahon, Taber, Commons, Lilly, Flynn (Patrick), Furuseth, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Mitchell (M. W.), Short, Bridwell, Kaefar, Connors, Lennon, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, Golden, Morgan, Williams (T. J.), Carolan, McAndrew, Evans, Curtis, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson, McCullough (T. W.), Birnes, Cooke, DeVaux, Mulcahy, Holder, Flicker, O'Brien, Myers, Durnin, Wilkerson, Leary, Dowd, Graney, Snay, Jones (Jerome), Hirsch, Tharp, O'Brien (Wm. H.), Lowell, DeYoung, Ferry, Conner, Hasspflue, Smith (L. W.), Carter, Sontheimer, Haines, Briggs, Scogan, Quick, Gray, Schneider, Abell, Doherty, Fahey, Agathen, Wendt, Albrecht, Holland, Pace, Taylor, James, Russi, Johansen, Ingram, Leonard, Smith (A. W.), Noonan, White, Smith (Chas. T.), Morton, Voll, Morris, McAndrews, Bohm, Forehand, Dwyer, Dunne, East, representing 11,851 votes.

Nays: Brewery Workmen's delegation

(270 votes). Humphrey, Barnes, Zuckerman, Rosenberg, Dyche, Bloch, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dubinsky, Nestor, Selway, Buckley, Handley, Mitchell (John), Hayes (F. J.), Lewis, Walker, McCullough (E. S.) McDonald (D.), Wilson (W. B.), Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Painters Delegation (113 votes), Cartledge, Sutor, Mounts, Gallagher (J. J.), Brais, Biggs, Hayes (Max S.), Mikel, Smith (J.), Donoghue, Ryan (E. H.), Lavin, Smith (T. J.), Henretty, Weber (F. J.), Buckley, Torrey, Hurley, Carroll, Cox, Mead, Schaffer Coleman, Ullrich, Philippi, Willby, Wright, Engdahl, representing 4,924 votes.

Not Voting—Koch, Kerker, Kline, Golden, Flanagan, Gilmore, Wilkinson, Ring, Roach, Coakley, Gaviak, Freel, Hatch,

Gallagher, (A. J.), McKenna, Lawrence, Coffey, Iglesias, Blakey, Kelly (W. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Heck Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans, Skemp (Meta), Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.) Davis, Wangberg, Welsh, Fuller, Alonso, Winchenback, Becerril, Wilson (O. C.), Ford, Belt, Welsh (T. E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Cornette, Lebowitz, Saum, Ham, Manning, Schaub, Crinlon, Roberts, Glockling, representing 465 votes.

President Gompers—The report of the committee is adopted.

At 7:15 p. m. the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, November 22nd.

Ninth Day---Wednesday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a.m., Wednesday, November 22, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfell, Coakley, Gavlak, Sheret, Gallagher (A. J.), Lawrence, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh, Creamer, Donnelly, Schaub.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

"Boston, Mass., Nov. 21, 1911.

"Frank Morrison,

"A. F. of L. Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"Regular meeting at headquarters of Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union sends fraternal greetings to American Federation of Labor Convention and wishes you success. Also that all members of this organization are not in favor of a transportation department and thirty-five hundred have not as yet spoken. The meeting here resolves that such a move will be detrimental to both the Seamen and the American Federation of Labor and deny the right of fifty-two members in the New York branch to speak for the entire organization.

"WM. H. FRAZIER, Gen'l. Secy.

"GEORGE CUMMINGS, Chairman."

"Seattle, Washington, Nov. 20, 1911.

"American Federation of Labor Convention,

"Atlanta, Ga.

"Provision trades urge you to visit Seattle on your next annual pilgrimage. Come and behold the beauties of the Queen City of the Pacific northwest, its beautiful lakes, lofty mountains and historic totem poles. If from Missouri we will show you that real western hospitality cannot be surpassed.

"M. S. GOOD, President."

"Seattle, Wash., Nov. 20, 1911.

"A. F. of L. Convention,

"Atlanta, Ga.

"Greetings from the Joint Local Executive Board of United Brewery Workers, Seattle, Washington. Send a cordial invitation to hold the next convention at Seattle, Washington.

"ADOLPH FAUST, Secretary."

"Seattle, Washington, Nov. 20, 1911.

"Frank Morrison,

"A. F. of L. Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"The United Waiters of this city join with other trades unions, commercial, civic and fraternal bodies in requesting you to meet with us in 1912. Come and admire the beauties of nature; behold our vast resources, partake of our hospitality; carry home a totem of our friendship.

"M. S. GOOD, Secretary."

"Seattle, Washington, Nov. 19, 1911.

"American Federation of Labor Convention,

"Frank Morrison, Secretary,

"Atlanta, Ga.

"Waitresses' Union, Local 240, sends greetings and invites you to hold the 1912 convention in Seattle, Washington. We have got the time; we have got the place and we have got the girls.

"ALICE M. LORD,

"Secretary-Treasurer."

"Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 20, 1911.

"Mr. Frank Morrison,

"Sec'y. A. F. of L., Atlanta, Ga.

"The Rochester Waiters' Alliance, Local 763, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, respectfully requests your influence to boost for Rochester for your next convention and be assured of a royal welcome.

"Signed,

"THE EXECUTIVE BOARD,

"C. Parry Compere, Chairman."

Delegate Smith (C. T.), obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of resolution No. 173.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President O'Connell—I move that 10 o'clock Thursday morning be made a special order to hear the report of the Committee on Adjustment. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison announced that a complete report of the discussion on the Civic Federation resolutions would be prepared and printed Friday evening, and later would be incorporated in the permanent proceedings.

Delegate Fahey moved that the discussion had in the Convention on the Civic Federation resolutions be also printed in pamphlet form for distribution throughout the country. (Seconded and carried.)

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 16—By delegation representing White Rats Actors' Union:

WHEREAS, It having been the custom of Booking Agents throughout this country in making contracts for theatrical entertainments to set aside the largest part of the appropriation for their own use, The White Rats Actors' Union, desiring not alone to protect its own membership from the rapacity of their booking agents, but to also protect the various Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, do here-

by request that the following circular letter be made a part of the official records of this Convention and be published in the official minutes of this Convention:

To Organized Labor—Greeting:

As you are aware that The White Rats Actors' Union and The Associated Actresses of America are part of the American Federation of Labor through direct affiliation, and we have in our membership of over 12,000 Actors and Actresses, all of the best and desirable acts in Vaudeville, we would respectfully ask your consideration of the following resolution adopted by our Organization, which is of material benefit to you and our general membership.

It has been a custom with booking agents to enter into contracts furnishing entertainments for a stated sum of money, thereby giving them the right to pay individual acts an amount of money which would allow the booking agent to deduct for his share in many instances considerable of the appropriation, we would ask that in your business relations with any booking agent there shall be two conditions embodied into the contract.

1st. All acts and members thereof shall produce on the night of the entertainment a paid up card in full benefit of the White Rats Actors' Union or the Associated Actresses of America; failure to do so being sufficient cause for the prevention of said act making its professional appearance.

2d. That the said booking agent shall furnish to the Entertainment Committee a list of the acts engaged to appear on the night of the entertainment, with salaries attached thereto, which salaries shall be paid direct to the acts who shall appear.

You will realize by these two requests that we desire to have none but union acts appear and, secondly, to protect you in such a way that it will be an assured fact that you will receive full value for your appropriation.

With the hope that you will insist in the enforcement of these two provisions in your contract, we are

Fraternally yours,

WHITE RATS ACTORS' UNION AND ASSOCIATED ACTRESSES OF AMERICA.

The committee recommended that the request contained in the "Whereas" of the resolution be granted.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller and Joe L. Winkler, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The civilian musicians of the United States of America have, for the last twenty-five years, made every possible effort to secure legislation, which would absolutely prohibit the enlisted musicians in the army and navy of the United States

from entering into the competitive field and, more particularly, the Marine Band of Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, In this effort the civilians were supported by the National League of Musicians, which has since merged into the American Federation of Musicians, and the American Federation of Labor, and after twenty-five years of agitation, a bill approved May 11th, 1908, was passed by Congress prohibiting enlisted musicians in either the army or the navy from competing with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, When this bill was approved and about to be enforced the commander of the marine corps claimed that the bill did not apply to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C. This being a question of law, was referred to the then attorney general of the United States, Charles Bonaparte, who in June, 1908, took the matter under advisement, and did not come to a decision, until the day after the general election in November of that year, and then he made the astounding decision that the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., was not a part of the naval service of the United States. This decision resulted in this band, which was really the objective point of the law, being allowed to continue in this competition with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, Recognizing the absurdity of such a decision, the A. F. of M., through its proper officials, made an appeal to the President of the United States to have this matter again referred to the law department of the United States with a view of exactly defining the relationship of the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., to the United States Government, which decision was by the President referred to the attorney general, and no word has been heard from it since; and

WHEREAS, To forever settle this question, a joint bill was introduced in the House by the Hon. Richard Barthold, of Missouri, and in the Senate by Senator W. J. Stone, of Missouri, which, if passed, will forever settle the question as to any enlisted men in the service of the United States being allowed to compete in any capacity with civilians, to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life for emolument, hire, or otherwise when the same shall interfere with customary employment and regular engagements of local civilians in their respective arts, trades, or professions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at every Convention, when this question was brought up, has always heartily endorsed this idea of preventing the competition of civilians with enlisted men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Atlanta, Ga., heartily endorses this

resolution, and instructs its Legislative Committee to do everything in their power that legitimately can be done, to have this proposed legislation made into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates A. Furuseth and Patrick Flynn, of the Seamen's International Union:

WHEREAS, The seamen of the country are deprived of individual liberty and are compelled to suffer hardships and wrongs far beyond what is inherent in the calling; and

WHEREAS, Under treaties with foreign powers, our government imposes the same involuntary servitude upon foreign seamen coming to our ports; and

WHEREAS, These laws are destructive to life and property at sea as well as a hindrance to the development of an efficient body of seamen; and

WHEREAS, H. R. 11372, introduced by Hon. William B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, is designed to improve the condition of the seamen and the safety of life and property at sea; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we urge upon Congress the immediate consideration of the bill and its speedy enactment into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate William D. Clark, of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the Senate of the United States a Bill (S. 2564), known as the Smoot Printing Bill, the main purpose of which is to codify, amend and enact printing laws, but which contains at the end of its 110 pages, an eight line section which indirectly repeals a law of Congress enacted for the purpose of safeguarding the people's currency against the dangers of counterfeiting; and

WHEREAS, The maximum of safety against the evils of the counterfeiters' art is guaranteed by what is known as the hand-roller process of manufacturing paper securities; and

WHEREAS, A cheaply manufactured paper money in the making of which are to be discarded, for the sake of a false economy, the high art features of the engravers' and printers' crafts, which alone render impossible reckless and widespread counterfeiting such as prevailed in the days of the "wild-cat"

currency of the long ago, would entail incalculable losses upon the common people; and as proof, experience teaches that counterfeiters apply their skill principally to producing and putting in circulation the small notes which pass current among farmers, and the working classes in the cities and towns, on the assumption, which is well grounded, that those classes will be the least suspicious and the more easily deceived with well executed counterfeiters; and

WHEREAS, It is the highest duty of the Government to throw every possible safeguard about the paper money which it manufactures and puts in circulation among the people to the end that their present implicit confidence in this function of government may not be misplaced or destroyed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, protests against the repeal of the law of Congress of 1893 which provides that the paper money, bonds and checks of the United States shall be manufactured in the highest style of the art by what is known as the hand-roller process. We do not believe in a cheap country, cheap men, cheap wages, or a currency cheapened to the danger point of encouraging counterfeiting. In this respect the people have implicit confidence in their Government, and our pride and interest alike demand that this confidence shall not be destroyed. The people, in the last analysis, are the Government, and their voice, and not that of the selfish and scheming interests, should prevail in this matter of so vast, far-reaching and vital concern.

RESOLVED further, That all bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are hereby requested and urged to make immediate and strong protest against the repeal or modification of the law hereinbefore referred to, such protests to be sent to the Senators and Representatives of the States and Congressional Districts wherein the protesting bodies are located; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies hereof be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives with a request that the same be printed in full in the Congressional Record.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate L. P. Phillips of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis:

WHEREAS, One of the most effective means of exploiting the great masses of the people of this country is the over-capitalization of the railroads

by the speculators and pirate-gamblers who are in possession of these important means of transportation; and

WHEREAS, This system of wholesale robbery of the people under the cloak of lawful and legitimate business should be checked without delay and for this purpose such legislation should be enacted as would make the over-capitalization of railroads and similar enterprises a crime punishable by law, such punishment to consist of forfeiting the charter or charters of the corporations violating such laws; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor considers it the duty of organized labor to protect the people against this system of gambling in watered stock; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the incoming Executive Council shall without delay inaugurate a campaign against this watered stock gambling in railroad enterprises;

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to co-operate with the legislative committees of all the state federations of labor with the view of inaugurating a systematic campaign throughout the land in favor of anti-watered stock legislation both by the several state legislatures and by the United States Congress;

RESOLVED, That the state federations affiliated with the A. F. of L. be hereby called upon to render all possible aid and assistance to the Executive Council in its efforts to carry out the object of this resolution.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, when amended by striking out the word "incoming," preceding the words "Executive Council."

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates William J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Joseph Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union:

WHEREAS, It has been reported to the representatives of the White Rats Actors' Union that actors and actresses in different parts of this country have made personal appeals to the various state and local central bodies to assist these individuals in settling local differences between the actor and his employer; and

WHEREAS, To prevent the state federation and local city central bodies assisting those who may apply claiming membership in the White Rats Actors' Union and abusing the confidence of these bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all officials of the American Federation of Labor, state federation and central labor unions shall first communicate with the main office of the White Rats Actors' Union, when application is made for assistance and upon reply, if favorable, may assist in any way that shall tend to satisfactorily settle the difficulty.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Smith (L. W.), who stated that it would be difficult to make such investigation in case a central body wished to render prompt assistance to actors, and cited a case where the Executive Board of the Detroit Central Body had been able to secure the salary for some people who were under contract to give a performance, but the contract was not carried out by the manager.

Delegate DeVeaux stated that it would take but a short time to communicate by telegraph with the office of the organization to ascertain the standing of members.

Delegate Russi discussed the question briefly, and stated that the Central Body in San Antonio had been appealed to on two different occasions, and had rendered assistance to those actors carrying the cards of the Actors' Union.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate John B. Lennon, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Federal Council Commission on the Church and Social Service are undertaking a nation-wide campaign to secure for all industrial workers one day's rest in seven; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is unqualifiedly on record for the same for many years, and have been efficiently working to that end; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we heartily appreciate the co-operation of the "Commission on the Church and Social Service" to the end of securing the one day's rest in seven, and pledge to the Commission, and to all others who may assist in this work, our hearty and earnest assistance.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution 52 be amended by striking out the word "allow" in the fourth line of the last Whereas and inserting the word "permit," also striking from the end of the same whereas the words "capital combinations by making it a factory worked by slaves with hardly any pay to cover the necessities of life" and inserting "combinations of capital." Also striking out Section 4 of the first Re-

solve, "The radical abolishment of convict labor in public work," and inserting "The abolition of any form of convict labor for private profit, convict labor to be prohibited on public work, with the exception of road-making and the manufacture of articles for penal and eleemosynary institutions;" also striking out the words "six days" in the second Resolved and inserting the words "as soon as possible," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias, Rafael Alonzo and Joaquin A. Becerril:

WHEREAS, The policy announced to the people of Porto Rico by the representatives of the American people and the American administration, at the time of the occupation of the island, was to the effect that they had come to our shores for humanity's sake and work out the salvation of the people by giving them protection in their civil and human rights; and

WHEREAS, The Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico has committed itself against the enactment of Labor laws to better the conditions of the workmen, while capital is offered every opportunity to increase its resources and encroaching power to the detriment and injury of the Labor interest, the needs and problems of which are ignored and contemptuously treated; and

WHEREAS, There are at present in Porto Rico two hundred thousand children under fourteen years of age, who are being deprived of an education on account of the fact that the local government has failed to provide a sufficient number of schools and teachers; and

WHEREAS, A large number of said children are now being employed and exploited in factories and other establishments with great risk to their lives; and

WHEREAS, The American people and their administration being well aware of their responsibilities toward Porto Rico, are in duty bound to not permit the prosperity and progress of the island to be at the mercy of combinations of capital; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that a committee be appointed which, jointly with Porto Rican delegation and presided over by the President of the American Federation of Labor, shall call on the President of the United States and transmit to him the following recommendations:

1. That the President of the United States recommend to the Governor of Porto Rico to cause the introduction of bills in the Executive Council of Porto Rico, tending to the enactment of the following acts by the Executive Council and Insular Legislature;

2. That the school appropriation be increased to twice the amount now expended annually.

3. That the salaries of the Porto Rican

school teachers be placed on the same scale as those paid to American teachers.

4. That the eight-hour working day act and the Labor Liability Act of the United States become a law of Porto Rico and enforced by the different heads of the Insular Departments.

5. The abolition of any form of convict labor for private profit, convict labor to be prohibited on public work, with the exception of road making and the manufacture of articles for penal and eleemosynary institutions.

6. An act to protect the agricultural laborer working in sugar and others from the mercilessness of trusts, sugar factories, that is to say,

An act providing for a thorough inspection of factories, shops, apartment buildings and all kinds of establishments for the purpose of improving the now terrible sanitary conditions thereof.

The establishment of a branch of the Labor Bureau in Porto Rico for the benefit of the people of the island; and

The enactment of a law prohibiting the employment of children under the age of fourteen years in factories, work shops and like establishments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the aforesaid committee shall discharge the duties herein stated before the President of the United States as soon as possible after the adjournment of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates T. H. Gerrey and T. J. O'Donnell, International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the Interstate Commerce Commission that where the cost of the operation of a railroad is increased through increased wages being paid to its employees, the railway company which has thus increased its cost of operation, shall be allowed a fair proportion of the increase in their transportation rates.

The committee reported as follows: Believing that it is not advisable for this Convention to pass upon the principle embodied in the resolution, we recommend nonconcurrence.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 60 be amended by striking out the word "we" in the third line of the last Resolved and inserting "the American Federation of Labor." Also striking out the word "our" in the fourth line and inserting "its," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Post Office Clerks are the only federal civil service employees who have no legalized regulation as to the number of hours that shall constitute a day's work, and are, therefore, often compelled to work an excessive number of hours without extra compensation; and

WHEREAS, Due to that fact, and because the duties of a Post Office Clerk are of an arduous nature, both physically and mentally, thing and long hours of labor imperils the health of such workers, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks have petitioned the Post Office Department to recommend the enactment of legislation that will provide "that eight hours to be worked within ten consecutive hours shall constitute a day's work for Post Office Clerks"; and

WHEREAS, We believe our Government should be foremost among all employers of labor in maintaining a high standard of working conditions, and equitable treatment of its employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled in Atlanta, Ga., do hereby go on record as indorsing the request of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks that a law be enacted that will provide "that eight hours to be worked within ten consecutive hours shall constitute a day's work for Post Office Clerks;" and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in view of the fact that the Post Office Clerks are prohibited from petitioning Congress, that the American Federation of Labor do hereby instruct its Legislative Committee to strive to have such a measure enacted into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the amended resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, stated that the committee had taken joint action on Resolutions 64 and 75, and offered a substitute for the two resolutions. The resolutions and the substitute are as follows:

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate A. Johannsen, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The United States Government has in operation at Mare Island, California, a large and fully equipped navy yard at which the largest of battleships can be built at a fair cost of construction and under good working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Congress at its last session authorized the building of naval ships under the eight-hour work day; and

WHEREAS, There appears to be a movement on foot by various private ship yards not to bid for the construction of these ships under the eight hour law, thereby attempting to force the Govern-

ment to grant these contracts under a longer work day, which is against the interest of all workers, we therefore believe that the Mare Island Navy Yard should be considered; and

WHEREAS, The building of the Panama Exposition will bring a large number of mechanics to the Pacific coast, who at completion of the Exposition buildings will be thrown out of employment, thereby overcrowding the market for labor; and

WHEREAS, The building of this battleship at Mare Island would greatly assist in solving the problem of the unemployed of this coast, and would also be of educational benefit to the many thousands of visitors that will come to the Pacific coast during the life of the fair; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the plan as set forth and urge our National Senators and Congressmen to use their best efforts to the end that Congress enact legislation for the building of a battleship at Mare Island Navy Yard, which shall be under course of construction during the life of the fair; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates at the Convention urge their respective organizations to write their Congressmen requesting that they lend assistance to this movement.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate J. W. Holder, of the Florida State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is reported in the public press that private shipbuilding companies have refused to bid upon the new battleship authorized at the last session of Congress, because of the application of the eight-hour day law to battleship construction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That efforts be made by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations to extend the construction of battleships, colliers, etc., in more government navy yards, and that Congress be urged to equip the government navy yards at Boston, Philadelphia, Norfolk and Mare Island for the purpose of doing all of its new work, as well as its repairs, thereby establishing efficiency, economy and absolute independence of all private contractors, who levy tribute upon the nation by excessive bids and who on the other hand, employ labor under the long ten-hour day at low wages and under sweated conditions of employment.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee is strongly opposed to the spirit of militarism and the creation of enormous navies by the nations of the world, and in this attitude it is supported by the unanimous voice of the trade unions of Europe and America. Nevertheless, as the existing unchristian attitude of the nations of the earth is such as to make armament necessary for the present, and as naval vessels will for a time be constructed for the service of

the United States, your committee submits the following as a substitute for the resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to use its best efforts to have all naval vessels for the service of the United States constructed in its government navy yards.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Treasurer Lennon—I desire to enter my protest against declaring that armaments are necessary. I do not believe any such thing. I believe when our government sets an example to the world the opposite of that it is more than likely that other nations will fall in line and militarism will disappear from the greatest civilized nations of the world, and their attentions, instead of being directed towards destruction, will be directed towards construction.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, stated that the committee had qualified their reasons for stating that armaments were necessary.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Efforts have been made during the past three years to establish an eight-hour work day on government dredge work; and

WHEREAS, We are justly entitled to same, as conditions on this work are such that a shorter work day can be granted, and it would mean a great deal toward the uplifting of humanity and the general welfare of the dredgemen employed on this work; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions were adopted at the annual convention of all the dredge workers on the Great Lakes held in Detroit, Mich., on the 14th day of February, 1911, petitioning their honors, the President and the Vice-President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to use their efforts in behalf of an eight-hour work day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That an appeal be made that the Government Engineers make ample estimates on Government dredge work so as to enable the contractors to grant the eight-hour work day. They, the contractors, have advanced the argument repeatedly that the reason they cannot grant the eight-hour work day on government dredge work is because the government engineer's estimates are so low they cannot afford to grant the men a shorter work day; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association to the convention of the American Federation of Labor will introduce resolutions advocating the eight-hour work day on all government dredge work, and instruct that a copy of these resolutions be sent by the Secretary of the Convention to the President of the United States and the Secretary of War; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of this Convention shall send copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, Vice-President of the United States, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and the Secretary of War.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 68 be adopted when amended to read:

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Efforts have been made during the past three years to establish an eight-hour work day on government dredge work; and

WHEREAS, We are justly entitled to same, as conditions on this work are such that the eight-hour work day can be granted. It would mean a great deal toward the uplifting of humanity and the general welfare of the dredgemen employed on this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That an appeal be made that the Government Engineers make ample estimates on Government dredge work so as to enable the contractors to grant the eight-hour work day. They, the contractors, have advanced the argument repeatedly that the reason they cannot grant the eight-hour work day on government dredge work is because the government engineers' estimates are so low they cannot afford to grant the men a shorter work day; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of this Convention shall send copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, Vice-President of the United States, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and the Secretary of War.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in and the resolution as amended adopted.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates C. P. Fahey, of the Trades and Labor Council, Nashville, Tenn.; T. G. Kennedy, of the Trades and Labor Council, Memphis, Tenn., and T. J. Smith, Tennessee State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The first Monday in September has been declared a legal holiday in honor of, and at the request of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It is fast becoming a custom for theatrical managers to take advantage of the holiday for the purpose of giving special matinees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we request the Executive Council to take the matter up with the different theatrical agencies to the end that no special matinees will be had on Labor Day.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to take such steps as will secure the most efficient and satisfactory celebration of Labor Day.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Chas. P. Fahey, Trades and Labor Council, Nashville, Tenn.; T. G. Kennedy, Labor Council, Memphis, Tenn.; T. J. Smith, Tennessee State Federation of Labor; John T. Smith, Cigar Makers International Union; P. J. Doherty, Central Trades Council, Mobile, Ala.; W. E. Bryan, United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods; J. W. Bridwell, Stone Cutters' Association; Chas. W. Wilkerson, Missouri State Federation of Labor; Jerome Jones, Atlanta Federation of Trades; Samuel Kelly, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers; W. A. McKenna, Georgia Federation of Labor; F. A. Martin, Trades and Labor Assembly, Waycross, Ga.; A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans, Tobacco Workers International Union; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union:

WHEREAS, The Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Louis, adopted a resolution, No. 87, endorsing the organization known as the Southern Conference on Woman and Child Labor, whose objects are the procuring of uniform legislation in the southern states in the interest of women and children; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we reaffirm the action taken by the St. Louis convention and recommend to the labor organizations of the South that they send representatives to the next conference which will be at Chattanooga, Tenn., in April, 1912, and that the action of this convention be communicated to all state and central bodies not later than February, 1912, by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 80 be amended by inserting

the word "channels" after the word "river" in line 5, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate J. W. Holder, Florida State Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to draft suitable eight-hour provisos to be inserted in the several appropriation bills, providing for the construction of river channels, harbors, and an appropriation bill providing for fortification, which includes ordinance and armor, so that in future all such public work done for the United States Government may conform to the eight-hour provision as was enacted by the last Congress in the construction of battle-ships.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Jas. M. Lynch and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, Death is annually taking a toll of human life from the ranks of the industrial workers through the agency of preventable disease and accident that is appalling in its total figures, totals that would shock the world if published in connection with a war or any great disaster, but which are passed over with stolid indifference because they deal mostly with the lives of men, women and children who are engaged in the daily struggle for existence; the economic loss through this cause amounting to sums that are represented by thousands of millions of dollars annually, without reckoning the human anguish, both mental and physical, which accompanies this waste of human life and energy that has challenged the attention of students as no other problem recently presented; and

WHEREAS, These victims of greed are multiplying because of the indifference that has made it possible for a contractor to bury his own dead without interference of authorities, or where an inquiry is held, it is done in the most shamelessly perfunctory manner, or which will permit a gigantic corporation to hide behind impenetrable walls the individual tragedies that happen almost hourly; this condition has again and again been brought to public attention through the protest of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated bodies; and

WHEREAS, The efforts of the several International Unions of the jurisdiction, whose membership is peculiarly susceptible to the danger of occupational disease or hazard, have through their own initiative and activity established beyond peradventure that ordinary prudence exercised in the equipment and management of shops will protect the life and limbs of workmen engaged in these hazardous occupations, and has also established that improvement in the sanitary conditions of the work shop which

brings with it a lessening liability to occupational disease, even to the point of eradicating the danger entirely. It having been shown in the case of printers of North America that the shortening of working hours and improvement in shop conditions have lengthened the longevity of the workmen to such an extent that the figures for the last decade show the astonishing change in the average life of the printer nearly nine years, and similar improvement has been noted in other occupations wherein similar care has been exercised in providing proper equipment and surrounding for the workmen; all this establishing beyond dispute or cavil the proposition that human life can be conserved without a lessening of the profits of the industry, and also establishing the truth of the accusation that hundreds of thousands of lives are sacrificed to the greed and avarice of the unscrupulous employer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we give our commendation to all efforts from whatever source that are sincerely put forth to better conditions that surround the employment of the working men and women of the world; that we especially commend the efforts of those International Unions which have so steadfastly struggled to secure for their members the improved conditions of employment that have resulted in the lengthening of the lives of their members; that we give our encouragement to all organizations that are interested and seriously engaged in the work of providing against the occupational disease or hazard of employment by providing such safeguards as will obviate the danger to which the unfortunate members of these crafts are now exposed; that we are in sympathy with the efforts of other bodies who are making investigations to the end that preventable disease may be obliterated; and that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies will continue to give assistance and support at all times to the furtherance of the cause that has for its object the amelioration of the evils that now destroy so much of human usefulness.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 90.—By Delegates Wm. J. Cooke, Jos. Birnes and Harry DeVeaux, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, At the last convention held in the city of San Francisco, a resolution was introduced by the Actors' National Protective Union instructing the convention and all its affiliated international and national unions, state federations and city central bodies to assist the organized Actors in their efforts to have remedial legislation passed in the different states better protecting the rights and equity of contracts for actors between the actor and his employers; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this action which has been endorsed at many of the succeeding conventions, laws have been passed in the various important state legislatures having for their purpose the proper legislative control over so-called theatrical employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, During the 1910 session of the New York State legislature a measure was passed and signed by the governor, known as Chapter 700 of the consolidated laws, an act to regulate employment agencies, which law was introduced and passed by the White Rats of America; and

WHEREAS, In the city of New York, the most important employment centre for the engagement of actors and actresses, the enforcement and operation of this act to regulate theatrical agencies is vested in an official known as the Commissioner of Licenses, who is an appointee of the mayor; and

WHEREAS, The present incumbent is now an organizer of the State Federation of Labor of New York and was for many years the official organizer of the American Federation of Labor for the New York district; and

WHEREAS, There exists a difference of opinion between the White Rats Actors' Union and the said Commissioner of Licenses as to the proper enforcement of the most vital sections of the present law, so much so that conditions are in a more confused and chaotic state than ever before, practically nullifying the most important sections of the law and leaving the actor and actress at the mercy of theatrical agencies, who should be compelled to live up to the letter of the law, but who are disregarding all attempts at regulation and control by proper local officials, and who are willfully violating each and every provision of the present law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs President Samuel Gompers to call a conference in the city of New York at the earliest time possible after the adjournment of this convention, to which shall be invited a committee of the White Rats Actors' Union, the Commissioner of Licenses of the city of New York and such members of the Executive Council as in his judgment may assist in bringing about a more perfect understanding between the White Rats Actors' Union and those engaged in enforcing the law known as Chapter 700 of the Consolidated Business laws, "an act to regulate employment agencies."

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 94 be amended by inserting the word "voluntary" before the word "financial" in line two of the last Resolve, the resolution to read:

Resolution No. 94.—By Delegates of the

Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers, Railway Carmen, Pipe Fitters:

WHEREAS, There has been in progress for the past six weeks on the various roads forming the Harriman system, one of the largest strikes that has ever taken place on any of the railroads of the United States and involves all members of the several mechanical trades which constitute the System Federations on the Harriman lines proper and the Illinois Central railroads; and

WHEREAS, This strike was forced upon the men by the arbitrary acts of the management in discriminating and discharging the men and refusing to do business with the System Federation, notwithstanding the fact that many railroads have been doing business for some time with a Federation of their employees to the mutual advantage of both railroads and men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do heartily endorse the action of the men in going on strike in vindication of the right to federate and secure equitable conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge them moral and voluntary financial aid and call upon all affiliated organizations to contribute as largely and promptly as it is possible for them to do.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey stated that the Committee on Resolutions had completed its partial report.

Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate McKenna, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 1—By International Association of Machinists' delegation:

WHEREAS, The 12th Convention of the I. A. of M. held at St. Louis, Mo., 1907, went on record as being in favor of petitioning the U. S. Congress to enact legislation granting compensation to federal employees meeting with accident in the course of their employment; and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Congress in response to the petition so made, did in the year 1908, enact a law during the 60th Congress establishing the humane principle of "Automatic Compensation for Accidents to Government Employees in Hazardous Employment"; and

WHEREAS, This act of Congress, while being correct in principle, is grossly insufficient in its award for death or permanent injury, the sum of only one year's wages being provided for such casualties; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. are

hereby instructed to urge the passage of an amendment to the Government Employees' Compensation Law, so that a minimum of five years' wages shall be allowed in the case of death by accident, and to those meeting with permanent injury, a minimum sum equal to 50 per cent. of the wages, or to provide further that a settlement in full can be made by paying a lump sum equal to seven years' wages.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, and that the Executive Council use its best efforts to have suitable legislation enacted.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate James M. Lynch, of the International Typographical Union:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the retirement of Government employees on pension, and directs its executive officers to petition Congress for the passage of a law embodying this reform, and also to appear before the proper committee in Congress in favor of the bill.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee concurs in the sentiment of the resolution, and believes that the purport can be best accomplished by a general old age pension law, as is suggested by Resolution No. 4, of the Massachusetts State branch of the A. F. of L.

Delegate Nelson moved that Resolution No. 57 be read and considered with Resolution No. 2. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Durnin moved that Resolution No. 4 be considered with Resolutions Nos. 2 and 57. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary McKenna read the following resolutions; with the recommendations of the committee on each:

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate T. J. Durnin, representing Massachusetts State Federation:

WHEREAS, Most working men in our country receive in return for their labor so small a part of what they produce, that it is all expended in merely keeping alive, since the average wage is not more than four hundred (400) dollars a year, it is impossible for three-fourths of the population to save a competency for their old age; the working class of the United States is not better off in the matter of wages than the working class of other countries, but in many other countries the duty of society to the aged is recognized. Old Age Pension Laws have been passed in Germany, Denmark, Italy, Austria, Great Britain, France, Australia, Canada and New Zealand; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation

of Labor, in convention assembled at Haverhill, in 1911, goes on record in favor of a comprehensive national old age pension system, and instructs its delegates to the American Federation of Labor to present its position to the next convention of the A. F. of L. for action.

The committee recommended concurrence in the sentiment expressed in the resolution, and recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, Our government is the only one of the recognized civilized nations of the world that does not provide for its civil servants when they reach the age of superannuation after having given the active useful years of their lives in loyal and efficient services to the public; and

WHEREAS, There is now pending before Congress a measure known as H. R. 729, introduced by Congressman Austin, of Tennessee, which provides "that a 15 per cent increase in salary be granted all Federal Civil Service employees and that thereafter deduction shall be made monthly from such salary, to be held in trust by the Government to be paid as annuities when the employee is retired as superannuated or returned to them or their heirs in the event of resignation, dismissal or death before the retirement age is reached;" and

WHEREAS, Such a measure will insure the Government against carrying superannuated employees on the active payroll and will provide against the sad spectacle of faithful employees being dismissed from the service with no provision for old age, and is equitable in that it does not provide for the establishment of a civil pension list for a special class of citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in Atlanta, Ga., do hereby endorse and instruct our legislative committee to endeavor to have H. R. 729 enacted into law.

The committee endorsed the position of the N. F. P. O. in their efforts to better their condition, recommended that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. take such action as is consistent with the policies of the A. F. of L. and that Bill H. R. No. 729 mentioned in the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for careful consideration.

Delegate Nelson—The reason I requested that Resolution No. 57 be considered at the same time as No. 2, or at least that both be read before action is taken on either is that the resolution I introduced is in effect a protest against the enactment of a measure that will provide civil pensions for federal civil service em-

ployes. I notice the committee has recommended that the proposition to endorse the specific bill be referred to the Executive Council. I have no objection to the proposition to refer to the Executive Council, but if No. 2 is adopted it places the American Federation of Labor on record as favoring a civil pension for federal civil service employees.

Delegate Nelson spoke at some length in opposition to a special pension for federal civil service employees, but stated that he favored a general old age pension law or a measure that would allow the federal civil service employees a sufficient compensation for their work to enable them to lay aside a portion of their salaries, to be retained by the Government for them until it was needed.

On motion of Delegate Nelson Resolutions Nos. 2, 4 and 57, with the recommendations of the committee, were referred to the Executive Council.

Resolution No. 23, by the Central Labor Union of Lancaster, Pa.:

WHEREAS, The second Sunday in the month of May each year has been set aside as Labor's "Memorial Day" and it has been found, particularly in the Northern states, that suitable flowers for decorating the graves of our departed ones are hard to secure so early in the season, and the further fact that "Mother's Day", which is generally observed in churches and by other religious societies, diverts attention away from our memorial services; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Labor's Memorial Day be changed from the second to the fourth Sunday of May, and that hereafter the fourth Sunday in the month of May shall each year be observed as Labor's Memorial Day.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates James M. Lynch and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The officers of the American Federation of Labor have undertaken the dissemination of Labor News and notes through the medium of a Weekly News Letter issued from A. F. of L. headquarters, and distributed to the various labor publications of the country, to friendly newspapers, and to others who are entitled to receive the same, thereby affording a great convenience to all who are interested in the spread of accurate and reliable information concerning the labor movement, not only in America, but of the entire world, in all its ramifications; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of

the American Federation of Labor does hereby commend the course pursued by our officers in thus providing a weekly news service which can be depended upon to furnish the latest and most reliable information obtainable; that it has proven to be of much usefulness to the editors and others involved; that its accuracy has been tested and its service established to the point where its value can hardly be estimated; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That our officers be instructed by this Convention to continue this service, increasing its scope and volume as they may deem prudent or expedient, and that the secretaries of all organized bodies be requested to co-operate to the end that the value and usefulness of this service may be enhanced.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 91.—By Delegates Wm. J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Jos. Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The White Rats Actors' Union intend to cover this country with its organizers for the purpose of properly carrying out its methods and policies and in so doing, it will be necessary to have and receive the moral support of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Atlanta, Ga., request all international and national unions, state federations and local city central bodies to render moral support to any and all traveling representatives of the White Rats Actors' Union and assist in all matters that will materially bring about better trade conditions between the employers of actors and actresses in this country and their employees.

The committee recommended that the word "instruct" in line 3 of the resolution be stricken out and the word "request" inserted, and recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 146.—By Delegates Thos. V. O'Connor, Martin Cole, M. W. Kelleher and P. F. A. Vaccarelli, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The laws passed by the Senate and House of Congress, June 6, 1910, and covered and contained in department circular No. 207, changes the laws under which steamers of 65-foot may be operated; and

WHEREAS, This causes a hardship on the licensed tug-men and crews of fishing and pleasure steamers by placing lives in danger by having said steamers operated by incompetent pilots or engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the above law is detrimental to the best interests of life and property, and we ask that this law be changed so that it will not include boats propelled by steam; be it, further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. use all force at their command for the enactment of a statute repealing this vicious law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Conservation of Natural Resources," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has noted with a great deal of pleasure and interest that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Conservation of Natural Resources," and recommend that this convention go on record as approving the action of the Executive Council, and further recommend that the Conservation Committee of the A. F. of L. be continued during the coming year.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Industrial Education," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has carefully noted the progress made by the Special Committee on Industrial Education appointed by the A. F. of L., and recommend that the action of the Executive Council be concurred in. We further recommend that the special committee obtain all information possible and make a full report to the A. F. of L. Convention in 1912.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "A. F. of L. News Letter" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee considers the establishment of the "A. F. of L. News Letter" as one of the many important reforms put into effect by the A. F. of L. Its good results are so manifest that it would be useless to discuss the matter at length, as Resolution No. 85, introduced by James M. Lynch and T. W. McCullough, conveys the ideas of the committee. We recommend that secretaries of local, central, federal and state bodies be urged to give

the A. F. of L. office accurate and prompt information about all matters referred to them, so that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor will be in a position to give out accurate information from his office to the press. We further recommend that when a report of the unfairness of a firm or business has been received, or when an individual member or officer has been reported as having violated any of our laws, that every effort to assure the reliability and accuracy of such reports be made before publishing them.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

When the report of the committee on the subject of Industrial Education was made President Gompers and Treasurer Lennon spoke of the value of the reports that could be secured from the Government on that subject, and advised all those interested in the matter to secure them.

The committee made a further report in regard to Industrial Education, which was discussed very briefly and referred back to the committee for some slight changes.

Report of Committee on Secretary's Report.

Delegate Conway, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

We, your committee on the report of Secretary Morrison, beg leave to offer the following for your consideration and action thereon:

That part pertaining to the receipts and expenditures, cash on hand and sureties, has been compared and acted upon favorably by the Auditing Committee, and we, your committee, agree with the findings of the Auditing Committee.

On page 3 of the report under the caption of "One-Cent Assessment" and the "Three-Cent Assessment" we find that there is a balance being carried in these funds and we therefore recommend that the same be transferred to the general fund of the Federation by the Secretary, avoiding a great deal of duplicating in accounts.

Your committee desires to call special attention to that part of the report of the Secretary bearing upon the benefits paid to the members of the International organizations during the past year, which has been forwarded to the Secretary of

the American Federation of Labor. The magnificent amounts dispersed by the international organizations in fraternal benefits are something worthy of great thought, not only in demonstrating clearly to the unorganized as well as to the organized, the wonderful benefits to be procured through affiliation with organized labor. This report proves that the magnificent increase in wage scales—the shortening of the hours of labor is not all that can be gained through affiliation and we would recommend that all organizations paying benefits in the way of sick, death, or funeral, report the amounts during the coming year, more concisely, to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, to be incorporated in future reports by that official. By doing so, there can be no doubt when publicity is given to it that it will aid largely in increasing membership.

The American Federationist.

We, your committee, recommend that the Executive Council, or those designated by the Council, use greater effort to secure an increased subscription to the American Federationist. We feel positively that were the Federationist brought before the attention of every local affiliated with national or international bodies, greater education would be had in the industrial movement. The magazine is published entirely in the interest of labor and is its official paper, or in other words, it is the official mouthpiece, to convey news of the very best interest to the workers, as well as beneficial for organizing purposes, and in recommending the above for the consideration of the Convention it is done with the purpose of bringing the Federationist more before the public, and having it read by a greater number than at the present time.

Your committee desires at this time to direct particular attention to pages 21 and 22 in which is conveyed information of the greatest value. The plate on page 22 is well worthy of not only the greatest study, but of special action by this Convention. The magnificent clearness with which Secretary Morrison demonstrates the growth of the Federation since the year 1897 to 1911 is so patent that your Committee recommends that the same be printed in a four-page pamphlet for general distribution.

In the handsome increase in member-

ship since 1897 is demonstrated without peradventure of doubt that the solidarity of the American Federation of Labor is of such magnitude that it is impossible for human agency to dissolve it.

In conclusion, your committee takes the liberty of sincerely congratulating Secretary Morrison upon the magnificent report furnished to this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The entire report as compiled by the secretary shows that the greatest care and study were used in bringing about truthful and statistical facts, and the members of your committee feel that they would be lax in their work were they not at this time to compliment and congratulate the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and his staff upon the magnificent proof to you and to the world, of labor's magnificent growth through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally,

A. B. LOWE, Chairman.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

RICHARD H. CURRAN.

CHAS. T. SMITH.

THOS. L. HUGHES.

H. J. CONWAY, Secy.

E. LEWIS EVANS.

HARRY DEVEAUX.

JAMES R. CROZIER.

THOMAS RUMSEY.

WALTER V. PRICE.

JAMES GERON.

MARTIN LAWLOR.

HUBERT S. MARSHALL.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate DeVeaux moved that an agreement between the American Federation of Musicians, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and the White Rats Actors' Union of America that had been entered into by these organizations be read and made part of the proceedings of the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the following agreement was read:

At a conference called by the President of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in the city of Atlanta, Ga., on the 20th day of November, 1911, by and between Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, Joseph F. Winkler and David A. Carey, representing the American Federation of Musicians; John F. Barry, John Suarez, George W. Peterson, representing the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and William J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Joseph

Birnes, representing the White Rats Actors' Union; it was recognized that it is to the best interests of those employed in and about the theatres, that a closer bond of affiliation and sympathy should exist, thus bringing about more concentrated action when necessary to advance the best interests of the members of the three unions necessary to the production of a theatrical performance, and therefore, it was mutually agreed:

FIRST: That every moral influence shall be exerted by the officials and locals of the American Federation of Musicians and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees to adjust any differences wherein a member of the White Rats Actors' Union may become involved, provided the White Rats Actors' Union is not in a position or finds it impossible to give to its members the necessary aid or assistance.

SECOND: All requests for moral assistance made by a member of the White Rats Actors' Union to either the American Federation of Musicians or International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, or any of the affiliated locals of either organization, shall be referred by the party to whom the request is made, to the White Rats Actors' Union, for the purpose of passing thereon before action is taken.

THIRD: The White Rats Actors' Union will show to the American Federation of Musicians, the International Theatrical Stage Employees and the members and officers thereof, the same consideration as paragraphs First and Second of this agreement provides for the White Rats Actors' Union and its members.

FOURTH: Either party to this agreement may give same any publicity it may desire.

FIFTH: Nothing in this agreement shall be so construed as running contrary to the laws, rules and regulations of any organization party thereto, nor shall any proviso contained in this agreement be so construed as to interfere with the charter rights which any organization party thereto enjoys as a member of the American Federation of Labor.

Representing American Federation of Musicians:

JOE N. WEBER.

OWEN MILLER.

JOE F. WINKLER.

DAVID A. CAREY.

Representing International Alliance of

Theatrical Stage Employees:

JOHN J. BARRY.

JOHN SUAREZ.

GEO. W. PETERSON.

Representing White Rats Actors' Union of America:

HARRY DEVEAUX.

WILLIAM J. COOKE.

JOE BIRNES.

President Gompers called for reports from each committee in turn. No committee being ready to report, Vice-President Duncan moved that the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to

9:30 Thursday morning to allow the committees to complete their reports. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth moved as an amendment that the time for convening be 9 o'clock Thursday morning. The amendment was accepted by the mover of the original motion.

Delegate Carter moved as a substitute that the rules be suspended and that the convention hold a session at 7 o'clock p. m., Wednesday evening. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan objected to the substitute, as it would prevent the completion of the report of some of the committees Wednesday evening.

The substitute offered by Delegate Carter was lost.

The original motion, as amended by Delegate Furuseth, was adopted.

At 12:15 p. m., the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 a. m., Thursday, November 23rd.

Tenth Day---Thursday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9 a. m., Thursday, November 23, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfeil, Roach (John), Coakley, Sheret, Gavlak, Coffey, Kelly, (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Wendt, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Ingram, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, (J. L.), Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Carey (D. A.), Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Your Committee has received a telegram from James J. Freel, of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, requesting that Henry S. Bird be substituted in his place as a delegate because of his inability to attend the remaining sessions of the Convention.

Your committee reports further that a request is made that Percy Thomas, of the Commercial Telegraphers, be substituted for L. A. Pinson.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Delegate Furuseth, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

In considering and reporting upon the President's report we have, for convenience, classified the subjects treated under five different heads:

- First: Organization and growth,
- Second: Industrial Activity,
- Third: Litigation,
- Fourth: Political Activity, and
- Fifth: The McNamara Case.

Organization and Growth.

It is very gratifying to note the substantial growth of the affiliated organiza-

tions connected with the American Federation of Labor during the past year. It shows an awakened interest in our movement not of that sporadic type that grows up like a mushroom in the night and dies as quickly as it came, but of a substantial nature based upon a greater knowledge of the evolutionary progressive movement in which we are engaged.

To make a showing of this kind, despite the battle which has been waged against us, demonstrates the correctness of our policies. The more those who seek to destroy us antagonize our movement, the more it appeals to the intelligence of those who are led to investigate it through the discussion that has been aroused.

We do not court antagonism, but when it does come, we are satisfied that as our aims and objects are thereby brought into the limelight they will appeal to the sense of justice to all fair minded men.

Adopted unanimously.

Pacific Coast Trip.

The educational and organizing benefits derived from the trip of President Gompers across the continent to the Pacific Coast can scarcely be overestimated.

It gave an opportunity to thousands of wage workers and students of economic problems to hear those problems discussed by the authorized spokesman of the organized workers of our country. It gave a better understanding and a clearer view of our aims and purposes not only to our membership and to the unaffiliated workers who listened in great numbers, but also to the student and to the business man who at all times took occasion to hear and pay attention to what was said. It removed from the minds of the people who heard him, many false and absurd notions concerning our aims, our objects and our policies which had been fostered by our enemies to the detriment of the movement. It also gave to the President himself, through immediate contact, a closer acquaintance, not

only with the currents of thought, but with the men of our movement of the Pacific.

We suggest that whenever possible similar trips be undertaken by the President.

Adopted unanimously.

American Federationist.

Next to the oral communication such as was exemplified by the speeches during the trip of President Gompers, is the written communication of thought, and as there are varying degrees of ability in presenting a case orally, so there are varying degrees in presenting it in writing. The American Federationist has remained in the forefront in the clearness with which it has presented the historical facts connected with our movement, its present day activities and our hopes of future achievement.

We heartily commend the American Federationist to our members and friends, realizing the advantages that can be obtained in the way of information and education from the contributed articles and editorials contained therein upon every phase of the labor movement. We note with interest the improvement in the magazine during the past year, and the high class of articles contained therein, and recommend that this standard be continued. We also desire to impress upon the members and friends of organized labor the necessity of giving greater support to the magazine by subscribing for the same to a greater degree in the future than has obtained in the past.

Adopted unanimously.

The Labor Press.

One of the most effective channels through which trade union propaganda is conducted is the bonafide labor press of our country. Many of the editors of these papers are self-sacrificing enthusiasts in the cause of humanity. We commend the suggestions of President Gompers relative to the labor press to the careful consideration of all who are interested in the trade union movement or the "important social problems of the day."

Adopted unanimously.

Organizers.

We would be lacking in a true conception of justice if we did not express our appreciation of the great work of the thousands of voluntary organizers who freely give their time, their intelligence and their energy towards the building up of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies, continually sacrificing their own comfort with no other hope of reward than the satisfaction of having done what they could to promote the welfare of mankind.

What we have said of the self-sacrificing spirit of the voluntary organizer applies equally to the paid organizer who endures the inconvenience of a tramp life away from home most of his time, with no more pay than he could at any time earn at his trade, in order that he may, in this way, contribute his mite towards the advancement of his associates. On that subject we endorse the following language from the President's report:

"In their labors our organizers especially illustrate the zeal, courage and intelligent effort which may always be relied upon on movements intended to promote the common good. There is not one of these organizers but has considered the various methods by which he, or she, might aid their fellow-workers, and has selected organization as the most promising in achievement. Most of them have proceeded with their labors year in and year out, asking no remuneration other than the feeling of having performed a duty. They have been unselfish. They are honored by their co-workers, who know and appreciate them. They deserve the sincere thanks of their delegates here assembled, which I take pleasure in expressing on behalf of the great movement in which we are enlisted."

We need more men, both volunteer and paid, to carry on this work and trust that the time is not far distant when methods will be developed by which more funds will become available for organizing purposes.

Adopted unanimously.

Labor Day and Labor Sunday.

We thoroughly agree with President Gompers in the educational value of Labor Day and Labor Sunday, and with him urge the fullest possible celebration of the one and use of the other.

Adopted unanimously.

Migratory Laborers.

The St. Louis Convention referred the question of the migratory workers to the Executive Council. The Executive Council after more investigation and deliberation, instructed President Gompers to further investigate this matter in the territory from whence the idea had come and which he was then about to visit. We urge upon every delegate, upon all the members of the labor movement, and upon all the students thereof, to read with care what the President has to say upon this subject.

We endorse his recommendations, and in addition, desire to say that in the condition of what is sometimes called the migratory workers, or the casual worker or the hobo, lurks a most serious danger not only to our movement, but the whole of existing society. This condition must be transformed. He must be endowed with courage for the present, with hope for the future and with an affection for his fellow workers, feeling that they are one with him and he with them, that they are willing to give thought, time and money to the consideration and improvement of his condition; that they will, if necessary, halt in their own progress in order to find the ways and means necessary to give to him, in a large measure, that which organized men already have achieved. We realize that the located and stationary worker of today may be the migratory worker of tomorrow, that our interests are, therefore, mutually interdependent, and being such, it is our duty to ourselves and to the migratory workers to assist them to assist themselves.

To that end, we recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to devise methods by which migratory workers can be organized, and to expend such money as in their judgment is necessary to accomplish that purpose.

Adopted unanimously.

Departments.

The formation of departments is practically a new departure in our methods of organization.

We are pleased to note the progress which has been made by the various departments already organized. We realize that there will be many difficulties met with, many problems to be solved

which require patience, judgment and perseverance in working them out to a proper solution, and we suggest to the organizations affiliated with the various departments, the greatest forbearance with each other in dealing with the problems which must of necessity arise.

Adopted unanimously.

Canada.

The splendid growth of the International trade union movement in Canada demonstrates that our Canadian brothers realize the importance of unity on industrial questions affecting the workers on both sides of the national boundary which divides us politically. We believe that this growth can be encouraged and the Canadian movement greatly strengthened through the co-operation in international organizations having headquarters in America and local unions in Canada and we urge that all International Unions having local unions in Canada affiliate those local unions with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and pay the taxes to the Congress on their Canadian membership direct through the international officer.

Delegate Lowe—I suggest that the Executive Council give this matter all the consideration it can. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has to deal with a dual organization. I hope the officers of the international organizations having locals in Canada will also give it consideration.

Adopted unanimously.

Porto Rico.

We are glad to note the healthy condition of the trade union movement in Porto Rico; that they have had strikes during the past year is in itself an indication of progress. Men do not strike unless they are discontented with existing industrial conditions. That they are more dissatisfied with existing political conditions than heretofore is also an indication of progress. We recommend that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions give all the moral and financial assistance possible to the Porto Ricans in their struggle for better economic conditions.

We further recommend that the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee be instructed to use every hon-

orable means available to secure the passage through Congress of a measure which will give to the Porto Ricans full recognition as citizens of the United States.

Adopted unanimously.

Fraternal Delegates.

The exchange of fraternal delegates between Great Britain, Canada and ourselves has been of great educational and organizing value to our movement. It has given us a better knowledge of the problems to be dealt with and the means of dealing with them. We have been able to profit by their experience and we trust they have been able to profit by ours. It is, therefore, in no perfunctory way that we welcome them amongst us.

We feel that greater benefits are yet to be derived from our mutual intercourse, more complete solidarity of the movement throughout the world and ultimately a higher standard of living and civilization for all mankind.

Adopted unanimously.

International Secretariat.

That our exchange of fraternal delegates has already led to good results is apparent from the benefits derived through our affiliation with the International Secretariat. For years we had been misrepresented to, and misunderstood by, the European trade unionists to such an extent that we were in a great measure outlawed by them in the consideration of trade union affairs. Our industrial conditions have been seriously injured as a result of that misunderstanding. We are, therefore, rejoiced at the better knowledge of the American labor movement which has been given to the European trade unionists by our delegates to the International Secretariat, and the greater unity of action which must result from the personal contact and better information furnished to them by those delegates.

We hope for the ultimate formation of the International Federation of Labor on the lines previously proposed by this organization.

We recommend a careful reading of the report of the President upon this subject and particularly desire to emphasize the final paragraph, which reads as follows:

"The peoples of all civilized countries

are coming to the realization that in many respects they have a cause in common—that of justice, freedom and humanity. There is no force in society so potent to crystallize that sentiment and the establishment of human brotherhood as the historically developed and developing labor movement of the world."

Unanimously adopted.

Delegate Wilson, Chairman of the Committee—It is apparent that we will be unable to finish the report of the Committee on President's Report by the time for the special order for the Adjustment Committee is reached. I therefore move that the special order for the Adjustment Committee be postponed until after the completion of the report of the Committee on President's report. (Seconded and carried.)

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY.

Baldwin Locomotive Strike.

The conditions existing in the Baldwin Locomotive Works prior to the strike are but a fair example of what may be expected where industrial absolutism obtains. It is a demonstration of the patience of the American workmen that they endured the conditions existing there as long as they have and yet the issue proves the necessity for thorough organization, complete preparation and intelligent direction of labor's forces. We desire to quote and endorse the following language from the President's report on the lessons of that strike:

"The lesson that was taught by this action of the wage-workers for a great corporation is the necessity for thorough organization, for a large treasury, and for heeding the advice of officials of experience, who possess a knowledge of the state of trade and employment throughout the country. It is true that on occasions, when practically all the workers of a calling may reasonably be expected to respond to the demands of the more outspoken and venturesome, everything may be risked on a general walk-out and a complete tie-up of an industry. Enthusiasm, public opinion, financial aid from many quarters—these may, in such circumstances, stand in the place of the usual reliance of established trade unions on their financial resources. Successes, and notable ones, have thus been gained; but the international officers and the local union delegates may usually be trusted to foresee the chances for or against victory."

Adopted unanimously.

Ladies' Garment Workers' Strike.

The employers in the Ladies' Garment

Workers' trade in Cleveland have been and are the personification of industrial absolutism. They have cared nothing for the welfare of the women and children employed by them, except insofar as they could wring profits out of their labor.

The revolt has come. The struggle has been fierce, as they usually are under such conditions. They have received some assistance. They should have the full moral support of all lovers of freedom and fair play and be given such financial support as our people are able to provide in order that their contest may be brought to a successful issue.

Adopted unanimously.

LITIGATION.

Post Suit Against A. F. of L.

We note what President Gompers says relative to the Post suit against the A. F. of L., and we are particularly interested in the statement that the suit brought by Post is for the purpose of securing three-fold damages under the Sherman Act.

We recommend that the Executive Council be directed to defend the case in all its stages.

Adopted unanimously.

Hatters' Case.

We are pleased at the reversal of the verdict in the Hatters' case by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals and at getting some clearer definition of what the law is. But while we are pleased at the verdict of the lower court having been reversed we should not lose sight of the fact that the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals has made absolutely plain the necessity for amendment of existing law, so that it will embody the principle that patronage and good-will, if it is property at all, is the property of those who have the patronage and good-will to bestow.

We recommend that the Executive Council be directed to continue to assist the Hatters in the defense of this case.

Adopted unanimously.

Injunction—Contempt and Retrial.

Under this heading the President gives a summary of the development of the Buck's Stove and Range Company case. The Supreme Court, in finding that an agreement had been reached between the "Buck's Stove and Range Company"

and the American Federation of Labor, refused to consider the appeal submitted by the A. F. of L. against the issuance of the injunction, as well as the Buck's Stove and Range Company's appeal against the modification thereof and dealt purely with the question of contempt.

The Court reversed the decision of Justice Wright which had been affirmed by the Court of Appeals and sent back the case to the lower court in the following language:

"The judgment of the Court of Appeals is reversed and the case remanded with directions to reverse the judgment of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and remand the case to that court with direction that the contempt proceedings instituted by the Buck's Stove and Range Company be dismissed, but without prejudice to the power and right of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to punish by a proper proceeding contempt, if any, committed against it."

Justice Wright immediately called the attorneys for the Buck's Stove and Range Company into court and instructed them to investigate and report whether there be good cause for believing that Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were guilty of contempt of court. This action was in direct line with his manner and the language used when imposing the original sentence for contempt as well as that of his other actions in this case, and his action since. In the opinion of this committee, the whole proceeding has more of the characteristics of persecution than trial and it is very difficult indeed to understand the conduct of Judge Wright, except upon the theory that he is lacking in the temper and qualifications that should and usually do constitute the judge, and we cannot help but express our deep regret that a man so lacking in judicial temperament should ever have been elevated to the bench.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

President Gompers—I am glad the Committee on President's report has had an opportunity to present this subject to the delegates at this time. About thirty minutes ago a newspaper man informed me that he had received information from his home office at Washington that Mr. Justice Wright was about to render his decision in the Su-

preme Court of the District of Columbia this morning upon the motion to dismiss the charges of contempt against my two colleagues, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Morrison and myself.

Since I have obtained recognition from you, Mr. Chairman, to address the Convention upon the motion before the house I have been handed two sheets of paper which I have not yet had an opportunity to read; but such as it contains, and without any attempt to read it first I shall, in view of the fact that it has been handed to me in full view of the delegates to this Convention, read it.

President Gompers read the following: Bulletin.

"Washington, Nov. 23.—Judge Daniel Thew Wright, voicing the opinion of the district supreme court, in general terms today overruled motions of Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison, officers of the American Federation of Labor, to dismiss contempt proceedings against them on the ground that the application of the statute of limitation, held that contempt of court is not a crime and can therefore not be subject to the statute of limitations.

"He gives the counsel representing the labor leaders three days in which to reach an agreement with the committee previously appointed as to a suitable person to be named commissioner to take testimony as to the alleged.

"There being no faith or merit in any part of the motion it must be overruled," said Justice Wright.

"Of the parts of the labor leaders, motion urging the dismissal of the contempt proceedings, he said that they 'be put aside for they seem at best frivolous and insincere.'

Continuing the opinion says:

"Of the fallacy that alleged contemnners are contending with judges, contemnners cannot too soon unload their minds; for if charges of contempt are true the contest is against the supremacy of the law. The duty and concern of judges is only this: That for and in the name of the people the supremacy of the law should be maintained."

"Opinion read by Wright. Big crowd present."

In discussing the question President Gompers said in part:

The decision of the court is that the motions made by the defendants, Mitchell, Morrison and Gompers, have been dismissed and three days given for our attorneys and the attorneys of the prosecution to determine as to who shall be examiner. The examiner is simply one who has to be present when the testi-

mony is taken. He has no power of any sort. If anything transpires he may report it to the court, but he cannot enforce any ruling; he has no ruling to make. In the report I had the honor to submit to this Convention I referred to our efforts to secure the trial of this case in open court before the judge, rather than have it referred to an examiner, if our motions to dismiss were overruled. During the taking of testimony in the original contempt proceedings a number of questions were put to me which I knew were entirely irrelevant, which were facetious and maliciously put and I at times turned to our counsel and in whispered conversation asked him if I ought to be compelled to answer the questions, and if I might not as well take a chance and refuse to answer and take the consequences. He said that he could not advise me not to answer. I had to answer the questions. Questions put later were of such an outrageous character that I simply on my own initiative declined to answer them. I was asked whether they were incriminating. I refused to answer that. The questions were certified to by the examiner and brought to the attention of the court. The court decided, after an argument of several hours, that I had to answer, no matter what the question was.

No principle for which we were contending was involved in that procedure, and I answered. The proceedings before the commissioner were resumed, and I answered. We were contending for a principle upon which we apprehended the Supreme Court of the United States would in the last analysis decide, the question of our right of self-ownership and the ownership of our patronage; the right to do collectively the things we had the lawful right to do as individuals. We could not get the Supreme Court to decide on that question, because they declared when our case reached there by reason of our having come to an agreement with the company that had theretofore been our antagonist it made the case a moot case and the court declined to decide upon it. Upon the resumption of taking testimony before the commissioner I had to answer the questions. The questions were irrelevant. The answers in reply were all taken in short-

hand and written out. Objections may be made by the attorney for the defense. The objections are stated, but they are in print and the judge, after reading the question and then reading that answer, may upon the objection as recorded rule out both the question and the answer; but what human being is so constituted that he is not in some way or other influenced by the things which he has read?

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

The People—The Judiciary—Injunctions Defense.

Under this caption President Gompers says in part:

To our 1908 Denver Convention, I took occasion to report:

"It is quite evident that it is the purpose of labor's opponents to entangle us in constant litigation before the courts, involving not only our time and attention, but enormous expense for legal counsel, printing, and court fees. The expenditures of time and money have been enormously increased in recent times, since the further abuse of the injunction writ and the Hatters' decision of the Supreme Court, all of which have been taken advantage of by all union haters.

"The contempt proceedings against Messrs. Mitchell, Morrison, and myself have just closed. The Executive Council or I may again be cited for contempt of court because I have undertaken to report the status of the case to this convention; and no one can foretell to what limits the contempt proceedings, injunction cases, and other suits may extend. For one, I am free to say that I shall not recommend the levying of additional assessments or making appeals for voluntary contributions in legal defense of these cases. If it is the intention of those who are hostile to the interests of the toilers of our country to take advantage of the trend of court decisions for the usurpation of the toilers' rights by the injunctions, let them proceed as they will without our assuming to do the impossible—that is, to be represented by competent legal counsel. If the situation is to become so acute, let us personally as best we can, defend our rights before the courts, taking whatever consequences may ensue. For one, I can see no remedy for these outrageous proceedings, unless there shall be a quickening of the conscience of our judges or the relief which the congress of our country can and should afford."

The committee to which this subject was referred made a report, upon which ensued a prolonged discussion and which was finally amended and adopted by the

convention, as follows (the committee quoted part of my report upon the subject, which has already been mentioned herein):

"Bearing this in mind your committee desires to state that whenever the courts issue any injunctions which undertake to regulate our personal relations either with our employer or those from whom we may or may not purchase commodities, such courts are trespassing upon our relations which are personal relations, and with which equity power has no concern; that these injunctions are destructive of our rights as citizens, as well as of popular government, and we therefore declare that we will exercise all the rights and privileges guaranteed us by the Constitution and the laws of our country, and insist that it is our duty to defend ourselves at all hazards, and we recommend that such be our action, taking whatever results may come.

"We further recommend that when cited to show cause why such injunctions should not be issued, we should make no defense which would entail any considerable cost, and we further recommend that when cited for contempt the proper policy is as outlined above. We further desire to warn our fellow unionists that testimony extorted under equity process may be partially used in a damage suit under the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

"However, your committee feel constrained to say that when blanket injunctions are applied for or issued by the courts against the members of unions for no other reason except that they are members of the unions, and these injunctions are applied for or issued solely for the purpose of intimidating the members, we believe that such legal advice and protection as may be necessary should be provided for them by the organizations in interest."

Since that declaration of our 1908 convention the situation has not materially changed, except that events have made it, perhaps, more acute.

The question has therefore arisen in my mind as to whether in the recent past we have pursued the most practical course in the legal defenses we have presented to the courts when unwarrantable injunctions have been issued and we have been cited to show cause why we should not be punished for alleged violation of the injunctions—for contempt of court. Labor's antagonists have sought to entangle us in all forms of litigation involving large expenditures of the hard-earned money of the workers; they have to a considerable extent made impossible much constructive uplift work of our men and of our movement. The conclusion reached in one case has not had its definite determination by which the courts of other or of equal jurisdiction have limited their course. The question of doubt which has arisen in my mind as to the course we have pursued raises the further thought whether at some time

we shall not appear in our own persons and in our own defense without the aid of attorneys; that is, whenever, after due study and consideration of the facts relative to an unwarrantable injunction in a labor dispute, it is decided by the union or unions interested that the members have good grounds for holding and maintaining that their fundamental, constitutional, and inherent rights are invaded by the injunction, and if arrest ensues, those workers who are taken before the courts shall decline to employ the services of counsel, but shall themselves assert their rights under the law and then abide by the consequences—if imprisonment follows, the victim in any case to accept his fate; the members of the union concerned to take care of his family or dependents, and the usual agents of publicity, especially the labor press and the spokesmen for the unions, to appeal the case to public opinion. By such a course any usual terrors of jail imprisonment will be annulled. It is clearly no disgrace to have been convicted under court decrees which the masses of the people know are oppressive and ill-grounded, which form mere fiat law which has not been made through elected representatives in the course of legislation, and the general terrorism of which, by recent votings, the citizens of whole states have shown that they oppose.

The suggestion that hereafter we shall decline to employ the services of counsel when unwarrantable injunctions have been issued and we have been cited to show cause why we should not be punished for alleged violation of the injunction, was beyond question the correct line of policy under the conditions existing at the time the Denver Convention was held. Since that time the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison case has materially changed our position in relation to injunction when issued.

For the first time in the history of the Supreme Court it has taken occasion to divide contempt into two elements, one remedial and the other criminal. As long as the practices of the courts caused them to use that form of punishment which the Supreme Court designates as criminal, that is imprisonment for contempt or a fine, going to the court, it would have been good policy to have declined to employ the services of counsel and to have defended our rights personally before the courts, taking whatever consequence might ensue.

But with the suggestion made by the

Supreme Court that punishment for contempt may be remedial in character that is, the court may impose three-fold damages for the benefit of the person or corporation suing out the writ, it becomes clearly apparent that the funds of every labor organization in the country are at the mercy of the courts whenever an injunction is issued, and we might just as well spend these funds in defending them and our members as to allow the courts to take them in the form of damages.

We, therefore, recommend the continuance of the policy of defending our members wherever possible when they are cited to show cause why an injunction should not be issued or why they should not be punished for contempt.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I move as an amendment to the last paragraph that the words "do not," be inserted before the word "recommend."

Vice-President Duncan declared the amendment not in order, as it was a negative motion, and the same result would be secured by voting down the report of the Committee.

Vice-President Mitchell discussed the question briefly and said in part:

"I am sick of having this matter brought up in Convention after Convention. Justice Wright acts as though he were conspiring with the defense to bring this case to the attention of the public every time a Convention of the American Federation of Labor is being held, not as though it were done for the purpose of embarrassing the defense, but for the purpose of helping them.

"I don't want the American Federation of Labor or any organization affiliated with it to spend any more money in defending me, and I am sure that is the way President Gompers and Secretary Morrison feel about it. And if there is no great principle involved in which the rights of the men of labor are interested, and vitally interested, I think we might as well stop hiring lawyers and allow Justice Wright to have his way.

"I am free to confess I do not want to go to prison. I would give a great deal to remain free, but if there is no escape from the vindictiveness of

this judge, except a term of imprisonment, I wish we could get started to serve the term and have the matter over with. The very prolongation of this litigation is a greater loss to me than would come from serving nine months in jail.

"I do not want to make any declaration as to what my purposes would be in this matter without consultation with my associates so as to determine how far the principles of organized labor are involved in the case now pending; but if the interests of organized labor are not now at stake I would be perfectly satisfied to advise our attorneys to withdraw this case, let us go to trial in whatever way we can and accept the consequences whatever they may be. At any rate, whatever the policy of the American Federation of Labor is going to be in regard to any other man, no matter how humble he may be, then that policy must apply equally to the three defendants in this case. In other words, if all men are not to be defended, then we must not be defended.

"I said a year ago I was anxious to withdraw from the vice-presidency of the American Federation of Labor, that I had retained the vice-presidency with the thought perhaps that if I was compelled to serve a term in prison it might be more helpful to the labor movement if I served as vice-president of the American Federation of Labor than as a private citizen. I had hoped by the time this Convention arrived we would have served the sentences, or, better still, would have been cleared."

In discussing the question Delegate Wilson, Chairman of the Committee, said in part:

"In the portion of the president's report the Committee in dealing with it discussed the question of defense in these cases generally, and not in the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case specifically, but including them in the general proposition. I may say from a knowledge of the discussions in the Committee that if we had been dealing with the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case specifically we still would have recommended a continuation of the defense; we would have refused, so far as the Committee was concerned, to have allowed the vindictive persecution of Judge Wright to drive us away from the de-

fense of the officials who are accused in his court."

Chairman Wilson discussed the status of the case at some length, and concluded by saying it was the policy of the Committee to continue defending the case in question and similar cases so far as lay in the power of the organization.

The case was discussed briefly by Delegate Woll. After referring to the status of the case Delegate Woll said:

"It means simply that absolute control and dictatorship is possessed by the judge in these contempt proceedings. I fail to see where the state or federal government places the power in any one man to say he may do as he wishes, that if a man commits an offense the rules as applied in civil cases or the rules that hold good in criminal cases do not hold good. I think we should be more than ever determined to proceed and question the right of this court to say whether the safeguards of citizens and the safeguards of our constitutions are to be swept aside by a contempt procedure. If we are to have a dictatorship let us have that made clear."

Delegate Lavin discussed the question at some length, and referred to the fact that in the Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor he had introduced a resolution from the Central Labor Union of Wilkesbarre, Penn., calling upon the American Federation of Labor to declare that the time had come when court injunctions were to be ignored and men, regardless of the court's orders, were to continue to exercise their constitutional rights. Delegate Lavin stated that the Convention at that time refused to adopt the resolution, but he stated that he considered the time had arrived for President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison to issue a statement and public declaration that the time had arrived for men to exercise their constitutional rights, regardless of court's orders, surrender to the decision of the court and go to jail. Delegate Lavin spoke at length on the question of boycotts.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), in discussing the question, said in part:

"I think perhaps I feel more interested in this particular case than does the ordinary man because of the fact that it was I who made the motion that was adopted by the Convention of the United

Mine Workers for which Brother Mitchell is on trial now. I have not been able to rid myself of the feeling that whatever trouble, expense or humiliation he must undergo as a result of this action in this case, I am as much responsible as he is. In fact, I am really more responsible, because he was chairman of that Convention and president of our organization and could not help entertaining the motion when it was made. He did not vote either way on the proposition. I am not willing that there shall be any suffering, any expense or any humiliation inflicted that I can in any way prevent in connection with this case.

Delegate Walker discussed at length the decisions of the supreme court in cases affecting the rights of labor, and in concluding his discussion said:

"I believe that I can speak for the United Mine Workers' Organization when I say that I believe a majority of the members have as supreme contempt for Judge Wright as Brother Lavin evinced before he closed his speech, and at the same time I believe I can speak for them in saying if there is anything we can do to lessen the consequences to ex-President Mitchell, Brother Gompers and Brother Morrison we want to do it. Outside of that I believe I can speak for them, too, in emphasizing Delegate Woll's statement that if this man attempts, above all law and above the Constitution of the United States, to exercise a power assumed by himself, a power not given by any law on the books of the states or of the nation, if he is going to assume that power to penalize these men I believe they will want, when the final issue has come, to be in such shape that our position will be as clearly laid down as it is possible to lay it down, and that the infraction of the law by the supreme court judge will be made as clear as it is possible to make it. The only way that can be done is by having the best legal talent on our side when it goes through this process in that court it is possible for us to obtain. Under those circumstances my judgment is that the report of that Committee as presented to this Convention should be adopted."

Delegate Wilson, Chairman of the Committee, presided, while Vice-President Duncan discussed the question briefly.

Vice-President Duncan in discussing the question, said in part:

"I arise to support the report of the Committee. I consider it clear, logical and constructive. I am not entirely surprised at my colleague, John Mitchell, because I am one of those who know something of his big-heartedness, and if it were not for that or what that term generally means, he perhaps would not have made the statement he did here this morning. His statement means that, rather than impose upon the working people of this country any further financial obligation to defend him, he is willing to forego that, serve his term and end the controversy. But would that end the controversy? That would be equal in a sense, at least as far as the general public is concerned, to believing that organized labor laid down in this stage of the case to the decisions of Judge Wright. And there is a broader question involved in this than the financial defense of our three colleagues in the United States courts. The rights, the liberty and the freedom of public speech and free press to every union man and to every citizen of our own country is involved. I hold that the action taken in the Denver Convention upon this subject was correct, and I am glad to hear the Committee recommend a continuation of our policy.

Vice-President Duncan discussed at some length the status of the case, and in concluding his discussion said:

The report of the Committee is to continue under all our constitutional rights to defend ourselves. This is a case in which we should continue fighting every inch of the way for our rights and liberties in the courts as well as on the economic field. The Committee's report continues that policy, not only in as far as the accused men are concerned, but in all similar instances thereafter that the same process shall be followed, so that every constitutional right guaranteed to the people of the United States shall have been utilized to preserve the rights and liberty and freedom of all our people.

Delegate Furuseth, Secretary of the Committee, discussed the question briefly, and said in part:

I am glad to see that the interest in the peculiar position taken by the judiciary is increasing and that knowledge is

also increasing to some extent. If the delegates had taken the trouble to read carefully what has come from the Committee on President's Report from time to time in the last ten years on this question they would not be quite as much in the fog as they are today. Repeatedly we have stated that in this, contempt of court is the same thing we name in Europe *lese majeste*, and that the judge sitting in equity is the king exercising autocratic power. There is no necessity for amending the constitutions in this matter. The position that the courts occupy is a stolen one. It has been obtained through holding that labor is property; that today business, the right to do business or to continue to do business, is a property right. The Congress of the United States can stop that by the passage of the Wilson bill on injunctions. It needs no constitutional amendments at all.

Delegate Mahon discussed the question, referring particularly to the number of injunctions that had been issued against himself and the attitude he had taken in regard to them. He stated that at times he had been opposed to securing counsel for himself, but when a large number of the men were out on strike and courts issued injunctions it was necessary to employ counsel to protect their interests. In concluding he said:

"The Committee's recommendation that we secure counsel when necessary is a good one. I will go as far as any man in resenting it when the courts infringe upon my rights, but that is not the question; the question is to keep our movement intact and to keep our armies so united that we can go on with the battle and win our struggles. I am in favor of the recommendation of the Committee."

Delegate Rumsey spoke of the interest of the members of his organization in the case under discussion, as the case grew out of the trouble existing between the Metal Polishers and the Buck Stove and Range Company. He stated that it might be considered a mark of ingratitude on the part of the representatives of his organization if they did not say at least a few words in behalf of the men who had been prosecuted or persecuted, as a result of the famous Buck's Stove and Range Company case. In concluding his discussion Delegate Rumsey said:

"Every delegate who has been in the Conventions for the last four or five years knows this case thoroughly. Perhaps there are some who do not know that the Metal Polishers' Union is responsible directly for the position that President Compers, Vice-President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison have been placed in. For that reason I feel personally and on behalf of the organization I represent that the American labor movement at this time should in no uncertain sound send back to that man, who is more like a vampire than a judge, that the American Federation of Labor will go as far and farther than he will for the right of free speech."

Delegate Frey, in discussing the question, said in part:

"I am in favor of the report of the Committee for various reasons. One is that this case is the culmination of all those injunction cases, of those suits and those imprisonments for contempt which have been used to try to disrupt our movement. We find if we study what our American courts have been doing that since they began to use the injunction without any constitutional right to do so, simply arrogating that power to themselves, they have been laying down a dual code, they have been creating class distinctions in their decisions, giving to organized employers rights and privileges which they say working men are not entitled to. I feel that the report of the Committee should be sustained. It is only by carrying a case of this kind through to the extent of our ability in the courts, that we can have one case that will call such public attention to the abuses of our American courts that it will be possible for us to bring it to a stop."

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried by unanimous vote.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Women and Child Labor Investigation.

Under this head, the President says:

"The results of this investigation have fully justified the action of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of such an inquiry being made. The last volume, No. 11, in speaking of 'Accidents in the metal trades,' contains five specific conclusions, as follows:

"The conclusions to which a student of accidents in the metal trades must come, as set forth in the foregoing pages (of this inquiry), may be summarized as follows:

"1. The hazard to women in these industries is distinct and considerable.

"2. When men and women work at the same task its dangers menace the women much more seriously.

"3. The employment of children have in general only those dangers common to all factory work. Their employment at dangerous tasks is rare and seems to be decreasing.

"4. Negligence of the worker as a cause of accident has been greatly over-emphasized.

"5. The accidents of most frequent occurrence are largely preventable."

The facts brought out by this investigation undertaken at the instance of the American Federation of Labor, are of great importance in dealing with the subject of women and child labor. We are glad to note that the employment of children at dangerous tasks is rare and seems to be decreasing, and we are satisfied that the insistent efforts of the American Federation of Labor have been in a great measure responsible for that improvement. The standard of any civilization is known by its treatment of women. Heavy and dangerous work and drudgery of any kind should not be imposed upon them, nor should conditions exist under which it will be permitted. Our highly developed machinery and systematic methods have solved the problem of production. There is no longer any fear about the world being able to maintain the entire population in comfort without imposing upon womanhood tasks unsuited to her sex, or upon children labor unsuitable to their strength or injurious to their mental and physical development.

We recommend that the Executive Council map out a line of policy by which remedial legislation can be introduced in the various state legislatures, excluding women from employment in heavy, or dangerous occupations and that the various state federations of labor and central labor unions use their influence to secure this enactment in their respective states.

Adopted unanimously.

Child Labor and Children's Bureau.

We favor the establishment of a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor and recommend that the Legislative Committee be instructed to use its influence to secure the enactment of such a law.

Adopted unanimously.

Uniform Laws to Protect Human Life

In connection with this subject, President Gompers says:

"Therefore I am constrained again to urge every central body and every state federation to maintain a permanent Legislative Committee, to keep us supplied with the latest happenings in their localities, and to whom we can apply and in turn supply local and state information concerning legislation."

We recommend that the suggestion be endorsed.

Delegate Woll—In connection with this subject I want to bring to the attention of our Convention that in the State of Illinois we have during the past year enacted an Occupational Disease Law, which is the first of its kind within the jurisdiction of the Federal government, a law which for the first time inaugurates with the American jurisprudence or gives to the workmen the right of action to recover damages resulting from occupational disease. That law has gone into effect. It is broad in its scope and I urge that every Central Labor Union obtain a copy of it and try to have similar legislation enacted in their respective states.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Seamen's Rights.

We endorse what the President says on this subject and urge the passage by Congress of H. R. No. 11372. We hope and trust that the importance to the nation, to the traveling public and to the men employed is now sufficiently well understood to stop further opposition and to pass this just, important and too long delayed measure.

Adopted unanimously.

Locomotive Boiler Inspection.

We are glad that President Gompers has been able to report the enactment of this much-needed legislation. It will not only promote the safety of railroad employees, but also of the traveling public. The measure is not all that labor desired, but it is a long step in the right direction and we hope that as experience shows the need of it, the law will be improved.

Adopted unanimously.

R. R. Track Inspection—Loading Vessels Regulation.

President Gompers reports:

"This matter was taken up with the Railroad Employees' Department, and after giving the whole subject careful consideration it was agreed that it would be wise to hold this matter in abeyance for the time being. The same course is being pursued in regard to the Government regulations in loading vessels."

We recommend that the action be endorsed.

Adopted unanimously.

Miners' Safety—U. S. Bureau of Mines.

We are pleased to note the efficient work which has been and is being done by the United States Bureau of Mines, and that notwithstanding the brief period in which the Bureau has been in existence, the lessening of the death rate is already noticeable. The systematic manner in which the Bureau has undertaken the work of discovering the means of preventing accidents in mines is worthy of our highest commendation, which, supplemented by rescue work, also systematically conducted, has already been of great benefit to the mine workers.

We recommend that the Legislative Committee be instructed to use its influence to secure a more liberal appropriation for this Bureau in order that its work may be more rapidly carried forward in developing the means of preventing accidents and securing the information necessary for legislation to protect life and health of those engaged in mining.

Adopted unanimously.

Occupational Diseases.

We endorse what President Gompers says on this subject. We note with pleasure the large number of laws which have been enacted in the various states for the improvement of the sanitary conditions of the workers, thereby removing to some extent the causes of occupational diseases.

We recommend that the various state federations, city central bodies, in conjunction with the Executive Council, continue their efforts to secure legislation which will entirely remove the causes of occupational diseases. We regret that the Esch Phosphorus Bill, H. R. 30,022

failed of passage in the 61st Congress. We feel that the failure of this measure is due to the parliamentary tactics of Representative Dalzell of Pennsylvania.

We recommend that the Legislative Committee use every effort to secure the enactment of this measure in the present Congress in order that the horrible disease known as "phossy jaw" and the death resulting therefrom may be entirely eliminated.

Adopted unanimously.

The Triangle Shirt-Waist Factory Fire.

We endorse what President Gompers has to say in reporting upon this terrible disaster. We heartily concur in the recommendation contained in the following paragraph:

"In view of the cruel and blind selfishness of a class of employers in regard to the health and safety of workers in several parts of our country it is urgently recommended that our state federations and city central bodies in industrial centers demand not only the enforcement of existing law in factories, workshops, mills, and mines, but also the promotion of inquiry as to the needed laws for better—aye, humanly considered, absolutely necessary—sanitary home and workshop conditions, including safety from dangerous machinery and from fire and panic."

We heartily concur in the recommendation.

Adopted unanimously.

Insurance Laws—Trade Unions.

Under this caption, President Gompers says:

"I therefore again urge the membership in all of the States to exert themselves to secure the enactment of such definite legislation dealing with insurance matters as will permanently prevent any interference with the rights of organized labor in the humane work of caring for the sick, the injured, and the bereaved ones. It is particularly requested that the officers of our Federation be promptly advised concerning any proposed insurance legislation in any of the States at any time."

We recommend that the suggestion be concurred in.

Adopted unanimously.

Employers' Liability—Workmen's Compensation.

It is very gratifying to note the rapid strides which are being made in securing amendments to the Employers' Liability Laws in many states eliminating or modifying the defenses known as "Fellow-Servant Doctrine," "Assumption of Risk," "Contributory Negligence," and "Waiving of Rights," and the numerous commissions which have been appointed to investigate this subject and that of Workmen's Compensation. That these activities must ultimately lead to the establishment of a condition where the community at large will bear the burden of the accident, cost of production instead of it being borne by the individual worker, as at the present time, is already becoming apparent.

We recommend that the Executive Council and all the various branches of the A. F. of L., continue to exert their energies towards the consummation of this object so devoutly to be wished.

Adopted unanimously.

Eight Hour Law Extension.

We recommend the endorsement of the suggestion that efforts be made to include the eight-hour limitation clause in all appropriation bills authorizing expenditures for public works in the broadest sense of that term.

We further recommend the endorsement of the Hughes eight-hour bill and that the Legislative Committee be directed to endeavor to secure the enactment of these measures.

Efficiency.

We endorse what President Gompers says upon the subject of efficiency and in addition desire to call attention to the well-known fact that the American wage worker is the most productive wage-worker in the world, his average productivity being more than 50 per cent greater than his nearest competitor in that direction and the other well-known fact that the accident rate in industrial pursuits in this country is much greater than in any other country, and to throw out the suggestion that there may be some relation between the speeding-up processes by which this increased productivity is reached, and the large accident rate which follows in the work of our industries.

In the judgment of your Committee, the two are closely allied and if by a stop-watch system or any other system the American workman is speeded up to a still higher rate, we must expect that the accident rate will increase.

Adopted unanimously.

Immigration.

We endorse what is said by the President on this subject, and commend the activity of our officers, the Executive Council and Legislative Committee in endeavoring to secure this legislation already long delayed. We cannot pass by unnoticed the information conveyed that Representative Dalzell of Pennsylvania again "stood stubbornly on the lid and refused to budge."

We recommend that the Legislative Committee be instructed to continue their efforts to secure the passage of either the Gardner or the Burnett Bill.

Adopted unanimously.

Labor of Convicts.

We endorse this portion of the President's report, and particularly desire to emphasize the concluding paragraph which reads as follows:

"Prisoners should be required to work not for private profits of contractors, nor even for the financial profit of the State, but for the benefit of their dependents and for their own reformation."

We are unalterably opposed to the labor of convicts being let out to contract. We believe that the ultimate solution of the problem will come when the convicts are engaged in the widest possible diversity of industry by hand labor for the use of eleemosynary institutions. By this method both body and mind will be strengthened. It should be borne in mind that men are imprisoned supposedly for the welfare of society and their imprisonment and the labor which may be utilized thereby should never be so handled as to become a menace to any portion of society.

For the accomplishment of this purpose, we recommend the endorsement of the Hughes Bill prohibiting officers of the United States government from purchasing convict made goods for public use in the government service, and the Boomer Bill H. R. 5601, requiring convict made goods to conform to the laws of the state into which they are shipped.

whether received in original packages or otherwise.

Adopted unanimously.

Civil Service Employees.

We endorse the statement of President Gompers and emphatically protest against the Executive Orders issued by Presidents Roosevelt and Taft prohibiting Civil Service employees from petitioning Congress or any committee, or member thereof, for redress of their grievances.

Under our form of government Congress is the final authority to determine the wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment of Civil Service employees, and neither the President nor the head of any Department has any right to interfere with those employees in their presentation to Congress of such grievances, real or imaginary, which they believe ought to receive consideration. If the right of petition to the final authority is denied, it creates a spirit of unrest detrimental to the service and, as has been shown by the strikes of the railway mail clerks, the first in the history of our country, produces conflicts which should have no place in our Civil Service.

When any person enters the Civil Service he does not thereby resign his rights as a citizen. If the conditions under which he labors are not satisfactory to him, he has the same right to quit that employment, either singly or collectively, as if he had been employed by a private individual. That such a stoppage of work would be more far-reaching and its effects felt to a greater extent by the people at large than a strike of employees of a private concern must be apparent, and that in itself gives greater reason why the conditions should be made such that disputes of such a character would not arise.

The right of these servants to strike must not be denied, but all just grounds for striking should be removed. Those engaged in the Civil Service fully realize the power of Congress over the conditions of their employment and the methods required to secure changes. It follows, therefore, that if the right of petition, the right to carry their grievances to Congress is restored to them, there is not the remotest possibility that any strike would occur in the service. The

welfare of the employees themselves and of the public generally requires that these Executive Orders shall be annulled. For that reason we recommend the endorsement of LaFollette's Bill S. 1162 and H. R. 5970, restoring the rights of petition to Civil Service employees.

Adopted unanimously.

Second-Class Postal Rates.

We commend the activity of our officers in pressing for a change in the second-class postal rate regulations. We protest against the use of the postal department as a bureau of censorship upon labor, reform and fraternal publications and warn the government that sitting on the safety valve does not prevent, but induces explosions.

As a means of remedying the evils of which complained, we endorse the principles embodied in the Dodds, Martin and Burton bills.

Adopted unanimously.

Political Changes Affecting Labor.

We concur in the position taken by President Gompers under this caption. We renew our adherence to the principles of the Initiative, Referendum and the Recall. We realize that these principles, which we have long contended for, are now being very generally accepted and the last stand is being made upon the right of the recall of judges. We cannot see the soundness of such a stand. Judges are like other men, good, bad and indifferent. The selection of any man as a judge does not thereby change his character or make him infallible. It is not always possible to know in advance whether or not a person selected for a position is qualified to fill it, either mentally or morally, and whenever it becomes apparent that anyone who has been selected as a judge is incapable of meting out justice to all parties coming before him, the safety of society itself requires that he should be recalled.

Adopted unanimously.

Labor Group In Congress.

On this subject we quote and endorse the following paragraph:

"The good this group of labor men has already accomplished, the good they can and no doubt will do in Congress, should imbue the men of labor and all liberty-loving citizens with the duty, the re-

sponsibility, and the advantage of not only securing the re-election of the members of this group, but also increasing the number and the possibilities of their influence and power for just and humane legislation."

Adopted unanimously.

Department of Labor.

We endorse the general principles embodied in the Sulzer bill for the establishment of a Department of Labor.

Adopted unanimously.

Anti-Trust and Injunction Limitation Bills.

The great German author, Goethe, once said: "The greatest element of terror is the unknown." The truth of that statement becomes apparent to anyone who stops for a moment to analyze the elements of fear. That which we know we fear less than that which is hidden from us. It is that trait of human character which has made injunctions such terrible weapons in the hands of our enemies. Every injunction issued is a law unto itself, the interpretation of which is unknown to anyone, even to the judge himself, until some one has been cited to show cause why he should not be held in contempt. The person enjoined has no means of knowing how to interpret it. He does not know what he can and what he cannot do. Its scope and its powers are unknown and convey that indefinable terror which comes from the unknown.

We re-affirm our previous position on this subject as follows:

"Injunctions in labor disputes are innovations in our modern jurisprudence. The original purposes for which injunctions were issued was to restrain parties to any dispute about the title or damages to property from interfering with this property in question, until the courts had determined the property rights involved. These restraining orders were made returnable at the next term of court, or at the session of court where the cases were to be heard and determined, and consequently were never permanent, expiring by their own limitations when the court had convened to determine the questions at issue. That they are clearly intended to protect property rights, and property rights only, is demonstrated by the fact that the courts invariably insist upon a bond being furnished by the parties suing out the writ to indemnify the parties enjoined for any loss that may accrue to them by virtue of the writ having been issued. When such an order of court

has been violated it is not a difficult matter for the court to determine the actual damages, if any, that have been sustained through the issuance of the injunction, thereby protecting the restrained parties against any unwarranted invasion of their rights, but when the court issues an injunction in a labor dispute, restraining persons in controversy with employers from doing those things that they have a legal and moral right to do, and as a result of that injunction the contest is lost to the workers, there is no court on earth that can determine the damage that has been sustained by the persons enjoined, and, consequently they cannot recover from the bond. When the court arrogates to itself the power to issue injunctions never contemplated by the rules of equity, and in direct violation of constitutional and statutory law, and assumes the right to issue injunctions for the purpose of enforcing criminal law, it departs from the domain of property rights and invades that of personal rights in a manner for which there can be no excuse except that the court thereby becomes the sole judge of the law and the fact, and, if the parties enjoined are declared guilty of contempt, the extent of the punishment. All of which is in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the land and the Anglo-Saxon concept of human liberty.

The great charter of human liberty, the Magna Charta of Great Britain, the basis upon which British and American freedom rests, in Clause 39, declares:

"No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, disseized, or outlawed, or banished or any ways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, save by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

The Bill of Rights enunciated by the British Parliament for the protection of the common people and signed by William and Mary upon their accession to the British throne as a condition upon which their title to sovereignty would rest, declares:

Paragraph 1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by legal authority, without consent of Parliament is illegal.

Paragraph 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority as it hath been assumed, and exercised of late, is illegal.

The Declaration of Independence declares: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and it further assigns as one of the causes for the separation from the mother country and the establishment of an independent government, "for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury."

The Constitution of the United States which creates our judiciary gives to it whatever power it can possibly exercise and limits its jurisdictions, says:

First amendment—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Sixth amendment—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Ninth amendment—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Tenth amendment—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Thirteenth amendment, Section 1—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

It must be apparent to even the most casual investigators that the courts of the United States hold the same relationship to the Government of our country that the courts of Great Britain held and now hold to the legal power. No one will contend that any judge in Great Britain, either at the time of the adoption of our Constitution, or since that time, could have any greater power than that conferred by regal authority expressed by the Parliament and approved by the King. It naturally follows that our courts can have no greater power than that granted to them by the Constitution.

When the Constitution granted to our judiciary jurisdiction in equity, it could not have conveyed any wider authority than that which existed in English jurisprudence at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and the quotations we have cited from the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, absolutely deny the right of equity courts to infringe upon personal liberty or existing law. Our government is not only one of delegated powers, but also of reserved powers. The same instrument that created the judiciary and delegated powers to it, reserves all the powers that are not thus delegated to the various States and to the people. When, therefore, any court assumes to exercise powers not delegated to it by the Constitution, it invades the rights specifically reserved by that document to the States and people; its action

becomes void from lack of jurisdiction and should not be obeyed.

Notwithstanding the constitutional limitations mentioned, modern injunctions have taken three distinct lines, two of which are unconstitutional, arbitrary and unjust.

1. Injunctions are issued to protect property rights from irreparable injury where there is no remedy at law. That is the only province in which an injunction properly belongs.

2. Injunctions have unwarrantably been issued for the purpose of enforcing existing statutory and common law arbitrarily invading the jurisdiction of the legislatures and the law courts, thus wiping out of existence that protection against false accusations that free men have fought for and forced from the hands of autocratic kings and tyrannical governments and defended at the cost of their lives, from the days of Guthram the Dane to the present generation of man, the right of trial by jury.

When the legislative branch of the government has specified the punishment for any violation of law, it has provided what, in its judgment, is an adequate remedy, and means of prevention, and having provided such remedy, no court has any right to step in over the head of the legislature and provide another remedy.

3. Modern American courts assume the right to issue injunctions interfering with the personal rights of man in exercising free speech, free press, peaceable assemblage, and in their personal relationship with each other. The rights of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage are specifically guaranteed by the Constitution. They are the fundamental safeguards of a free people which neither courts, kings nor calvary should be permitted to destroy. The personal relationship between man and man comes clearly within the jurisdiction of the law courts and has no place in the courts of equity, unless upon the assumption by the courts that man is property, an assumption repugnant to the sense of right of all civilized communities and specifically forbidden by the XIII Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It is under this class of injunctions that the courts have assumed jurisdiction in the now famous Buck's Stove and Range Company case.

In this case, the court, in violation of the expressed terms of the Constitution, enjoins the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage, in addition to proclaiming the false doctrine that patronage and good will in business is property.

Business is divided into two elements. The first element, the stock in trade is property beyond question. The second element, patronage and good will cannot by any stretch of the imagination, or by any method of reasoning or logic be considered the property of the man engaged in business. If it is property at all, it can only be the property of the man who

has the patronage or the good will to give.

We are pleased to note that upon an appeal to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, Chief Justice Shepard dissents from the decision of the majority of the court.

The division of opinion of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in this case, together with the widely divergent opinions expressed by different federal courts in various parts of the country, making it practically impossible for even those that are learned in the law, not to mention the ordinary layman, to determine with any degree of accuracy the extent of the jurisdiction and powers of our courts in injunction cases, shows the imperative need that the Supreme Court should pass upon the entire subject matter involved. No better case has yet presented itself for that purpose than the Buck's Stove and Range case and the contempt proceedings growing out of it.

We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to take such steps as may be necessary to carry this injunction case, and the contempt cases growing out of it, to the Supreme Court of the United States in order that we may secure a decision that will define our rights in so far as it can be done in considering these cases, and we further recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to raise funds, either by assessment or appeal, if more be needed, to carry the former recommendation into effect. No matter what position the Supreme Court may take upon the cases at issue, our experience with injunctions during the past 30 years makes it necessary to secure such legislation as will clearly mark the dividing line between Equity Courts and Law Courts and prevent the Equity Courts from ever again usurping the powers of our legislatures and our courts of law.

We have examined H. R. 11,032, introduced in the 62d Congress by Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania, and believe it will accomplish the results desired, if enacted into law, and that in addition it will remove the strained construction of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law made by the Supreme Court and destroy any possibility of making the said Sherman Anti-Trust Law apply to the laborer instead of to the product of his labor.

We recommend that this bill be endorsed, and every effort be put forth by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated branches to secure its enactment into law.

We deem it incumbent upon us to emphasize the warning of President Gompers against the so-called "Life-Savers" injunction bills, introduced for the various reasons enumerated. Most of these bills concede a statutory right to the courts which they do not now possess—to issue injunctions in labor disputes, and then provide a trial by jury in contempt proceedings. Our contention is that when an injunction is issued in a

labor dispute, irreparable injury is done to the parties enjoined and to the cause of labor, which no court can compute and no bond can indemnify. The remedy lies in remanding the courts to their proper functions in law and equity, as defined in the Wilson Bill.

Until some change has been secured in the practices of the courts, either through Supreme Court decisions, or legislative enactment, we recommend that every answer to a writ of injunction or a citation for contempt shall insist upon our constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assemblage and freedom from interference with our personal rights by the Equity Courts, and the denial of their authority to assume that anyone has a property right in man, his good-will or his patronage.

We reindorse the Wilson "Anti-Injunction Bill" No. 11,032, and recommend that it be introduced and its passage urged in every State legislature.

Adopted unanimously.

Relief from Judicial Usurpation—The Wilson Bill.

Under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States, any action taken by the working people in defense or in advancement of their interests by which an employer or business man may suffer financial or business loss, though the action of the workmen may consist in their exercise of the right of free men to withhold their labor power from employers or their patronage from business men, is now illegal. They may be mulcted in five-fold damages alleged to have been suffered by an employer or business man, they may be prosecuted under the penal provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, fined the sum of \$5,000 and imprisoned for one year. The organization of workers, whether established for many years or temporarily formed to meet an economic emergency may be dissolved. That such a condition of affairs is unjust and intolerable all fair-minded, liberty-loving men admit. It is prejudicial to an orderly, natural, rational and peaceful solution of the industrial problem in the relations of wage earners and employers.

We recommend that this Convention authorize and direct the Executive Council to urge the President of the United States to recommend in his forthcoming message to Congress the amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law upon the lines as contained in the Wilson Bill, to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust Law; and

further, that the Executive Council be and it is hereby directed, either as a body or by the selection of a committee thereof, to obtain an interview with the President in furtherance of the purpose of this report.

The Executive Council is hereby further authorized and directed to take such further action, as its judgment may warrant, to secure the enactment of such legislation at the forthcoming session of Congress as shall secure the legal status of the organized movement of the wage workers for freedom from unjust discrimination in the exercise of their natural, normal and constitutional rights, through their voluntary associations.

And the Executive Council is further authorized and directed that in the event of a failure on the part of Congress to enact the legislation which we herein seek at the hands of the Congress and the President, to take such action as in its judgment the situation may warrant in the presidential and congressional election of 1912.

Adopted unanimously.

Police Oppression—The Third Degree— Extradition.

We endorse the action taken by President Gompers in endeavoring to secure remedial legislation, which will prevent police oppression and the infliction of the "third degree."

We protest against the cruelty of these methods which have no warrant for their existence except the brute power of barbarism and the traditions derived therefrom.

The exercise of torture, mental or physical, is prohibited alike by law and by ordinary human feeling. Its practice on the part of the police is usurpation that must be stopped.

To this end we recommend to the State Federations and to city central bodies that they urge upon the legislatures of their separate States the enactment of such law as shall put an end to this barbarism perpetrated upon those accused of crime and guard the rights inherent in humanity and presumably sacred in every citizen.

Delegate O'Brien discussed the question at length, and spoke of the manner in which the Boston central body looked

after the interests of organized labor, and cited especially a case where it was sought to extradite two workers, but through the representations of the central body to the governor the men were liberated. He spoke in high terms of the work done by the organized men of Boston and of Massachusetts, and of the beneficial legislation they had obtained through the various city central bodies and the state branch of the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The McNamaras-Otis' Campaign for Revenge.

We endorse President Gompers in his statement of facts relative to the outrage upon the McNamara Brothers by kidnapping them and removing them to a hostile community for trial upon the charges made at the instance of an association bitterly antagonistic to organized labor.

We endorse the action which has already been taken and the appeal for funds which has already been made to secure a proper defense of these men. Few men realize the magnitude of the forces pitted against us in this case, in an effort not merely to convict the McNamara Brothers, but to destroy, if possible, the entire trade union movement, and the immense preparations that must consequently be made and expenses that must be incurred in order to defend our own right to existence.

A brief resume of some historical facts throws a flood of light upon the purpose underlying these prosecutions and the methods used. The United States Steel Corporation was organized in April, 1901. In the nine and three-quarters years of its existence up to the end of their fiscal year, December 31, 1910, its own reports to its stockholders show its net earnings to have been more than \$1,400,000,000. These vast earnings have been made possible by a systematic method of driving out of existence every labor organization of the workmen in its various plants. It destroyed the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the Carpenters, the Molders, the Machinists, the Bricklayers and Stone Masons, the Miners, the Seamen, the Longshoremen, in fact all organizations of workmen either in the plants it originally held, or those taken over by it after its organization.

It forced down the wages, it lengthened the hours of employment, it made the conditions whatever its will determined. One of the subsidiary companies of the United States Steel Corporation is the American Bridge Company and which in turn is the principle factor in the Erector's Association. The last militant labor organization still resisting the encroachments of the United States Steel Corporation is the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Association in its strike against the American Bridge Company.

The United States Steel Corporation through its subsidiary, the American Bridge Company, has not yet succeeded in destroying the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

On the first day of October, 1910, an explosion of gas occurred in the Times Building at Los Angeles, California, by which the lives of twenty-one workmen were lost. The owner of the building was not then in the city of Los Angeles. The news was conveyed to him before he had reached that city and he was immediately quoted as placing the responsibility of the explosion upon the members of organized labor, before he had any personal knowledge of the conditions under which the explosion had taken place or even the opportunity to investigate the same.

With the allegation of General Otis as an inspiration, W. J. Burns employed by the Erectors' Association set about the task of bringing home to the officers of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers the charge of having destroyed the Times Building by the use of dynamite and murdered the twenty-one victims of that disaster. Having failed to destroy the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers by the same tactics used against other organizations, it was apparent that if their officers could be made to bear the responsibility of so horrible a crime, it would bring the organization into such disrepute that its destruction would inevitably follow.

Herein lies the motive. Some of the methods used are now part of our public records.

In testimony given before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, May 27-29 of this year, a number of papers were submitted by Mr. Leo M. Rappaport, relative to the extradi-

tion of J. J. McNamara, which were certified to by L. G. Ellingham and H. L. Confer, Secretary and Deputy Secretary of State, of the State of Indiana, which show that on April 15, 1911, W. J. Burns sent the following telegram from Chicago, Ill., to W. J. Ford, Assistant District Attorney of the County of Los Angeles, California:

"I have arrested and am holding in Indianapolis, Ind., J. J. McNamara.

(Signed) W. J. BURNS."

On the same date, April 15, 1911, W. J. Ford, Assistant District Attorney for the County of Los Angeles, California, made affidavit in part as follows:

"I further depose and say that the said J. J. McNamara is a fugitive from justice and is now located and under arrest in the city of Indianapolis, State of Indiana.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of April, 1911.

(Signed) PAUL J. MCCORMICK,
Judge of the Superior Court of the State of California in and for the County of Los Angeles."

As a matter of fact Burns lied when he sent the telegram and Ford perjured himself when he made the affidavit. J. J. McNamara was not arrested and was not held in custody in Indianapolis or anywhere else until the 22nd day of April, 1911, as is shown by the testimony before the same committee. When it is known that the laws of the State of California require that before extradition papers for any person can be issued by the Governor, it must be shown that the person for whom the requisition papers are desired is under arrest and is being held in custody, statement in his telegram will be understood.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, April 22, 1911, the requisition papers were presented to and signed by Governor Marshall of Indiana.

Section 26 of the Acts of Indiana, 1905, provides:

"Upon demand of the executive authority of any State or Territory of the United States upon the governor of this State to surrender any fugitive from justice from such State or Territory pursuant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, he shall issue his warrant reciting the fact of such demand and the charge upon which it is based, with the time and place of the alleged commission of the offense, directed generally to any sheriff or constable of any county

in this State, commanding him to apprehend such fugitive and bring him before the circuit, superior, or criminal court or judge of this State nearest or most convenient of access to the place at which the arrest may be made, and such warrant may be executed by any sheriff or constable in this State, in his own county, or in any county in this State."

Each of the courts mentioned in that law, that is, the Supreme Court, the Superior Court and the Criminal Court, were in session that Saturday afternoon.

John J. McNamara was in his office in the city of Indianapolis where he and the executive board of his organization were holding a meeting. That fact was well known to Burns and his associates who had the requisition papers in charge and yet the papers were not served upon McNamara until after all of these courts had adjourned. About 5:30 o'clock that afternoon, a number of policemen appeared at the offices of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, where their executive board was still in session and told J. J. McNamara that the Chief of Police desired to see him, declining to give him any information about what the chief wanted with him.

He left the offices of the Iron Workers and was taken to the Police Court. Arrangements had been made by the detectives with Police Judge Collins to arrive there in an automobile at that time. As has been shown by the quotation from the Indiana Statutes, a police court had no jurisdiction in requisition cases. Notwithstanding that fact, Judge Collins assumed jurisdiction, denied McNamara the right of counsel and immediately handed him over to the custody of James Hosick, to be taken to the State of California.

The evidence before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives shows that he was not thirty minutes in the Court House from the time that he arrived until his case was disposed of and he was hustled out manacled hand and foot into an automobile and taken out of the jurisdiction of the State of Indiana, carried across country in a zig-zag manner from one system of railroads to another in order to avoid the possibility of his friends suing out a writ of habeas corpus to contest the legality of the proceedings.

That was kidnapping.

In the meantime, his associates of the

Executive Board were held prisoners in their own office and not allowed to communicate with anyone outside of it. Shortly afterwards a search warrant was presented, authorizing a search of the office for dynamite and other high explosives. Without warrant for this action, the books, papers and other documents of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were seized, their safe forced open and \$422.00 in cash stolen from it, and no one, except those engaged in the crime knows what has become of the money.

That was theft.

The entire procedure has all the earmarks of a conspiracy.

In view of all these facts which have already been verified by competent witnesses, we absolutely decline to believe in the guilt of the McNamara Brothers on the strength of evidence furnished by liars, perjurers, thieves, conspirators and kidnappers.

It will thus be observed that the situation involves not merely the defense of the McNamaras against an ordinary criminal prosecution, but a contest for the continued existence of our affiliated organizations against the greatest combination of capital and craft we have ever been called upon to meet.

Funds, and large amounts of them, will be necessary.

These men have been taken long distances from their homes where witnesses for their defense are to be secured. The trail of conspiracy must be run down and that will require the services of skilled men. The best attorneys must be employed because no chances can be taken. The kidnappers must be punished in order that an example may be made which

will prevent a recurrence of this invasion of our rights, and a new phase of the situation is presented in the action of Judge Anderson in seizing from the Criminal Courts of the State of Indiana, without warrant of law, and in violation of the Federal Constitution, Federal Statutes, the Indiana State Constitution and Statutes, the books, papers and documents of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and turning them over to the United States District Attorney to make such use of as he may desire.

As these cases are pending in the Criminal Courts of California and In-

diana where they should be dealt with according to law, we are forced to ask ourselves the question: What motive prompted Judge Anderson to pursue this course? And it will be necessary for us to inquire whether or not our organizations are being menaced from another source?

The stories which have been circulated concerning the large contributions of money by various organizations for the defense is for the apparent purpose of giving the workers the impression that a sufficient amount has already been contributed and it is not necessary for them to contribute more. Let no man be deceived. More money is needed and needed immediately and we cannot expect to secure it except from the contributions of the workers themselves.

We, therefore, recommend that this portion of our report be sent out in circular form to every international organization, every state federation of labor and city central body, and local affiliated union, with the request that money be immediately raised for this purpose and forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

We further recommend that every officer and business agent connected with the trade union movement and every organizer of the American Federation of Labor and of the organizations affiliated therewith, be requested and urged to present these facts at every meeting they attend and at every opportunity and urge the necessity of immediate contributions.

And we further recommend that special representatives be sent into the large industrial sections in order to arouse the wage workers to the dangers of the situation and the necessity for immediate contributions.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Tveitmoe—We had the President of the American Federation of Labor at our convention some time ago. It has been intimated that we appreciated his visit, that the labor movement of California was benefited by what he had done. As an official recognition of his services to the labor movement in California, the State Federation of Labor at its twelfth annual convention last October passed resolutions which should have been presented to President Gompers by

the representative of the California State Federation of Labor, Andrew J. Gallagher, but he was called home last Saturday by the illness of his mother. It therefore becomes my pleasure to present to the President of the American Federation of Labor the resolutions adopted by the California State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Tveitmoe presented to President Gompers the following resolutions, handsomely engrossed and bound in leather:

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, accepted our pressing invitation and traveled thousands of miles across the continent for the purpose of giving whatever assistance and help to the California Labor Movement that his peerless gifts and powerful influence could lend; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the California State Federation of Labor, representing the organized workers of this commonwealth in twelfth annual convention assembled, at Bakersfield, October 2nd to 7th, 1911, that a unanimous and rising vote of thanks be, and is hereby tendered to Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, for his splendid and valuable services to the workers' cause in this state, and for his manly words of encouragement and wisdom which inspired greater aspiration and brighter hope in the hearts of our toilers and thus helped to keep the flame burning that lights the pathway to industrial freedom and economic liberty.

D. D. SULLIVAN, President.
(Seal) California State Federation of Labor, San Francisco, Cal., affiliated with American Federation of Labor.

PAUL SCHANENBERG, Secretary.

President Gompers in a brief address made suitable acknowledgment of the resolutions, and expressed his appreciation of the courtesies extended to him by the labor movement of the Pacific Coast during his visit there.

Delegate Furuseth, Secretary of the Committee, stated that the report of the Committee on the President's Report was completed, and that only matters referred from the report of the Executive Council and resolutions remained to be reported on.

Vice-President Duncan—What is the

pleasure of the Convention in regard to that portion of the Committee's report?

On motion the report of the Committee on President's Report was adopted as a whole.

An inquiry was made by a delegate as to whether or not there would be discussion on the portion of the report dealing with the McNamara case after the noon adjournment. Vice-President Duncan stated that as that portion of the report had been adopted as a whole there would

be no further discussion upon it.

Delegate Wilson, Secretary of the Committee, moved that the action of the Convention in adopting the report of the Committee be vacated and that the matter be open for discussion after adjournment. The motion was lost by a vote of 33 in the negative to 87 in the affirmative.

At 1 p. m., the Convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

Tenth Day---Thursday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 p.m., Thursday, November 23rd, Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Absentees—Pfeil, Roach, Coakley, Sheret, Gavlak, Coffey, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Leonard, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh, Donnelly (J. L.), Saum, Schaub,

Delegate Healy (T.), received unanimous consent to the introduction of resolution No. 175.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Furuseth—Not as Secretary of the Committee, but as a delegate to this Convention, in my own right and upon my own responsibility, I propose to offer a motion. In explanation of it I want to say that sundry ideas came before us on the committee; sundry propositions were made to us as members of the committee in regard to raising funds. We questioned the advisability or the wisdom of putting it into the report, but it was suggested by the friends of the proposition that it would better come before you from the floor. I have waited on two occasions for it to come from the floor. It has not come, and now I make this motion as a delegate to this convention:

I move that all paid officials of the labor movement be requested to give one week's wages to the McNamara fund. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth discussed the question briefly, and urged that the motion be adopted. The question was also discussed briefly in a general way by Delegate Gallagher (J. J.) and Delegate Froebstle.

Delegate Johannsen made an extended statement in which he reviewed the conditions in San Francisco, Los Angeles and other parts of the Pacific Coast at the present time and for some years past. He spoke of the conditions that existed in Los Angeles prior to the destruction of the Times building, the various strikes that had been conducted by organized labor and the bitter hostilities of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association towards all labor unions. He also reviewed briefly the political situation in that city and the progress of the McNamara case.

Delegate Tveltmoe discussed the question briefly, and urged that the motion offered by Delegate Furuseth be adopted. He spoke of the kidnapping of the McNamara brothers and the efforts that were being made to convict them. He stated that a large amount of money would be necessary to defend them and spoke of the resources that were undoubtedly available on the side of the prosecution to secure evidence in the case. He reviewed briefly labor conditions on the Pacific coast and the causes that led up to the attack upon the officials of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Delegate Ryan (F. M.), in discussing the question, spoke of the contest that has been waged for the past six years by the organization of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers against the American Bridge Company. He stated that during the period mentioned his organization had increased in numbers and improved its financial condition. He spoke in detail of the events in connection with the kidnapping of the Secretary of the Bridge and Structural Iron Work-

ers and the confiscation of the books and records of the office.

Delegate Gray discussed the condition of organized labor in Los Angeles and on the Pacific coast. He stated that the fight of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association was not against the McNamara brothers as against organized labor, and urged all members of organized labor to realize the seriousness of the case being tried in Los Angeles, and to do all in their power to furnish means to defend those on trial.

On motion debate was closed.

The motion offered by Delegate Furuseth that all paid officials of the labor movement be requested to give one week's wages to the McNamara fund was carried by a vote of 196 in the affirmative to 7 in the negative.

Delegate Cole—I move you, Mr. President, that each delegate to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to turn over to Secretary Morrison one day's pay for the benefit of this fund. I offer this motion because if you are going to set an example for your officers you ought to be willing to follow it yourself. Nothing will be of more benefit to your local than for you to go out and practice what you preach. When you go back you can let them know that you were sincere and that you saw the matter in a proper light and contributed one day's pay, as well as providing for the officers to contribute a week's pay.

The motion offered by Delegate Cole was seconded.

In response to a question Delegate Cole stated that his motion contemplated that only delegates who were not salaried officers should contribute one day's pay.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Payne and Delegate Connors. Delegate Payne stated that the delegates of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association who were not paid officials had voted against the motion to request the officers to donate one week's pay because they did not feel they were justified in voting away the salaries of other men.

The motion to request each delegate to donate one day's pay to the fund to defend the McNamara brothers was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Furuseth, Secretary of the

Committee—The next phase of our report is that part of the Executive Council's report that has been referred to us.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Laws" the committee reported concurrence in the three recommendations made by the Executive Council, as follows:

1. A complete and total abrogation of all the old common law defenses enumerated under the heads of "fellow servant," "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence," "waiving of rights," with this additional suggestion:

2. That in compensation laws the right of the workman to sue for full damages should be reserved.

3. The feature of benefits is liable to be for some time a vexed question, and, in our opinion, is one that will develop according to experiences met with in the various jurisdictions, and which as time goes on will be easy to add to a measure by amendment when once the humane principle of automatic compensation is written into the statute books of the states.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee recommended further that the following matter in regard to the constitutional amendment to state constitutions be referred back for further consideration:

Proposed Amendment to the State Constitution.

The legislature may impose such conditions on any contracts of employment as shall be designated to protect the health or promote the safety or well being of any of the parties thereto or the public, or to make provision for the payment of compensation with or without the right of trial by jury and with or without regard to fault of employees injured by accidents of employment, or to persons dependent upon them, either by employers or by employees or otherwise, in such manner as the legislature may prescribe, and in the exercise of the powers herein conferred the legislature shall not be limited under any other articles or sections of the constitution.

The agitation of such a proposed amendment to a state constitution wherever necessary would in some cases be sufficient moral influence to render favorable decisions already pending in courts.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

The question was discussed at some length by Delegate Henretty, who spoke of the compensation law of the State of Washington enacted in the State of

Washington. He stated that it was the best and most progressive labor legislation of that character that had been adopted by any state in the Union, and urged that other states try to secure similar legislation.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended concurrence in that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "American Federation of Labor Office Building."

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended concurrence in the following portion of the Labor Representation Committee's report, contained in the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Labor Representation Committee's Report:"

We recommend to the Executive Council, and if you approve in turn, you recommend to the Atlanta Convention that the Labor Representation Committee be continued and authorized and empowered to act in unison with the Executive Council for the purpose of taking such action as may be deemed advisable and necessary for the successful consummation of the legislative demands and executive action by our Federal government, and also recommended concurrence in the following recommendation of the Executive Council:

The Executive Council takes pleasure in commending the work performed by the Labor Representation Committee, and recommends to this Convention that authority and instruction be given the Labor Representation Committee as stated in the report of the Committee just quoted.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Homer D. Call, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, It is stated upon good authority that there are now in this country two million foreigners, who have come to America with no intention of becoming American citizens, but to remain until they earn a few hundred dollars and then return to their native land; and

WHEREAS, These men, of whom many are Butcher Workmen, are working for a wage not to exceed \$1.30 per day and living upon the 30 cents and sending back to their former home \$1.00 per day; and

WHEREAS, The low wages for which they labor and the deplorable conditions under which they exist is practically establishing the standard of living for the American laboring man; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to investigate this question at such time as is most convenient and be prepared to report back their find-

ings in this matter to the coming convention of 1912.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution was covered by action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, There occurred in the city of Indianapolis, on April 22nd last, an incident so outrageously un-American and dastardly as to shock the sensibilities of every person who has even the slightest regard for any semblance of law; and

WHEREAS, The kidnapping of John J. McNamara, who was forcibly carried from the City of Indianapolis and the State of Indiana in such a manner as to make the acts of the pirates and robber barons of olden times as well as the more modern black hand methods seem like the act of amateurs; and

WHEREAS, This villainous plot was carried out with the knowledge and consent of the Mayor of Indianapolis, the Governor of Indiana, the Chief of Police of that city and others, thereby making them the co-conspirators of this infamous outrage; and

WHEREAS, This coterie of petty politicians who permitted, aided and abetted this high-handed act of high-binders were elected to the positions they have since disgraced by the votes of workmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the acts of these co-conspirators for the unholy alliance with the agents and officers of the Erectors' Association and other labor-baiting and labor-skinning agencies, thereby showing their friendship for the employing class, as against the best interests of the working class; and be it further

RESOLVED, That, realizing the futility of passing resolutions unless carried into effect, we call upon the members of the working class of the City of Indianapolis and the State of Indiana to carry this protest into effect at the next and each succeeding election, and prove their loyalty to the trades union movement and the workers generally by voting only for members of their own class and in their own interest.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution was covered by action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates F. M. Ryan, J. T. Butler and Wm. Clark, of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers hereby desire to extend their sincere and heartfelt thanks to the President and the Executive Council of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor, the International and National organizations, state bodies, Central Labor Unions and other contributors, for the loyal support, moral and financial, extended to their organization in the existing crisis.

The committee recommended that the Convention express its appreciation of the thanks offered and accept the same.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias, Rafael Alonzo and Joaquin A. Becerril:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the Free Federation of the Workmen of Porto Rico in behalf of this Congress, shall petition the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that a tour of inspection to Porto Rico be made by President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, when possible next year, 1912, and after the adjournment of said convention.

This is the second time that the Porto Rican labor movement has appealed to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to have one of its officials to visit the Island. The Executive Council of the Free Federation of the Workmen of Porto Rico has the following reasons to advance in favor of the approval of this resolution and they are as follows:

First—That the Porto Rican labor movement is the less favored by the visit of the high officials representing the American labor movement, due to the distance from the mainland to our island—1300 miles—which deprives the latter from the intelligent and thorough diffusion of the ideas and principles taught by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions.

Second—That it is six years since the first and last trip to this island by President Gompers, which was marked in the labor history of this territory by a great advance and progress, awakening a sincere enthusiasm and interest among all labor classes, especially the unorganized one, due to his enlightening speeches and wise teaching for humanity in general.

Third—That the Porto Rican labor movement in the same manner as the different National and International Unions, is badly in need of such closer intercourse as will better promote an intelligent, knowing and fraternal relation and bring about a clear and thorough understanding in all paramount and fundamental questions of the American Federation of Labor, with the end in view that the labor organizations in this island may be summed and be prepared to take an active and efficient part not only in

those questions which directly affect them in this territory, but also in the economical and political problems which are daily presenting themselves in the States and which are solved with great glory to them by the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

For these reasons we request the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that this resolution of the Sixth Labor Congress of the Workmen of Porto Rico be approved and accordingly President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, be directed that he proceed to visit the island of Porto Rico when possible next year. It should be an honor for the labor classes in general in Porto Rico.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for favorable consideration if President Gompers' time shall permit of the visit. On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, During the past two years the Postoffice Department in its efforts to economize have done so at the expense of the working conditions of the employees of the various branches of the department by increasing hours of labor, withholding of promotions and in some instances refusing to expend the money appropriated by Congress for the extension of the postal service; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department has further in its efforts to wipe out the small deficit that existed sought to increase the rates of postage on trades union and fraternal publications; and

WHEREAS, Seemingly this hurried and forced economy at the point of least resistance has been taken in order to pave the way for a much larger and permanent deficit, as the Postmaster-General and his assistants are now busily engaged in advocating "one-cent letter postage;" and

WHEREAS, There is now in existence an organization known as the "Penny Postage League" composed entirely of the same element that makes up the National Manufacturers' Association, who are striving to bring about "one cent letter postage," which would effect a saving of many millions of dollars annually to themselves, the "Big Business Interests," and which would create an enormous deficit which would have to be met by the masses who pay the taxes and who use the mail but infrequently as compared to those seeking this reduction in letter postage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American

Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at Atlanta, Ga., do hereby go on record as being opposed to "one cent letter postage" at least until such time as the Federal civil service employes have restored to them their inherent rights of free speech, that of petition, and the right to organize without interference, and until such time as rigid and satisfactory investigation has been made into the compensation paid the railroads for transportation of mails.

The committee reported as follows: That the portion of this resolution which seeks to improve the condition of the Federal Civil Service employes we have dealt with in the report on President's Report, and no further action is necessary. In that portion of the resolution proposing that we "go on record as being opposed to one-cent letter postage," the committee recommends non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Nelson—I move as an amendment that the resolution be adopted.

President Gompers—That is a negative motion. A vote of this Convention against striking this out of the resolution will accomplish the same purpose.

Delegate Nelson spoke at length in favor of the resolution and in opposition to the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 80 in the affirmative to 34 in the negative.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias, Rafael Alonzo and Joaquín A. Pecerill:

WHEREAS, The United States Congress refuses to recognize to the people of Porto Rico, which in fact is a part of the United States, the absolute right to be American citizens, and refuses to guarantee them full constitutional rights; and

WHEREAS, The Republican party now in power at its convention held in Chicago, in 1906, to nominate a presidential candidate bound itself by its platform to grant citizenship to the people of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, The Democratic party at its convention at Denver, Colorado, in 1906, for the nomination of a Presidential candidate, compromised itself in its platform to grant citizenship to the people of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, That President Roosevelt in his several messages sent annually at the opening of the session of Congress and in a special message to the national body, after his visit to Porto Rico recommended urgently the

granting of citizenship to Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, The actual Governor of Porto Rico, Hon. George R. Colton, emphatically recognizes this fact and the Porto Rican's indisputable right to said citizenship in a document which read as follows:

"Puerto Rico, Jaf-me, Alto,
October 30, 1911.

"I believe that the granting of full citizenship of the United States to the people of this island is the paramount political consideration now pending in their behalf; that it would have a far-reaching beneficial effect upon their lives and activities; contribute more than anything else to their happiness and contentment and thus promote the progress and prosperity of their native land, which has become, through the interests of all affected, an inseparable part of the United States.

"The people who await this act of justice are sympathetic, lovable and loyal; there is nothing in their character incompatible with our National life, and their blending into it will add a note of commingled sweetness, patience and idealism that will perhaps be a beneficial admixture with our more rugged temperament. They and their country have become a part of us and our country; they need and are entitled, from every consideration, to all of the benefits of our institutions, sentimental and otherwise, that such affiliation should bring. They came into our country as a whole, willing and gladly, more than thirteen years ago, but no opportunity has yet been given them to become citizens without traveling fifteen hundred miles from their present residences in American territory to another part of the United States, which is, of course, out of the question for the mass of the people while during that time many thousands of foreigners, with to say the least no better qualifications than they, have immigrated to the United States and individually become citizens thereof and are today exercising their rights as such. That this inconsistency is understood by the people of the mainland, and will be eventually reconciled is shown by the fact that both of the principal political parties of the United States, in 1906, incorporated into their platform clauses indicating their intention to support the granting of citizenship to the people of Porto Rico. That such action, has not yet been presented opportunely or in proper form to secure its passage.

"The people of Porto Rico have made their desires for citizenship manifest to all men in high governmental positions who have visited the island and practically all of such officials, including President Taft and his predecessor, President Roosevelt, have recommended to Congress that it be grant-

ed, but measures before Congress, or any other legislative body for that matter, must be followed up by those at interest and their friends upon the ground to prevent their being overlooked. Trusting, therefore, that your organization, representing as it does the largest class of the people in the Island, who are not less interested than all other classes, will adopt such means as may be deemed proper and efficacious for procuring the early consideration of this just and wise measure by Congress, and assuring you of my full co-operation in that behalf, I am,

"Very sincerely,
"GEO. R. COLTON, Governor.

"Hon. Santiago Iglesias,
"President Federation Libre de los
"Trabajadores de Porto Rico, San
"Juan, P. R."

WHEREAS, The lack of citizenship put the Porto Ricans in the shameful position of a people without a country, and place an arm in the hands of the reactionary element in the hands in the Island which profits by its campaigning that the United States wants to maintain us as inferior human beings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor cause to be introduced into Congress a bill having for its purpose the granting to the people of Porto Rico full American citizenship, and guarantee to the Porto Ricans the same rights possessed by the people of other States and Territories of the Nation; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges to the working people and all the people of Porto Rico its sympathy, co-operation and best efforts through the press, the pulpit and every means of publicity all over the United States to secure for the one million of Porto Ricans full American citizenship and the just rights to which they are entitled; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and Congress.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates T. H. Gerrey and T. J. O'Donnell, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, shall take such steps as they may deem proper to secure the passage of such legislation as shall make effective at the

earliest possible moment the recommendations of resolution No. 78, adopted at the St. Louis Convention of the A. F. of L., in November, 1910.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee considered Resolutions Nos. 46 and 61, and offered a substitute for the two resolutions. The resolutions and the substitute are as follows:

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates A. B. Lowe and T. J. O'Donnell, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

RESOLVED, That the Erdman Act be extended to apply to maintenance of way employees and to all other organized railway employees who wish to be included in the scope of its operation.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates A. B. Lowe, T. J. O'Donnell and T. H. Gerrey, International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, favor the adoption of a law compelling railway companies and railway employees to submit to investigation of any matter or matters in controversy between them regarding rules and rates. Said investigation to be conducted by commissioners chosen as follows: One by the officials, one by the employees, and the third to be chosen by the two representatives of these parties, or, in the event of their not doing so in five days, the third member of the commission, who would act as chairman, to be chosen by Messrs. Knapp and Nellie, the expense to be borne by the Government in the interest of the general public and the enforcing of the award to be left to the force of public opinion and the sense of justice of the parties.

Substitute offered by the committee for Resolutions 46 and 61: That this Convention instruct the Executive Council to consider the matter of having the Federal Arbitration Law of June 1, 1893, so amended as to cover all railroad employees instead of only those employees actually engaged in any capacity in train operation or train service as the law now provides and if in its judgment such amendment is desirable it shall instruct the Legislative Committee to frame such amendments and endeavor to have them enacted into law.

Delegate Connors—I would like to inquire whether the Executive Council in considering this matter will call before

its members of the railroad organizations directly interested in this proposition. I believe in justice to the parties who will be benefited or discriminated against, as the case may be, they should be called in and heard on this proposition.

President Gompers—If there are no objections the chair will request the Secretary to make a memoranda as a minute of this Convention that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor when taking up the subject of this resolution and the recommendation of the committee invite the representatives of the organizations in whose behalf this resolution has been introduced. Is there objection? Hearing none, the Secretary will make this a minute in the records.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates T. H. Gerrey and T. J. O'Donnell, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes:

RESOLVED, That no man shall be imprisoned at the dictum of any judge, who has not first been tried and found guilty by a jury of his peers after a due trial at law.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 48—By O. C. Willson, delegate from the L. U., 12854, and John B. Lennon, delegate from the Journeymen Tailors:

WHEREAS, After months of organization work, during which time no demands were made upon the employers, the members of the Button Workers' Protective Union No. 12854, of Muscatine, Ia., were locked out on the 25th of last February; and

WHEREAS, After a ten weeks' contest, during which time the Pearl Button Manufacturers' Association used every means at its command to defeat the Button Workers' organization, an agreement was reached that provided against discrimination and for the posting of schedules and the right of the workers to see the weighing of their product; and

WHEREAS, Subsequent developments conclusively prove that the employers had no intention of living up to the provisions of the agreement, as they immediately began a process of discrimination to weed out the active members; and

WHEREAS, This process of discrimination reached its climax on July 29th and 30th, when thirty-two members of the Union employed by the McKee-Bli-

ven Company were discharged because of their membership in the Union; and

WHEREAS, Every effort to settle the difficulty failed, resulting in the calling of a strike against this firm on August 21st and the levying of a 5 per cent assessment on all those still at work to support the same; and

WHEREAS, The other employers began a process of retaliation and intimidation by locking out those employed in the Pioneer plant and its branch shops, and by discharging all those who took part in the Labor Day parade and those known to pay the assessment, and by threatening to discharge all those who continued to maintain their affiliation with the Union; and

WHEREAS, This process of discrimination forced the Union to call a general strike of all the workers to preserve its existence; and

WHEREAS, The members of this Union are not entitled to strike benefits owing to its being less than one year in the American Federation of Labor, the majority of whom have been out for fifteen weeks out of the past seven months, while those who were employed at the Automatic and McKee-Biven plants have been out for five months and all the time have been required to exist on the uncertain income from a voluntary assistance; and

WHEREAS, The members of this Union, men and women alike, have been unjustly dealt with by the police power of city, county and the state militia, arrested without cause, convicted without evidence, and cast into prison, some of whom at this time are serving on the chaingang and rock pile lately created by the Board of Supervisors of Muscatine County for the especial benefit of the striking Button Workers; and

WHEREAS, No buttons are being made, and the workers are standing as firm as ever, with excellent chances to come out of the contest victorious; and

WHEREAS, The funds coming in to support the strike are so meagre as to make us fearful that real hunger and suffering from the severity of the coming winter must ensue unless we can have additional help, of a financial character, to enable us to continue this great contest of a young union to a successful termination, which can and will be won if hunger and cold can be warded off for a short time longer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we hereby express our admiration of the splendid fight already made by the Button Workers, and do hereby authorize President Gompers to indorse an appeal for funds in their behalf, and urge all affiliated Unions to help them as promptly and liberally as may be in their power.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate E. R.

Torrey, of the Central Council, Butte, Mont.:

WHEREAS, The Button Workers of Muscatine, Iowa, are now and have been on strike for many months in an endeavor to establish for themselves, the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, They are chartered by the A. F. of L., but were not in existence of a sufficient time to draw strike benefits; and

WHEREAS, If they were furnished with financial aid such as the A. F. of L. could furnish, it would mean the winning of their demands; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, that we, as the representative body of organized labor in this community demand from the offices of the A. F. of L., and the Executive Board of the same, that they recommend to the coming Convention of that Body, that the Convention authorize an appeal for aid by the Officers of the A. F. of L. in behalf of the Button Workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That each A. F. of L. local affiliated with this Council be asked to make a similar request of their International Delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Oscar T. Nelson, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at the recent special session of Congress drafted a measure and had the same introduced by Senator La Follette in the Senate and by Congressman Lloyd in the House, which provides for the restoration to the Federal Civil Service employees of their inherent rights as citizens to the freedom of speech, to petition Congress for a redress of grievances, to a hearing before removal and the right to organize without the interference by departmental officials, all of which rights have been abrogated by executive order or denied by the departmental officials; and

WHEREAS, In opposition to this equitable and just measure are found the National Manufacturers' Association, who have deluged Congress with petitions protesting against the enactment of the measure, and the department officials who are anxious to perpetuate and strengthen a bureaucracy by maintaining complete control and domination of the destiny of the 400,000 Federal Civil Service employees; and

WHEREAS, Ever vigilant and holding sacred the inherent rights of free speech, that of petition, and the right to organize, it rests with our American Federation of Labor to continue to champion the cause of the "gagged" Federal

employees and to prevent the fostering of a bureaucracy that will seriously endanger the successful operation of our form of government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Atlanta, Ga., do hereby most heartily indorse Senate Bill No. 1162 and House Bill No. 5970, and instruct our Secretary to advise the affiliated Central Bodies by letter and through them the Local Unions of the importance of this measure and request that they petition the senators and congressmen from their states for the enactment of the measure into law.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary.

Delegate Nelson stated that while most of the subject matter of the resolution was covered in the report of the President there was one important point not covered in that report, that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to inform the affiliated bodies of the importance of the matter and that the members of those bodies petition the congressmen and senators of their respective districts to support the Lloyd-LaFollette Bill.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Nelson, Chairman Wilson, of the committee, stated that, insofar as the committee was concerned, they had no objection to the adoption of the resolution in its entirety.

A motion was made and carried that Resolution No. 53 be adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Santiago Iglesias, Rafael Alonzo and Joaquin A. Becerril:

WHEREAS, It is our keenest desire and our most ardent wish to have the Spanish working people of Porto Rico, Florida, Cuba, Mexico and Panama and other countries, share in the enlightenment and civilized methods and ideas which have informed American Trade Unions for generations, and to attain same it is absolutely necessary to translate into Spanish its thoughts and ideas, your conception of liberty, your methods, your aspirations and hopes, and the struggle you are sustaining for the advancement and welfare of mankind; and

WHEREAS, We believe that something of a more practical nature has to be done to place the Spanish-American workmen in closer touch with the different phases and aspects of the American labor life, we have thought of nothing more appropriate than a systematic central office of translations into Spanish, which shall undertake the publication in Spanish of everything connected with

labor under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The postage paid in forwarding such amount of reading matter from headquarters to local unions in Porto Rico, Florida, Cuba, Mexico, Panama and other Spanish speaking countries, represents a large expenditure, besides other expenses of printing, etc., without reaping the desired results of education and promoting the welfare of the labor classes at large, and especially of the membership of every Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now gathered in assembly, that the officers of the National and International Unions are hereby required to forward to the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico copies of all papers, circulars, notices and resolutions, etc., intended for publication, as well as one copy of the official journal or other newspaper published in the interests of any labor organization, for translation into Spanish and publication by the Central Office of Translation into Spanish in charge of the Free Federation of Workingmen, State Branch, American Federation of Labor, San Juan, Porto Rico; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That, to defray the expenses incurred in such translations and reprinted matter for Porto Rico, Cuba, Florida, Mexico and Panama and other Spanish speaking countries, a special fund for such purpose, as hereinbefore stated, is hereby created by voluntary donations from every affiliated National and International Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby entrusted and charged with the collections of such donations which he will request by special circular; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the amount so collected shall be invested as aforesaid under the supervision of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to inquire into the probable cost. On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate M. R. Pace, of the Richmond, Va., Central Trade and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, President Gompers in his annual address highly eulogized the labor press of the country for the good it is doing for organized labor in disseminating the truths of unionism and keeping before the workers what our leaders are accomplishing, and

WHEREAS, This Federation is of the opinion that the usefulness of the labor press would largely enhance if it would cease to publish advertisements of products of concerns inimical to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, That no labor paper

publishing such advertisements is acting consistently with the true spirit of unionism; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this body that every labor unionist in cities where labor papers are published should esteem it a privilege to subscribe to said paper and thus contribute their mite to sustain and encourage the publisher or publishers.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Pace discussed the question briefly, and urged that the resolution be endorsed, that while the general subject was covered in the report of the President the specific subject in the resolution was not.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), discussed the matter, and stated that if members of trades unions supported labor papers as they should there would be no need to solicit advertisements, and that the papers could be used for the purpose of propaganda alone.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate J. W. Holder, of the Florida State Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, That President Gompers' recommendation for the institution of permanent legislative committees by state Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies be indorsed, and that the incoming Executive Council be directed to urge all State Federations and Central Labor Bodies to elect such committees, with the further recommendation that legislative committees be permanent standing committees in all such representative organizations.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate James P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 476, a subordinate of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, which has been served with four separate and distinct injunctions within the last year and one-half, for having espoused the principles for which labor has been organized, and for refusing to handle material which is the product of non-union

conditions; and

WHEREAS, The mandate laid down in these injunctions directly aimed to cripple the carpenter organizations, and have been effective, and others in abeyance will, if granted, affect all labor organizations, more particularly those whose product depends on the support of the public and also which must rely upon the co-operation of their fellow organized workers; and

WHEREAS, This movement to restrain and restrict the activities of organized labor is being advanced and maintained by organized and centralized capital and through its agency the "Anti-Boycott Association," which employs attorneys to push such cases, and while they have been partially successful in intimidating labor unions, will probably, if left unchecked, hamper and delay the work and mission which organized labor is determined to accomplish; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is high time for organized labor to awake to the dangers of the situation confronting it, and use its powers to offset this damnable conspiracy to destroy it; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we believe this end can be accomplished successfully by and through the American Federation of Labor, and we, therefore request the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity to urge the Atlanta Convention A. F. of L. to construct some form of organized effort which can and will create a militant anti-injunction movement by the International and National Unions for presentation to public opinion of the country, and demand recognition by the dominant powers, so that no Courts of Law can be used to destroy the progressive and beneficent work which labor unions have thus far accomplished and are desirous of continuing.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action of the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate W. H. Dwyer, of the United Laborers 12,992:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record by resolution, passed at the thirtieth annual Convention, in favor of organizing the migratory workers; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers in his annual report to this Convention has strongly urged the organizing of the migratory workers on a definite and systematic plan; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby authorized and directed to appropriate from the general fund of the American Federation of Labor such funds or amount of money as may be necessary for the employment of special organizers who shall devote all their time to the organizing of the unemployed, migratory workers of the North American Continent; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council and the various organizers commissioned by the American Federation of Labor, be directed to co-operate with the special organizers in a united effort for the uplift of these millions of homeless, wandering, workless workers, who now constitute the greatest menace to the organized artisans and laborers, but who, when organized on a proper plan, will form a most impregnable fortress for the advancement of human civilization and the labor movement.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Dwyer, in discussing the question, stated that in the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor a similar resolution had been introduced and adopted, but practically nothing had been done to carry out its provisions except in the State of California. Delegate Dwyer spoke of the number of unions in California that had been organized under the name of United Laborers, and of the improvement that had been made in the condition of the members. He urged that other states make a greater effort to organize such labor.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate F. A. Morton:

WHEREAS, The United States prisoners are only worked a certain number of hours per day, as designated by the United States Congress; and

WHEREAS, In numbers of states of the Union the felony convicts of the state are placed on public buildings, streets, and other civic, county and state improvements, and are worked long and unreasonable hours; and

WHEREAS, There should be a uniform law in regard to hours of labor for state convicts as well as United States convicts; and,

WHEREAS, It is the sense of this Convention that state convicts should not be brought into competition with the free labor, even if shorter hours are given them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of this Convention be, and are, hereby instructed by this Convention to return to their respective states and start a movement on foot whereby their respective states shall pass laws governing the labor performed by state convicts, withdrawing them if possible from competition with

their free labor, or having a uniform length of hours.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate J. W. Holder, of the Florida State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, During the year 1912 a general election will be held at which a new President will be elected and the different political parties will make declarations of their policy and outline a platform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a special committee be elected by this Convention to wait upon all of the political parties, viz., the Democratic party, the Republican party, the Prohibition party, and the Socialist party, to submit to each the fundamental issues which organized labor has so frequently advocated; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this special committee make a report to all local organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor stating the response given to it by the aforesaid political parties, without comment, in order that the members of organized labor may obtain an absolute, unbiased statement of the attitude of the several political parties on labor issues and in order to prevent our opponents from charging the officers of the American Federation of Labor with trying to deliver the votes of the members or permit the Federation to be used for partisan purposes.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to take such action as would best conserve labor's interests. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate John M. Dowd, of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, held in the City of Oswego, N. Y., September 19-23, 1911, the all important decision of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York in declaring unconstitutional the Act passed by the Legislature of 1910, entitled Compulsory Compensation for Workmen in Certain Hazardous Occupations; it was, therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegate from this body to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to propose an amendment to the Federal Constitution to legalize workmen's compensation laws in the several states and national territories.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been

dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates Thos. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher, Martin Cole and P. F. A. Vaccarelli, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There being a continuous influx of Asiatic labor to all Pacific coast ports of the United States, to the menace of our craft, as well as all other citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use all their influence to the end that the immigration laws governing undesirable immigration be rigidly enforced, most especially in the northwesterly ports.

The committee offered as a substitute for Resolution No. 147, the following:

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our previous declaration that the Chinese Exclusion Act should be made to apply to all races natives of Asia.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.),—We would like to request that the Executive Council make a little more strenuous effort to have the law enforced on the Pacific coast, and to take the matter up with the immigration authorities. The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 170—By Delegate John Mitchell, of United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches causes among match workers a most loathsome disease of the bones of the face, known as "phossy jaw;" and

WHEREAS, The use of poisonous phosphorus in the match industry is no longer necessary and the United States is the only civilized country of commercial importance that has not already prohibited the use of this deadly poison by national legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor commends and endorses the American Association for Labor Legislation in its efforts to secure early action by Congress which will absolutely prohibit the use of this unnecessary poison in American match factories, and give to the workers in this industry the same protection from unnecessary suffering and death that has been extended to the match workers in the other civilized countries of the world.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Respectfully submitted,
WILLIAM B. WILSON, Chairman.

FRANK DUFFY,
 THOMAS F. TRACY,
 GEORGE L. BERRY,
 OWEN MILLER,
 JAMES WILSON,
 ROADY KENEHAN,
 J. J. KEEGAN,
 WILLIAM D. CLARK,
 T. V. O'CONNOR,
 HUGH STEVENSON,
 CHARLES L. BAINE,
 J. T. BUTLER,
 HOMER D. CALL,
 ANDREW FURUSETH, Sec'y.

Delegate Wilson (W. D.), in the chair.

Report of Labor Representation Committee.

President Gompers, for the Committee, reported as follows:

Atlanta, November 22, 1911

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

The undersigned Labor Representation Committee to which was referred the communication of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party found printed in the official proceedings of the sixth day's morning session of this Convention, begs leave to report that we have given the subject due consideration, and submit the following, with the accompanying resolution, for the consideration and action of this Convention.

It is true, as stated in the communication, that the enemies of labor are making a determined effort to break the spirit of the workers in Los Angeles; that they have chosen that city as a battle ground where they hope to crush labor so completely that it will not lift its head in self-respect and struggle for its rights again; that they are making this attempt both on the economic and the political field, and that just at present the fiercest part of the struggle is on the political field.

Your committee feels gratified that the assurance is given that any action by this convention upon this subject will not be regarded as any general or other endorsement of the Socialist Party or its principles or policies, and that any action this Convention may take in the matter will not be so construed. We cannot refrain from pointing out a misconception contained in the statement of the National Executive Committee when it says that that body thoroughly under-

stands the "non-political" character of the American Federation of Labor. As a matter of fact, the trade union movement as typified in the American Federation of Labor, in its constant struggle, aims, and methods could not avoid being political even if it sought to be. Every economic, industrial and legislative effort made by the organized labor movement of our country has its political influence and significance. The American trade union movement is not non-political, it is politically non-partisan.

The situation which has existed in recent years in Los Angeles discloses the fact that since the campaign of bitter hostility toward labor inaugurated by General Harrison Gray Otis of the Los Angeles "Times," the reactionary element of the wealth possessors of that city has consistently sought to crush the spirit of labor, curb the rights guaranteed to the people of that city, and stand as an obstacle in the path of progress for the betterment and uplift of the workers. This hostile and reactionary element in Los Angeles is typified in its Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, of which General Otis of the Los Angeles "Times" is the moving spirit, and whose puppet is Mr. Alexander, the present mayor of Los Angeles and its candidate for re-election. Under Mayor Alexander's administration the fiercest and most brutal invasion of the people's rights has been the policy and the activities of that administration. It has placed the dollar before the rights of man.

For the past eighteen months the working people in the metal trades of Los Angeles have been engaged in a great struggle for economic and sociological reform, the establishment of a normal workday. The combined hostile forces of the employers in the metal trades, with the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and General Otis are sponsors for the candidacy of Mayor Alexander. Despite the bitterness of the struggle, progress has been made in many ways so that during this period the membership in the trade unions of that city has increased more than 7,000. We have therefore the knowledge and the satisfaction that the spirit of the workers has not been and will not be either curbed or crushed, but like that of every other movement of

the people for justice, for right, for freedom, and for common uplift, will triumph over oppression and tyranny.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Chairman.

JAMES O'CONNELL.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Labor Representation Committee.

Resolution No. 176—By Labor Representation Committee:

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Atlanta, Ga., the representatives of the organized workers of America, sends greetings to the working people and all the people of Los Angeles, and extends to them our hearty endorsement and moral support in the struggle for justice and right and freedom in which they are now engaged; that the political campaign now in progress in Los Angeles typifies tyranny, oppression, a curb on the movement for the common uplift, in the candidacy of the present incumbent of the mayoralty of that city, Mr. Alexander; that, on the other hand, the candidate of the workers and of the progressive, liberty-loving people of Los Angeles is expressed in the nomination for the mayoralty of Los Angeles of Job Harriman. This Convention urges the citizenship of Los Angeles, without regard to sex or station in life, whose civic pride and love of justice dominate their action above the greed of wealth, to vote for Job Harriman and his associates for the mayoralty and municipal legislative offices.

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as every effort by the moneyed interests and reactionary forces of Los Angeles and elsewhere is now being concentrated in the effort to re-elect Alexander, and realizing that labor cannot entertain the hope to win its victories in matching its meagre resources to the money bags of corporate power, yet we call upon the workers and the sympathizers with progress throughout the country to give their moral support and to contribute such money as they may be enabled to afford toward the campaign fund in the effort to elect Job Harriman mayor of Los Angeles.

President Gompers moved the adoption of the report of the Committee.

The motion was seconded, and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Ward moved that the resolutions be sent by night letter to those in Los Angeles entitled to receive it. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President O'Connell, on behalf of the delegates to the Convention, presented to Fraternal Delegate Roberts, of the British Trades Union Congress, a handsome chest of table silver suitably engraved. A similar chest of silver was presented to Fraternal Delegate Crinion

and Mrs. Crinion, and to Mrs. Crinion was presented a pearl brooch. A handsome diamond ring was presented to Fraternal Delegate Glocking, of the Canadian Trade and Labor Congress.

In brief addresses the fraternal delegates expressed their appreciation of the gifts.

Report of Committee on Labels.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Frank Butterworth, of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance is contending against a determined and widespread conspiracy on the part of manufacturers of clay materials to disrupt their organization; and

WHEREAS, Enormous quantities of non-union brick, tile and terra cotta is used in the construction of public buildings, streets, highways, sewers, drainage projects, and other public works, to the detriment of the Alliance and its members; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid materials are mainly produced by men working long hours under the most deplorable conditions and for wages too low to enable them to maintain a decent standard of living; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we instruct our Executive Council to communicate with all State Federations and City Central Bodies under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor requesting them to use their influence to the end that all brick, tile and terra cotta used on state and municipal operations be union-made.

The Committee reported favorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Hayes—That completes the report of the Committee. The report is signed by the Committee in full.

JOHN F. TOBIN, Chairman;
MAX S. HAYES, Secretary.
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
LOUIS KEMPER,
A. M. SWARTZ,
MAX ZUCKERMAN,
HARRY MEYER,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
CHRIS KERKER,
J. J. HANDLEY,
CHARLES DOLD,
EDWARD JOHNSON.
E. J. BRAIS,
A. McANDREW,
ED. ANDERSON.

Committee on Labels.

At 6:15 p. m. the Convention was adjourned, to re-convene at 9 a. m., Friday, November 24th.

Eleventh Day--Friday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, November 24th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfeil, Price (Walter V.), Sheret, Gaviak, Coffey, Kelly (W. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Donnelly (J. L.), Lebowitz, Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Weber asked unanimous consent for the introduction of a resolution.

Objection was offered to the introduction of the resolution.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Homer D. Call, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There exists at the present time in some localities a dual or seceding organization of Butcher Workmen which is attempting to deceive the rank and file of the workers of that industry and organized labor in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, hereby declare that the only bona fide organization of meat cutters' and butcher workmen chartered under the American Federation of Labor is the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Jos. W. Kline, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers

WHEREAS, The organization known as the International Subway and Tunnel Workers are taking into their organization blacksmiths and tool dressers under the name of Tool Sharpeners, the jurisdiction of said mechanics was granted the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers by the American Federation of Labor, and this jurisdiction has never been questioned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the International of Subway and

Tunnel Workers to refrain from taking men who come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers into their organization (International Subway and Tunnel Workers) to surrender the mechanics referred to, now members of their organization, to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.

The committee reported as follows: No conference having been held between the two organizations, your committee could take no other action under the law. We would advise, however, that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange a conference between representatives of the two unions and a representative of the American Federation of Labor within the next ninety days, with a view of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations involved.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 29 be amended by striking out the words "to use every means" in the eighth line of the second resolve, and the following words added at the end of the same resolve, "with the understanding that no action be taken that will involve any other organization, without first securing the consent and approval of the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate A. Johannsen, of the San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12766, was organized and duly chartered by the A. F. of L., three years ago; and

WHEREAS, The union has endeavored to obtain a conference and agreement with their employers (The San Francisco Publishers' Association); and

and WHEREAS, The San Francisco Labor Council, seeing the justice of the Newspaper Solicitors' case has repeatedly and continually urged the San Francisco Publishers' Association to

come to an agreement with the Newspaper Solicitors' Union and failed; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L., has attempted to bring about an agreement between the San Francisco Publishers Association, and Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12766, and failed, and

WHEREAS, President Gompers, on his recent visit to California, held a three hours' conference with the Publishers' Association, and was unable to persuade said Association to even meet representatives of the Newspaper Solicitors' Union while he was present or otherwise, or even agree to accept an intermediary at any future time; and

WHEREAS, Regardless of all the foregoing continued efforts on the part of organized labor to adjust the matter, the Newspaper Solicitors' Union is not only refused recognition, but has not had a conference with their employers for a period of two years; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands unqualifiedly for the recognition of its affiliated Unions and collective bargaining with their employers; and

WHEREAS, The San Francisco Publishers' Association claims that the revenue producing department of their business should be absolutely under their control. If that claim is allowed it means that thousands of wage workers, such as clerks, bookkeepers, salesmen, salesladies, et cetera, are debarred from joining and receiving the protection of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as demanding of the San Francisco Publishers' Association that they deal with and recognize the Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12766; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention empower the San Francisco Labor Council to take charge of the controversy between the Newspaper Solicitors' Union and the San Francisco Publishers' Association, and that the San Francisco Labor Council be empowered to bring about an agreement between the San Francisco Newspaper Publishers' Association and the Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12766 with the understanding that no action be taken that will involve any other organization without first securing the consent and approval of the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate L. P. Philippi, of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Carpenters represented in the St. Louis District Council went on strike for an increase of wages on April 1st, 1911; and

WHEREAS, The District Council represented some 3,500 members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and 35 members of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters; and

WHEREAS, a general 'contractors' association opposed the union by importing scabs and strike breakers, which, owing to the necessity of having union labor, they later organized as Carpenters' Union No. 1 of the Independent Allied Trades Union; and

WHEREAS, This move did not prove successful, owing to the fact that owners demanded union carpenters, affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In consequence thereof a committee from the Carpenters' District Council did meet with committees from the Contractors' Association endeavoring to arrive at an agreement and were prevented only by the insistence of the Contractors' Association that the union agree to use all scab work, and further agree not to strike in sympathy with or assist any kindred trade, which conditions the Carpenters' District Council would not agree to, when the contractors committee broke further conference about July 1st, 1911; and

WHEREAS, Such action of the contractors was prompted by the fact that the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters did propose to enter into, and did enter into, an agreement as drawn by the Bosses' Association, and did furnish cards to the strikebreakers, known as Independent Carpenters, and thereby throw the mantle of the American Federation of Labor about them and defeat the efforts of the United Brotherhood; and

WHEREAS, This agreement is pernicious and contrary to union principles and disruptive to the labor movement, and is an attempt on the part of a small minority to force the same outrageous condition on the 3,500 United Brotherhood men of St. Louis (see section 7, article 7, of the attached copy of agreement): Sec. 7. Employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit, but any carpenters employed by them shall be union men and shall become subject to this agreement, and must fail if the affiliation of these men with the American Federation of Labor is withdrawn; and

WHEREAS, The action of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters was strongly condemned by the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union on July 23rd, 1911, by resolution, copy of which was forwarded to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, An application from the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, foregoing reasons; now, therefore be it Branch No. 801, for affiliation with the Central Trades and Labor Union, was rejected on July 23rd, 1911, for the

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., that the action of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union in refusing to seat Branch No. 801 of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, is hereby indorsed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is against the laws and principles of the A. F. of L. to approve of or maintain dual organizations in any trade, and that, therefore, the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters be, and is hereby revoked, by this Convention.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations involved within ninety days from the adjournment of this Convention, with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations, and in case of disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation agreed upon and submitted by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the differences shall be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a final decision, which decision shall be rendered not later than June 1, 1912.

Should the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners fail to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on or before July 1, 1912, the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Gilmore discussed the report of the committee, and the report of the Executive Council in regard to the amalgamation of the two organizations. He opposed the portion of the report of the committee providing that if an amalgamation does not take place at a certain date the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners would be revoked. He argued that that portion of the report should be eliminated and the plan of amalgamation submitted to the two organizations before such a question was put before the Convention.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, in discussing the question said in part:

It might be well to state the position

of our committee on this matter right in the beginning of these cases of dual organizations and give the Convention some idea of the purpose of the committee. I want to say right in the beginning that our committee is unanimously of the opinion that there is room for but one organization of one trade in America, and we are starting right out on that line. The delegates from both the organizations appeared before our committee. The delegates of the Amalgamated Association claimed that former agreements that had been reached and former awards rendered had not been carried out. There was an apparent fear upon the part of the delegates from the Amalgamated Carpenters that they would not receive fair consideration in the matter of amalgamation. In order that that phase of the proposition might be taken care of the Executive Council is delegated by our report to see that the Brotherhood of Carpenters extends fair consideration in the matter of amalgamation to the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. That is to say, consideration should be given in taking the members of the Amalgamated Society into the Brotherhood. That is what the amalgamation means, that consideration should be given the good standing of the members in the Amalgamated Society in order that they will not lose in their standing as trade unionists the time they had been members of their organization, but that the Brotherhood should give them the length of standing the members had in their own organization.

It will be understood right from the beginning that there will be no further haggling or squabbling over amalgamation after the first of July; that it must take place by that time. If there is an appeal of any kind it must be made in June and the amalgamation take place in July or the charter of the Amalgamated will be revoked.

Delegate Duffy (F.), in discussing the question, reviewed at some length the trouble existing between the two organizations of carpenters in various parts of the United States, stating that the trouble was more acute now than it had been in former years. He stated that the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department had decided there should be but one organization of

carpenters; that the Amalgamated Society and the United Brotherhood should get together in order to avoid trouble on the buildings and not involve other building tradesmen. Delegate Duffy referred to various plans of amalgamation that had been suggested during the past ten years, all of which had failed. He stated that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners were willing to amalgamate and had been for ten years, and referred in detail to some of the plans for amalgamation that had been suggested.

Delegate Wilkinson, in discussing the question, spoke briefly of the history and development of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in the entire English-speaking world, and of the benefit that organization had been to its members. He spoke of the responsibility that would devolve upon the delegates in voting upon the report of the committee, stating that it would affect, not only the movement in America, but in other parts of the world. He referred in detail to various plans for amalgamation that had been suggested during past years, and spoke at length of reasons why they had not been accepted by both organizations.

At the close of Delegate Wilkinson's discussion the following substitute for the report of the committee was offered by Delegate Wilkinson and Delegate Gilmore, of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners:

That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor now convened in Atlanta, Ga., hereby order (for the purpose of bringing harmony about between the two carpenters' organizations), that a board of arbitration be established consisting of three men, one to be selected by the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, and one to be selected by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, these two to select the third.

That the Board of Arbitration shall meet not later than December 31, 1911, for the purpose of formulating a working agreement between the two above named carpenters' organizations, and be it further provided for the purposes of the Arbitration Board that each side to this controversy shall have in attendance an equal number of representatives who shall present such matters to the Arbitration

Board as may be necessary in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion in drafting the agreement."

Delegate Wilkinson moved the adoption of the substitute for the report of the committee. The motion was seconded by Delegate Gilmore.

Delegate Wilkinson requested that Mr. Herbert Crampton, General Councilman of the Amalgamated Society, be given the privilege of the floor.

Delegate Macfarlane stated that he did not think it was necessary to have any one outside of the delegates speak, as it would only tend to prolong the discussion.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.), moved that Mr. Crampton be allowed the privilege of the floor for a period of twenty minutes, inasmuch as the Amalgamated Society had so small a number of delegates present. (Seconded and carried.)

In opening the discussion Mr. Crampton stated that he would approach the matter as an international trades unionist and not deal with the squabbles that had occurred between the two organizations of carpenters. He stated that the Amalgamated Society had had no trouble with any other organization. He stated that the Amalgamated Society stood for the highest type of unionism in a financial sense. Mr. Crampton reviewed at length the efforts that had been made for a number of years to amalgamate the two organizations.

Delegate Macfarlane discussed the question at some length, and replied in detail to statements made by Mr. Crampton in regard to the per capita paid by the members of the two organizations. He stated that in England the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners was seeking to procure the amalgamation of all the carpenters' organizations in that country, and that recently the Associated Carpenters had become part of the Amalgamated Society. He stated that although the Amalgamated Society had been organized in the United States prior to the United Brotherhood it had not grown large in numbers and its financial policy had evidently not appealed to the American workmen. He stated that the United Brotherhood had obtained results for its members in increasing wages and shortening hours of labor.

Delegate Furuseth discussed the ques-

tion briefly, and said in part: The struggle that has been going on here is on the religious field, the struggle between the orthodox and the heterodox. On the political field the struggle is between absolutism and democracy. On the organization field the struggle is between compulsion and personal freedom, between the man who wants to do right because he is intellectually and morally convinced it is right, and the man who wants him to do right with a lash over his back. The American labor movement as represented in the American Federation of Labor has not grown great in that way. It has grown great by respecting the fundamental hopes and aspirations of the worker himself, respecting his ideas of freedom. And what are you trying to do? Following the trend of popular opinion—a greater New York, a greater Boston, a greater San Francisco, a greater United States, a greater carpenters' union, accession, conquest, force. Why, you are about to deny the fundamental principle upon which the labor union is founded. I cannot go with you on that idea. I do not believe it is healthy. You are about to repeat something that took place at Richmond when the cigarmaker was told, "You must use the label of the Knights of Labor and you must admit any one, no matter who he is." And who survived, the Knights of Labor or the cigarmakers? Look at this Convention, and in your mind's eye look at the Convention of the Knights of Labor when that was done. I cannot agree to the fundamental principles that are developed in the report. I cannot agree that men are property to be given by the one and taken by the other. I cannot agree that men are chattels, either individually or collectively. I cannot agree that this Convention or any power on earth has the right to say to me or to anybody else, "You shall join this or you shall join that." I agree that you have a right to educate me so that I will freely and of my own accord say, "That is correct and that is lasting." Your force idea is worthy of nothing but contempt.

Delegate Meyers discussed the question briefly, and referred to trouble that had occurred between the Amalgamated Society and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters in Washington, stating that it

had also affected the men in the other building trades. He stated he was glad that the Executive Council had made the recommendation it did in regard to the controversy and that the Adjustment Committee had seen fit to recommend a settlement after so many years of conferences and attempts to secure a settlement.

Delegate Richardson—I would like to ask on what authority the Adjustment Committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor authorize the revoking of the charter of the Amalgamated Society, and I would like to know what law or regulation of the American Federation of Labor the Amalgamated Society has violated?

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Committee—If the question is put to me I will say our authority is the action this Convention may take. We are not dealing with violations of the constitution at all; we are dealing with what we believe to be the best interests of the labor movement.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), in beginning his discussion, stated that while the delegates who had attended several Conventions of the American Federation of Labor were no doubt familiar with the controversy there were new delegates who were not, and for that reason reviewed briefly the attempts that had been made to amalgamate the two organizations in the last few years. In discussing the insurance and benefit features of the two organizations Delegate Kelly stated that he did not join this organization for the sake of insurance, but for the benefits that the organization would bring to him in his wages and working conditions. In closing his discussion Delegate Kelly said: If you take away from us that bugaboo we have to confront when we are going before architects and owners, that there is another organization of carpenters in the American Federation of Labor who are willing to take our places, we will take care of the balance of it. I will guarantee that the individual members and the rank and file of our organization will handle that question, and handle it in the proper manner. We want them to come in with our organization in the proper manner; we are willing to give them all the benefits we are entitled to

according to the length of time of their membership in the Amalgamated Society or otherwise. This is not a jurisdiction question by any means. The members of both organizations do identically the same class of work, we work on the same buildings, in the same room, yes, and we work as partners together. There is no jurisdiction in a question of that kind.

Delegate Gehring in discussing the question stated that the question under consideration affected not alone the carpenters, but every organization represented in the Convention. He referred to the statement of the chairman of the committee that there should be but one organization in each craft in the country, and stated that the sooner that state of affairs could be brought about the better it would be for the movement. He stated that he approved of the policy adopted by the Adjustment Committee for settling the case under consideration and similar cases.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), asked if the amalgamation took place would the United Brotherhood agree to protect the Amalgamated Society for the benefits they had paid and the system now in operation. He asked further would the United Brotherhood agree to accept the cards of those who came from the old country.

Vice-President Huber—We are doing that now.

Delegate Hayes—Are the Amalgamated men guaranteed in the matter of benefits? Will it be incorporated in the constitution or agreement that the Amalgamated men will be protected in the benefits which they have paid?

Vice-President Huber—We have done that heretofore.

Delegate Hayes discussed the question at length, referred to resolutions he had introduced and arguments he had made in former conventions in favor of a peaceful solution of the differences between the Amalgamated Society, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and other organizations in which similar controversies had arisen. He stated that he intended to vote in favor of the report of the committee with the understanding that the Amalgamated Society men would be protected in their benefits.

On motion debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the substitute offered by Delegate Wilkinzen and Delegate Gilmore was lost.

Vice-President Huber requested a roll call on the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

Roll Call on the Report of the Adjustment Committee on Resolution No. 32 and the Report of the Executive Council on the Question of the U. B. Carpenters—Amalgamated Carpenters.

Ayes—Kennedy (A. J.), Koch, Kerker, Noschang, Klapezky, Fischer (Jacob), Anderson (Ed.), Kline, Golden, Flannagan, Franklin (J. A.), Casey, Weyand, Flynn (Joseph), Sovey, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Proebstle, Kemper, Ward, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Butterworth, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Macfarlane, Young, Flynn (T. F.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Swartz, Tveitmo, Gengenback, Goelnitz, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Barnes, Smith (J. T.), Conway, Pfell, Christman, Zuckerman, Thomas, Hughes (A. C.), Scooby, McNulty, Collins; Fay, Yount, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Kinsella, Smith (Fred), Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Landers, Altman, Rosenberg, Block, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dubinsky, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Ring, Duncan, Bainsch, Russell, Lawlor, Moffitt, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Marshall, Kenahan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, Williams (John), Selway, McSorley, Taggart, Brock, Bryan, Gehring, O'Connor, Kelleher, Cole, Vaccarelli, O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Buckley, Handley, Lowe, O'Donnell, Gerry, Call, Daly, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Bobb, Hynes, Walsh, Mitchell (John), Hayes (F. J.), Walker, McCullogh (E. S.), Wilson (W. R.), Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Hedrick, Skemp, Evans (D. J.), Moorhouse, Tazelaar, Kelly (Sam'l.), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (Jas.), Gernon, Woll, McGivern, Clark (Wm. D.), Alpine, Tracey (Wm.), Murphy, Malley, Nelson, Menge, Cartledge, Berry, Marks, Johnston, Malin, Sultor, Perham, Soyster, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Mounts, Nolte, Gallagher (J. J.), Mahon, Taber, Commons, Lilly, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Mitchell (M. W.), Short, Bridwell, Kaefel, Connors, Brais, Lennon, Biggs, Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, Golden, Morgan, Williams (T. J.), McAndrew, Evans (E. Lewis), Lynch, Morrison, Hayes (M. S.), Stevenson, McCullogh (T. W.), Birnes, Cooke, DeVaux, Mikel, Holder, McKenna, Pfleger, O'Brien, Myers, Durnin, Wilkerson, Donoghue, Leary, Dowd, Graney, Ryan (E. H.), Lavin, Iglesias, Shay, Blakey, Henretty, Weber (F. J.), Buckley, Hirsch, Tharp, Heck, O'Brien (W. H.), Ferry, Carroll, Conner, Carter, Sontheimer, Haines, Mead, Schaffer, Briggs, Scoggan, Gray, Schneider,

Abell, Coleman, Fahey, Agethen, Wendt, Albrecht, Ulrich, Welsh (E. F.), Pace, Philippi, James, Russi, Johannsen, Leonard, Smith (A. W.), Noonan, Wilby, White, Morton, Voll, Becerril, Ford, Forehand, Dwyer, Engdahl, representing 15,491 votes.

Nays—Gilmore, Wilkinson, Richardson, Humphrey, Nestor, Donlin, Ward (Jas.), Flynn (Patrick), Furuseth, Mulcahy, Hassenpflue, Wright, Bohm, representing 425 votes.

Not voting—Ryan (F. M.), Butler, Clark (Wm.), Crozier, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Mangan, Roach, Coakley, Price, Lewis (T. L.), McDonald, Moyer, Hannah, Sheret, Gavlak, Bird, Carolan, Curtis, Hatch, Gallagher (A. J.), Lawrence, Smith (Jos.), Coffey, Smith (T. J.), Kelly (Wm. E.), Jones (Jerome), Anderson (W. H.), Lowell, DeYoung, Torrey, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Smith (L. W.), Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Cox, Skemp (Meta), Quick, Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.), Doherty, Holland, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Taylor, Alonso, Ingram, Winchenback, Smith (C. T.), Morris, Wilson (O. C.), McAndrews (J. J.), Belt, Welsh, Creamer, Donnelly (J. L.), Cornette, Lebowitz, Dunne, Saum, Ham, East, Manning, Schaub, Clinton, Roberts, Glockling, representing 1324 votes.

President Gompers—The morning papers published a statement which I will ask the secretary to read. After he has read it I desire the indulgence of the convention for a few minutes in order that I may take cognizance of it.

Secretary Morrison read the following article from a newspaper:

"New Orleans, La., November 23.—Witnesses for the prosecution in the Los Angeles Times dynamiting case have been threatened with death after having withstood repeated efforts of agents of the defense to bribe them, declared William J. Burns, the detective, in an address today before the state secretaries' section of the American Bankers' Association. Mr. Burns bitterly arraigned Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; Eugene V. Debs and other 'would-be-leaders' of organized labor, but declared that nine-tenths of organized labor is opposed to violence and not in sympathy with the efforts of the small socialistic element to destroy organized society and lessen respect for the laws of the country.

Says Debs Incited to Murder.

"He declared that Eugene Debs, in a recent signed article in a periodical which Burns suggested should be known as 'The Appeal to Treason,' wrote in a vein calculated to incite men to the worst possible violence. 'And,' he said, 'I interpreted the article to mean that J. Pierpont Morgan, Guggenheim, General Otis and myself should be removed.

"If they get me,' he declared with feeling, 'there will be somebody else to

take up the work and continue the fight for the protection of society. I have a consciousness of having performed my full duty, with the observance of an absolute regard at all times for the rights of every individual affected and prompted only by a desire to see that justice is done.'

Confidence Voted in Burns.

"Mr. Burns' discussion of the McNamara case was at the requests of the state secretaries' organization and followed his address before that body on the subject 'Modern Methods of Protecting Banks.'"

"A rising vote of confidence in Mr. Burns' integrity was extended him by the meeting.

"Mr. Burns only briefly discussed the Los Angeles case, and said if it had not been for the unfounded attacks upon him made by Samuel Gompers and others he would refrain from saying anything about it until he was called upon to testify.

"While declining to go into details of the prosecution's evidence in the case, he said he was satisfied that John J. McNamara and James B. McNamara would be convicted.

"And, gentlemen,' he said, 'it is a significant fact that no dynamiting has occurred since the arrest of the McNamaras.'

Fund of \$1,000,000 for McNamaras.

"Mr. Burns repeated the declaration which he made several weeks ago that a fund of over \$1,000,000 had been collected or pledged for the defense of the McNamaras.

"When I first made that statement,' he said, 'Gompers promptly announced that it was a lie. But he did not give any figures nor did he inform the public as to the source of some of this large aggregation of money. He contented himself with saying that I was a liar, which only goes to show the character of the men who are attacking me.

"I tell you, they have the money and they have endeavored to buy our witnesses. They have offered some of the prosecution witnesses their own price, and when these witnesses refused to accept the offers and expressed themselves in that manner they have been threatened with death. We have actually found it necessary to hide some of our witnesses.

"But, gentlemen, nine-tenths of organized labor are not in sympathy with that character of people, and it will be demonstrated unquestionably that they do not stand for violence.'

Plea for Better Officials.

"Mr. Burns closed with a plea for bankers and business people to take a greater interest in the selection of public officials. It is the highest obligation of citizenship, he said, to see that decent, honest men are elected to office. 'Red-flag anarchists, parading under the cloak of socialism, are not innumerable in this country,' he said, 'and they will go to any

extreme in enforcing their demands, even to the taking of human life.

"The only remedy for this growing evil," he said, "was an awakening of the honest citizenship of the United States to a more sincere and active interest in its political and social problems."

Darrow Denies Charges of Burns.

"Los Angeles, November 23.—'What Burns is reported to have said is in keeping with what he has said previously,' said Attorney Clarence S. Darrow, chief counsel for James B. McNamara, referring to the address of Detective William J. Burns today in New Orleans. 'There is not a word of truth in it.'

"Officials of the district attorney's office would not discuss the statement."

President Gompers—Statements of that character, no matter from whence they emanate, have an influence upon that portion of the public that believes everything it sees in print, and it is to take cognizance of that fact which primarily prompts me to ask your indulgence for a few minutes. I do not think it is necessary to enter into a defense of my utterances or my action either in connection with the McNamara defense or any other activity as a labor man and as a citizen. You will notice that from the day J. J. McNamara was kidnapped out of his home and out of the state of Indiana there has been a staging of the entire procedure. I was not present when the offices of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were invaded, but it is common knowledge that the newspaper representatives in publishing their accounts stated that they were in the offices of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers immediately after the invasion by Burns, Drew and that coterie. It has been the action of Burns ever since, and including that day, to have the entire proceeding, spectacular and sensational in order to attract the attention of the newspapers and the general public.

I take it that the business of a detective, in theory at least, is to detect crime and the perpetrators of criminal acts; but it seems to me this has been the only case that has come under my observation in which a detective has tipped off in advance to newspaper men the details of an invasion or of an arrest. You can scarcely take up the newspapers for two successive days without finding some utterance of Burns, making an attack upon some of my colleagues and my-

self, affirming, charging and accentuating his conviction that the men incarcerated in Los Angeles are guilty and will be convicted. He has not only broken into the daily press, but he has broken into the magazines. And whoever heard of a detective who claims to have run down men guilty of crime trying their case in the public press, in the magazines and on the forum while the case was still pending before the court?

Burns makes the charge that efforts were made to bribe witnesses for the prosecution, and, failing in that, they were threatened with bodily injury. That statement is answered by Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, who denies and repudiates it. I will take my chance before the American public in standing with Clarence Darrow as against Detective Burns.

Burns repeats a statement he made several weeks ago, which he has repeated since on several occasions, that the American Federation of Labor has accumulated or gathered a sum of over a million dollars for the defense of the McNamaras. That statement is absolutely untrue. There is a double purpose in such a statement. One purpose is to create the impression in the minds of the general public that no such fund can be legitimately used in the defense of the McNamara boys. The other is to convey to the minds of the working people of our country the impression that there is already so great a fund at our command to defend these men that it will not be necessary for them to assist, and they will therefore be deterred from contributing their pennies so that the men may be properly defended.

From the entire procedure of Burns in this case and from his unsavory record in many other cases, in one or the other category he must be placed, either that he is a malicious, malignant man who undertakes to hunt men the same as we find man hunters in aboriginal countries or that he is so unsound in his mind that he deludes himself.

During the session of the National Association of Manufacturers a few months ago Mr. Kirby, its president, made a declaration in regard to an immense fund at our command to defend the McNamara brothers. He said these funds were be-

ing wickedly and illegally used. At that time I was called upon by the newspaper representatives in Washington, and by the representatives of the newspaper agencies who asked me what I had to say in regard to it. I not only repudiated the accuracy of that statement, but made the offer that bor would be thrown open to Mr. Kirby or the books and papers and financial accounts of the American Federation of Labor committee of citizens he might select, provided he would give an equal opportunity to me to appoint a committee to investigate the accounts and the books of the National Association of Manufacturers. And that offer, insofar as I have the authority to make it, is open to Detective Burns.

Burns has said on the platform and in the newspapers repeatedly that detectives as a rule are the greatest set of scoundrels who have ever gone unwhipped by justice, and the detectives so accused by Burns turn upon him and say, "You're another." That Mr. Burns delivered an address before the bankers and their secretaries is quite appropriate. That these bankers and their secretaries should tender to him a rising vote of confidence in his integrity raises the question as to the validity and the worth of a vote of confidence and the source from which it is given. I ask if this vote of confidence in the integrity of Burns has been given by these bankers and their secretaries, what body of decent, law-abiding citizens, citizens who insist on honest legislation, clean politics and high civic standards would give a vote of confidence in the integrity of the bankers who voted confidence in the integrity of Burns? The fact that there has grown into the minds of the people of our country a determination to insist that the legislation of our country shall be within the power of the people by the initiative and the referendum and the recall is a vote of want of confidence in the powers which have so long been exercised by politics, legislation and judicial decisions.

Burns refers to violence and says that he is saving society and when he shall go others will arise like him to save society. God save society if he is to be the one to save it! Burns has said that I

am not a representative of labor. Well, I am sure I do not get my credentials from him and his ilk. I venture to say that this Convention, as has previous conventions, very clearly represents the voice of the great rank and file of the workers who are organized in our unions. I am perfectly willing that the verdict of the men of labor shall be registered as to whether I try to interpret their hopes and aspirations, and whether I am trying to do the best that is in me in order to serve the interests and secure the rights of labor, and whether I try to comport myself as somewhat of a decent citizen.

I have not the least doubt that when the case against the McNamaras shall be opened and the prosecution has its inning some statements will be laid before the jury that until refuted will look bad; but as in every other manufactured statement, in every other slander, in every other statement that traduces the character and the honor of a man, when a fair opportunity is presented for the exposure of such statements the real facts will be made known. Millions have been contributed by organized labor haters, all the resources at their command have been used to aid the prosecution, and it will take some money to follow and trace and unmask those who have conspired against the lives of innocent men.

We have not anything like the fund they charge, we have not half nor quarter of it, but we do need funds. There are hundreds of witnesses to take from their homes in other parts of the country, some of them living as far as 3,000 miles from Los Angeles. These witnesses cannot be taken to Los Angeles and then sent home, to be called at any time when needed, and then sent back again. They must be on the ground and kept there. All this will require funds. I do not know what may come hereafter. I am sure that we have not raised and that we shall not be able to raise a fund that will be entirely adequate. Bear in mind that the case now on trial, in which I think but three jurors have so far been obtained, although it has been on for six weeks, will be prolonged and expensive. If J. B. McNamara should not be acquitted, if there is some disagreement, which I trust there will not be, in the jury it

may involve another trial. The attorneys have been compelled to close up their homes and their business to take up their residence in Los Angeles, not knowing how long they will have to remain. They have had to give up their offices and they have no other clients. We cannot allow our men to be sacrificed upon the altar of greed and we are not going to do it, Burns or his masters to the contrary notwithstanding.

They may abuse me, they may call me hard names, they may say anything they please about me and I care not a jot for it; but I am not going to permit them to say anything or do anything that reflects upon our movement or our men without resenting it with whatever power I may have at my command.

Vice-President Perham—I desire to offer a motion, as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that if the report is true that the Secretaries' Section of the American Bankers' Association in New Orleans recently adopted a vote of confidence in the integrity of so-called Detective Burns, after the untruthful and scurrilous statements made by him at that meeting and in other places regarding the representatives of organized labor, that such action on the part of the organized bankers is not calculated to increase the confidence of the people in their organization, but casts a reflection upon the intelligence and integrity of that body.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

At 12:45 p.m., the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m. of the same day.

Eleventh Day—Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m., Friday November 24th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfiel, Sheret, Gavlak, Coffey, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (S. R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Belt, Welsh (Thos. E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Saum Schaub.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, W. A. Neer, R. J. Hermann and John P. McLaughlin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

WHEREAS, The charter of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs gives them the sole right and jurisdiction to have in their organization all men driving wagons and automobiles of all classes; and

WHEREAS, There exists in the City of New York, Federal Union No. 9463, titled, Newspaper and Mail Deliverers; and

WHEREAS, This Federal Union has in its membership nine hundred newspaper wagon drivers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention, that the Executive Council stand instructed to notify this Federal Union No. 9463, and any other Federal Union, in any part of the country, that they be compelled,

and are ordered, to turn over all drivers and chauffeurs to the International Organization of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in the resolution, with instructions to the President of the American Federation of Labor to see to it that members of Federal Union 9463, who are mailers shall be transferred to the organization having jurisdiction over them.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Ward in discussing the case said:

I have no objection to the report of the committee. I have no objection to one part of the resolution, but that part which reads that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters had jurisdiction over all drivers of teams and chauffeurs is not correct according to the decision of the St. Louis Convention. At that time the Brotherhood of Teamsters asked for jurisdiction over all chauffeurs, and they were granted jurisdiction where other organizations had not already that jurisdiction within their organizations.

Vice-President O'Connell—The committee is dealing with this resolution only as it applies to this federal union in New York.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), in discussing the question, said:

We did not know there were any strings to the decision of the St. Louis Convention. We understood that it would not interfere with any jurisdiction already granted, and we had prior to that time been granted jurisdiction over teamsters and chauffeurs employed in breweries.

Delegate Kugler in discussing the question said:

That question was settled years ago, and at this late date we do not desire to waive any jurisdiction as far as we are concerned. The teamsters in our organization decided long ago which organization they wanted to belong to and they are going to remain in our organization.

Delegate Dunne discussed the question at length, going into the details of the organizing of Federal Union No. 9468. He referred to the growth of that organization and the manner in which it had raised the wages and decreased the hours of labor of the men connected with it. He referred to contracts between his organization and the employers, and quoted from such contracts. He opposed the report of the committee and desired to have the resolution referred to the Executive Council without instructions.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) discussed the question further, and replied to a number of statements made by Delegate Dunne. He objected to other organizations claiming teamsters.

Delegate Kugler—I object to Brother Tobin saying the Brewery Workers have Teamsters in their organization. They have not.

Vice-President Mitchell, who was presiding, stated that the objection would be noted.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Klapetzky—There is not a freer forum, I believe, in the world than is the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I believe, however, the delegates ought to consider when they start an argument that we do not want to stay here all winter and they should make their arguments as brief as possible.

The chairman requested the delegates to be as brief as possible in their discussion.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, W. A. Neer, John P. McLaughlin and A. J. Hermann, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, find, in many sections of the country, that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union have in their membership men who distinctly drive wagons and automobiles; and

WHEREAS, We believe they are entirely outside the bakery shop, and not bakers; and

WHEREAS, Our charter grants us jurisdiction over all classes of drivers on all kinds of wagons and automobiles; and

WHEREAS, We have at the present time several local unions of bakery wagon drivers and chauffeurs organized and chartered under our jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union of America to turn over to the International Organization of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, all drivers who are now members of their organization.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the matter be referred to the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to call a conference of the representatives of the two organizations involved, and a representative of the American Federation of Labor, within ninety days after the adjournment of this Convention, with the object of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Kerker, who spoke of the controversy between the Bakers' International Union and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in regard to the drivers. He objected to the adoption of the resolution.

Vice-President O'Connell stated that the committee did not recommend the adoption of the resolution, but reference to the Executive Council because a conference had not been held between the two organizations, as recommended by the St. Louis Convention.

The subject was discussed at length by Delegate Kerker, who defended the right of the Bakers' organization to retain the drivers.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), stated that the Teamsters' representatives were per-

fectly willing to go into a conference with the representatives of the Bakers. He spoke at length of the claims of the Brotherhood of Teamsters that all drivers belonged to that organization, and objected to other organizations claiming drivers.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate J. P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The economic conditions of labor demand absolute cohesion of the organized workers, unity of action and co-operation; and

WHEREAS, The policy of the employer is to keep apart the interest of his employees, thus using one craft against another where more than one is employed; and

WHEREAS, We deeply regret the necessity of this action against a craft like ours employed in various houses, places, etc., but do so in the most friendly spirit, believing that thus the interest of each can be made common, and the required co-operation secured; and

WHEREAS, The culinary workers are employed by the same employers and in the same houses, places, etc., as are the members of the American Federation of Musicians and our contention is that if both would act in the spirit of solidarity and co-operate, the grievances of one would be the concern of the others, hence conditions for both would advance and be uplifted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlanta, Ga., 1911, to devise and create a plan whereby this much desired object can be accomplished, so that in future conjoint action must be taken by the Hotel and Restaurant International Alliance and the Bartenders' International League of America and other culinary trades and the American Federation of Musicians, on any grievances arising in a house, place, etc., by either one or the other mentioned organization.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee is of the opinion that this matter is one for the two International Unions involved to decide. Therefore we recommend that the whole matter be submitted to the American Federation of Musicians and the Hotel and Restaurant International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that the resolution be amended by striking out the words "or part" in line 11 of the first resolve and the words "and other places"

be inserted in their place, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Wm. J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Jos. Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, During the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Norfolk, Va., the jurisdiction of the Actors' International Union was defined and for the purpose of reaffirming this decision, the White Rats Actors' Union do offer this resolution in proper form; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is hereby conceded that all parts of a theatrical production occurring behind the footlights and in front of the scenery after same has been placed in position by the stage mechanics, the same being specialties, acts, illusions, acrobats and any and all forms of entertainment known as either legitimate, variety or vaudeville, presented as such in any theatre, music hall, circus, fair ground, or park or other places in which any form of entertainment is produced shall be under the jurisdiction of the White Rats Actors' Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That nothing in the resolution is to be construed so as to interfere with the legitimate performance of musicians recognized as such by the American Federation of Musicians, or in any way conflict with the jurisdiction already conceded to international or national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The committee reported that the two organizations involved had agreed to the changes recommended in the resolution, and that the committee concurred in the resolution as amended.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate DeVeaux, Delegate Barry, Delegate Birnes and Vice-President O'Connell.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

The committee reported on that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Woodworkers." The secretary of the committee stated it would not be necessary to read the entire report of the Executive Council on that subject, but read the following recommendation at the close of the Executive Council's report:

"Having been unable to secure the amalgamation of the Carpenters and Woodworkers, the entire matter is again placed before you for instructions as to what further action to take."

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations involved, within ninety days from the adjournment of this Convention, with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations. In case of disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation agreed upon and submitted by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the difference shall be referred to the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a final decision, which decision shall be rendered on or before June 1, 1912. Should the Amalgamated Woodworkers fail to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on or before July 1, 1912, the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Woodworkers forthwith.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Mulcahy—I would like to ask whether there is any penalty attached to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters in the event they refuse to abide by the decision that may be reached by the Executive Council, as described in their report.

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Committee—We take it for granted that the arrangement made by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that is acceptable to the Executive Council that would not be agreed to by the Brotherhood would result in the Executive Council not carrying out the instructions of this Convention to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Woodworkers.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Mulcahy, who objected to the report of the committee. He spoke of the long connection of the Amalgamated Woodworkers with the American Federation of Labor and the efforts they had made to organize the men of their trade, improve their conditions and raise their wages. He spoke of the efforts that had been made for some years to amalgamate the two organizations, and in closing his discussion said:

If you decide here that we must abide

by that report of the committee it will not settle the question for all time, as some of the delegates wish to do, because this condition will come about. You cannot amalgamate successfully two sets of men whose feelings are so far apart. I have had enough experience in the factories to know as much about this as any one else. They have already driven over twenty thousand men out of the labor movement. They have got some men, it is true, but in the vast number of centers of industries today there is very little effort towards organizing those men, and there is less success attained than ever before. If the Convention, instead of adopting such a report as that, would provide some way by which the factory woodworkers could maintain an organization, the men in the factories, who have been striving to maintain an organization against great opposition would be better off and so would this building trade in controversy with us if they would be confined to some extent to their own jurisdiction. They are reaching out in every avenue possible and destroying the efforts that have been made for years.

Delegate Duffy (F.) discussed the question, and referred briefly to the efforts that had been made in past years to amalgamate the two organizations. He spoke of the efforts that had been made by the United Brotherhood to secure such an amalgamation and the terms that had been offered by them to the Woodworkers. He spoke of the amount of money that had been spent by the United Brotherhood for organizers each year and of the work done by those organizers in building up the organization. In concluding Delegate Duffy said:

We are willing now, as we have been, to amalgamate. We want to get together according to the terms of the Minneapolis and Toronto agreements. We are willing to do that. The men who have left the Woodworkers have not gone out and been lost. They have come over to the Brotherhood of Carpenters and we have improved their condition.

We have increased their wages, decreased their hours and we propose to be liberal with them.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Woll, Delegate Mulcahy and President Gompers.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

At the conclusion of the discussion Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

Roll Call on the Report of the Committee on Adjustment on the Question of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Association of Woodworkers.

Ayes—Kennedy (A. J.), Koch, Kerker, Noschang, Klapetzky, Fischer (Jacob), Anderson (Ed.), Kline, Golden, Flannagan, Franklin, Casey, Weyand, Flynn (Joseph), Sovey, Tobin (J. F.), Balne, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Proebstie, Kemper, Ward (E. F.), Kugler, Sullivan (John), Huber, Duffy (Frank), Macfarlane, Young, Flynn (T. F.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Swartz, Tveitmo, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Barnes, Smith (J. T.), Zuckerman, Thomas, McNulty, Collins, Fay, Yount, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Brennan, Friei, Smith (Fred), Rickert, Langer, Meyer, Landers, Altmann, Bloch, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Nestor, Duncan, Bianchi, Russell, Lavior, Moffitt, Shalvov, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Patberg, Williams (John), Selway, McSorley, Taggart, Gehring, O'Connor, Kelleher, Cole, Vaccarelli, O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Buckley, Handley, Lowe, O'Donnell, Gerrey, Price, Call, Daly, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Bobb, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Mitchell (John), Hayes (F. J.), Lewis, Walker McCullough (E. S.), McDonald, Wilson (W. B.), Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Miller (O.), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Hedrick, Skemp, Evans (D. J.), Moorhouse, Fazelkaar, Kelly (Sam'l.), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Woll, Donlin, McGivern, Ward, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracey (Wm.), Murphy, Malley, Nelson, Menge, Cartledge, Berry, Marks, Johnston, Sutor, Perham, Soyester, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Mounts, Nite, Gallagher (J. J.), Mahon, Taber, Commens, Lilly, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Mitchell (M. W.), Short, Bridwell, Kaefer, Connors, Brais, Lennon, Biggs, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, Golden, Morgan, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. Lewis), Lynch, Morrison, Hayes (Max), Stevenson, McCullough (T. W.), Holder, McKenna, O'Brien (Joe), Myers, Durbin, Smith (Jos.), Donoghue, Leary, Dowd, Graney, Ryan (E. H.), Levin, Smith (T. J.), Shay, Blakey, Henretty, Weber (E. J.), Buckley, Hirsch, Heck, O'Brien (W. H.), Torrey, Ferry, Carroll, Hassenpflug, Carter, Sontheimer, Haines, Mead, Schaffer, Briggs, Scoggan, Schneideler, Abell, Coleman, Doherty, Pahey, Agehen, Albrecht, Holand, Ullrich, Welsh, Pace, Taylor, Philippi, Russi, Johannsen, Ingram, Leonard, Smith (A. W.), Noonan, Wilby, White, Smith (C. T.), Morton, Voll, Bohm, Forehand, Dwyer, Ham, Engdahl, representing 15,374 votes.

Nays—Gilmore, Wilkinson, Crozier,

Richardson, Humphrey, Hughes (A. C.), Scooby, Brock, Flynn (Patrick), Furuseth, Carolan, Mulcahy, Tharp, Conner, Wright representing 409 votes.

Not voting—Butterworth, Ryan (F. M.), Butler, Clark (Wm.), Conway, Pfeil, Christman, Feeney, Kinsella, Mangan, Rosenberg, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dubinsky, Ring, Marshall, Kenahan, Bryan, Roach, Coakley, Weber (J. N.), Hannah, Sheret, Mallin, Gaviak, Bird, McAndrew, Curtis, Hatch, Birnes, Cooke, DeVeaux, Mikel, Gallagher (A. J.), Lawrence, Pfeiger, Wilkerson, Coffey, Iglesias, Kelly (Wm. E.), Jones (Jerome), Anderson (W. H.), Lowell, DeYoun, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Smith (L. W.), Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Cox, Skemp (Meta), Quick, Gray, Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.), Wendt, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, James, Alonso, Winchenback, Morris, Becerril, Wilson (O. C.), McAndrews, Ford, Belt, Welsh (T. E.), Creamer, Donnelly (J. L.), Cornette, Lebowitz, Dunne, Saum, East, Manning, Schaub, Crinion, Roberts, Gockling, representing 1,457 votes.

Delegate Short moved that the first order of business Saturday morning be the report of the Committee on Building Trades. (Seconded.)

Vice-President O'Connell suggested that the motion be amended to provide that the report of the Committee on Building Trades be the first order of business following the concluding of the report of the Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Short accepted the amendment, and the motion as amended was carried.

Delegate Wilson (J.), moved that a night session be held, to convene at 8 o'clock. (Seconded.)

The announcement was made that the Convention Hall could not be obtained for the evening session, and Delegate Wilson stated that he would change his motion to read that such a night session be held at some place to be arranged for.

Vice-President Duncan moved that as a substitute the rule to adjourn at noon on Saturday be suspended and the Convention remain in continuous session on Saturday until the business of the Convention was finished. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lewis (T. L.) moved that the motion offered by Vice-President Duncan be laid upon the table. (Seconded, but not carried.)

The motion offered by Vice-President Duncan was carried by a vote of 152 in the affirmative to 58 in the negative.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I move that

the rules be suspended and that we meet tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Moffitt moved that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 10 o'clock Saturday morning.

Delegate Hayes (M. F.), moved as an amendment that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon. (Seconded.)

Delegate Hirsch moved as an amendment to the amendment that the election of officers be made a special order of business immediately after the conclusion of the report of the Committee on Building Trades. (Seconded.)

Delegate Carter moved as a substitute for the whole that the election of officers be held after all other business had been transacted.

The motions offered by Delegates Moffitt and Hirsch were lost.

The motion offered by Delegate Hayes, that the election be made a special order of business for 2 o'clock Saturday was carried.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.)—I find in here in the Cincinnati Enquirer a statement I think ought to be denied in order that the position of the United Mine Workers may be made clear. Our International President is not here, and as I am next in official capacity I take the opportunity to deny the statement in the Cincinnati Enquirer. I understand it has also appeared in the Chicago Tribune. The article states "Split in big labor body is imminent because of the attack on Gompers. Organization of Miners secretly lays plans to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor. Reid faction of Electrical Workers follow movement to form Independent Federation." The article goes on to state that the delegates of the Western Federation of Miners, and United Mine Workers of America held a secret conference the other night to carry out this purpose.

I take this occasion to brand the statement as a deliberate falsehood. The United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners have ever been loyal to the American labor movement and intend to remain so. State-ticle states "split in big labor body is ments of that kind do the miners' organization a great injury. I cannot remain silent without making this state-

ment that our organization may be put in a better light before the public. Some people seem very anxious to misrepresent the miners' organization. We do not want these statements to go unchallenged. We have had no secret conferences with any faction of the Electrical Workers or any other organization in this Convention, and we will be loyal to this movement to the end.

President Gompers—Will you take advantage of this present opportunity to make the statement you advised the secretary and myself that you intended to make?

Delegate Hayes (F. J.)—The delegates of the Western Federation of Miners met the United Mine Workers and they have organized a mining department. We have presented our by-laws and constitution to the Executive Council and asked for a charter.

Delegate D'Alessandro objected to any more time being wasted in making motions for special orders of business, and asked that the regular order be proceeded with.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee on Adjustment, proceeded with the report of the committee as follows:

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates P. F. Richardson and J. R. Humphrey, of the International Association of Car Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Car Workers now is, and has been, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor since September 30, 1901, during which time it has conformed to all laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor, and has never even been charged with the violation of any part thereof; and

WHEREAS, By virtue of said affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the International Association of Car Workers had jurisdiction over certain classes of men engaged in the building, repair, inspection and maintenance of railroad cars; and

WHEREAS, By virtue of said affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in its certificate of affiliation issued to the International Association of Car Workers under date of September 30, 1901, did bind itself to support the said international Association of Car Workers in the exercise of all its rights, privileges and autonomy as an affiliated Union; and,

WHEREAS, Article IX, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor reads in part as follows: "No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade or federal union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall

not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions without the written consent of such unions;" and

WHEREAS, A dual organization known as the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America made application for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in September, 1909; and,

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of said Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America not only infringed upon but completely covered the jurisdiction of the International Association of Car Workers, which jurisdiction the American Federation of Labor has conceded, admitted and recognized for a period of over nine years; and,

WHEREAS, The Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in November, 1909, adopted the recommendation of the Adjustment Committee in an effort to amalgamate the said two Car Workers' organizations, which is as follows: "Committee recommends that a conference of the Executive Officers of the Int'l. Association of Car Workers and Brotherhood of Railway Carmen together with the president of the A. F. of L., or member of the Executive Council, be held in the city of Washington, D. C., at the earliest possible date to arrange terms of amalgamation of the Car Workers and Railway Carmen organizations. Failure to agree upon terms of amalgamation the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. shall outline the terms of amalgamation and issue a charter to the amalgamated organizations;" and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in open violation of Article IX, Section 11, of the Constitution, and in violation of the action of the Toronto Convention above quoted, and in violation of the ordained and guaranteed charter and constitutional rights of the International Association of Car Workers, issued a certificate of affiliation to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen under date of August 9, 1910; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding President Gompers' ruling on a point of order raised against the seating of the delegates representing the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen as printed in first column, Page 15, first day's proceedings of this Convention, the recommendation of the Executive Council to the Toronto Convention on the subject matter of the Carmen and Car Workers was not adopted by that Convention, nor did the St. Louis Convention last year sustain the action of the Executive Council in issuing a charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen by even one vote, let alone an overwhelming vote; and

WHEREAS, The Toronto Convention did not authorize the issuance of a charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and the St. Louis Convention did not endorse nor sustain the Executive Council in the issuance thereof; and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the American Federation of Labor specifically provides that only the International Association of Car Workers or Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America may law-

fully be or remain affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that action of the Executive Council in issuing a charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America be and is hereby set aside; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That with the passing of this resolution the certificate of affiliation issued to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen shall be immediately surrendered to the President of the American Federation of Labor, and should the officers of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America fail or refuse to surrender the charter then it shall become null and void; and, be it further.

RESOLVED, That with the passing of this resolution all rights, privileges and benefits of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, secured by the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America as the result of the issuance of the said charter, shall cease and be denied to it and them forthwith.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee non-concurs in Resolution No. 122, and reiterates our position that there should be but one organization representing one trade in North America. But the claim is made that one of the Car Workers' organizations is indebted to its members for a large sum of money on account of back strike benefits due, we therefore recommend that the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor continue their efforts to bring about an amalgamation of the two organizations, as soon as the indebtedness of the organization referred to is liquidated.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Richardson opposed the report of the committee. He recited in detail the efforts that had been made to amalgamate, and referred particularly to the report of the Adjustment Committee in the Toronto Convention. He made the statement that the records had been changed by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, first by omitting the report of the Adjustment Committee in the Toronto Convention, and later making some changes in it.

In reply to that statement Secretary Morrison explained that the report of the Adjustment Committee on the Car Workers' question had been accidentally omitted by the printer from the daily proceedings furnished the delegates, but that

upon discovery of the omission separate printed slips had been distributed in the convention containing the report of the Adjustment Committee; that he had made corrections for the permanent proceedings and left them in the hands of the assistant secretary to make revision because he was compelled to leave for Washington with President Gompers and Vice President Mitchell in connection with the contempt proceedings, but the permanent proceedings were printed without containing the report of the Adjustment Committee. When this was ascertained slips were again printed and inserted in the permanent record, which contained the report of the Adjustment Committee with two typographical errors, which did not change the meaning or sense of the report.

Delegate Richardson discussed the question at length, and stated the position of his organization in regard to the propositions that had been made to amalgamate. After Delegate Richardson had discussed the question for some time a motion was made and carried that he be given twenty minutes additional time in which to discuss it.

Delegate Hugh Stevenson, whose firm printed the proceedings, spoke upon the question, corroborating the statement made by Secretary Morrison.

President Gompers made a brief statement explaining some of the negotiations that had been had in endeavoring to amalgamate the Car Workers' organization.

Delegate Ryan (M. F.), made a brief statement, in which he said in part:

I want to say at this time the indebtedness of our organization some two years ago was brought about on account of strike benefits to our membership. We stood at all times for the liquidation of any honest claim against our organiza-

tion. I am pleased to state that the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America has liquidated every dollar of indebtedness. I also want to say that, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Richardson's organization was affiliated with the A. F. of L. for about ten years and had the assistance of those other organizations affiliated, he never was able to overcome the membership of our organization. Since our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, practically of two years standing, we have increased our membership over 15,000 members, and today there are only about eight organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. that have larger memberships than ours. We are willing to comply with the recommendation of the committee.

After a further discussion by Delegate Richardson President Gompers asked: Now that the Brotherhood's indebtedness has been liquidated, will there be any difficulty in amalgamating, in the opinion of Delegate Richardson?

Delegate Richardson—We want our rights restored and then we will talk on that question.

President Gompers—You want the charter of the Brotherhood revoked?

Delegate Richardson—I want it back in Washington. I want it surrendered, and if they do not surrender it, declare it null and void.

President Gompers—Will you insist on that now?

Delegate Richardson—Restore our rights, Mr. Chairman.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 156 in the affirmative to 2 in the negative.

At 7 o'clock p. m., the Convention was adjourned to reconvene at 8 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 25th.

Twelfth Day—Saturday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 8 a. m., Saturday, November 25th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfell, Sheret, Gaviak, Gallagher (Andrew J.), Lawrence, Coffey Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Wangberg, Winchenback, McAndrews (J. J.), Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Lebowitz, Saum, Schaub.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. D'Andrea and J. B. Etchison, of the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, There are some independent and seceding unions of Hod Carriers and Building Laborers seated and recognized in the various State and Local Building Trades Councils chartered by the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, Complaint has been made to the Building Trades Department of such unlawful state of things, but no action has been taken by the Department until the present time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Building Trades Department to give compulsive orders to the various Local and State Building Trades Councils to unseat those independent or seceding locals unless they affiliate with the proper International Unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Building Trades Councils refusing to comply with such request be suspended by the Building Trades Department until they comply with the orders of the Department.

Your committee recommends that this matter be placed in the hands of the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to confer with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, with a view of carrying out the purpose of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. D'Andrea and J. B. Etch-

ison, of the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Our experiences of the past have demonstrated that the common laborers working in the construction of streets, sewers, tunnels, etc., in 95 per cent of the cases come and work in the construction of buildings, whereas those men have not been organized, and could not be organized by this International Union, not having jurisdiction upon such work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention extend to the I. H. C., and B. L. U. of A. jurisdiction over the common laborers employed in the construction of streets, sewers and tunnels.

The committee recommended that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegates Matt Comerford, John Glass, J. L. McNamara and James G. Hannahan:

WHEREAS, A controversy exists between members of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers in Cook County, Illinois; and

WHEREAS, If this is permitted to continue it will destroy the friendly relations which have existed for years between the above organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-first annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, at Atlanta, Ga., instruct the Executive Council to call a conference of representatives of the two above named organizations for the purpose of effecting a settlement of the existing controversy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of the Executive Council be present at the conference which shall be called in the City of Chicago, not later than February, 1914.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee referred to that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Machinists-Elevator Constructors," and read the following recommendation of the Execu-

tive Council:

"In reference to the above contention between the organizations in interest, your Executive Council recommends that the subject matter be left with the Executive Council to take such further action as may be helpful to bring about full understanding and adjustment between the two organizations."

The committee report as follows on the above report of the Executive Council: Your committee approves of the action of the Executive Council, and recommend that they continue their efforts to bring about a final adjustment of the matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 163—By Delegate T. J. Carolan, of International Brotherhood of Tip Printers:

WHEREAS, The value and utility of the Union Label as an organizing factor is firmly established among trades unionists; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, who do gold, silver and metal printing and embossing in hats, caps, badges and novelties, has the greatest difficulty in organizing the tip printers in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and other cities, because of the fact that the master tip printers have seen fit to lock them out for a number of years, and openly declared that no union man shall ever work in their shops again, a threat which they have lived up to to a man, and all because the tip printers had courage to ask a little more wages so as to keep themselves and families from want; and

WHEREAS, Some of the master tip printers have gone so far as to degrade their men by putting up a prize of \$10 every six months, and the man working the most flesh from his hands, and the largest amount of blood out of his veins is the winner of this miserable and degrading prize; and

WHEREAS, A very large amount of the printing done in the non-union shops is placed in union hats and caps, and this work comes from union hat and cap manufacturers, who send the printing to non-union shops to have it printed and then place it in their union goods; and

WHEREAS, We believe that we have a just right to demand from organized labor that it should see that all printing in union hats, caps, badges, etc., is strictly union and done by union men, bearing the label of

the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all organizations, national or federal, having in their organization members working on tip printing presses and doing work which rightfully belongs and comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, be instructed by this convention to surrender all such members who are doing tip printers' work and working on tip printing presses, to the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.

The committee reported as follows: There having been no conference held on this matter, your committee recommends that it be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to arrange a conference of the parties involved at the earliest possible date, with a view of adjusting the matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers—Jurisdiction over Moving Picture Machine Operators," the committee recommended that the matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council with instructions to continue their efforts at adjustment.

Delegate Barry—As you know, we have already been in Washington three times. In appearing before the Adjustment Committee I asked if they would recommend that next time a conference was called all parties be there.

Vice-President O'Connell—And we do so recommend to the President.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Jas. H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics' Union, of San Francisco, Cal., is affiliated with the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, Cal.; and

WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics Union referred to is a dual union and not affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers the Carpet Layers, Cutters, Measurers and Estimators; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced at several Conventions of the A. F. of L. by the representative of the Upholsterers International Union of North America requesting that the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America or be

denied affiliation with Central Bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, No action has been taken by the Building Trades Council of San Francisco indicating compliance with the action requested by the Conventions of the A. F. of L. in the case of the union referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to take decisive action that will insure compliance with the request contained in this resolution.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to carry into effect the purposes of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 171—By Delegate Jas. H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, A charter has been granted by the A. F. of L. to Window Shade Workers of San Francisco, Cal., who are known as Local Union No. 13091; and

WHEREAS, The Shade Workers are a part of the Upholsterers' craft and are in all other cities members of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to revoke the charter issued to the above mentioned Union, and that they be instructed to affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor notify the officers of Local Union No. 13091 to surrender their charter to the American Federation of Labor and affiliate themselves with the Upholsterers' International Union of America.

Delegate Johannsen—I would suggest that a similar letter be also sent to the San Francisco Labor Council.

President Gompers—Is there objection?

Vice-President O'Connell—We have no objection. It goes without saying that will be done.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher, P. F. A. Vaccarelli and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, A dispute did exist for a number of years between the International Seamen and the International Longshoremen; and

WHEREAS, The Pittsburgh Convention of the A. F. of L. directed that the matter in dispute, between the above mentioned organizations, be submitted to a Board of Arbitration for adjustment, the representatives of the Seamen and the Longshoremen and President Gompers, met in the city of Erie, April, 1906. President Gompers was chosen as arbitrator by both sides on June 27, 1907. President Gompers acting in such capacity rendered his decision in the case; this decision was accepted by the Seamen's delegation at the Norfolk Convention of the A. F. of L. in the month of December, 1907, was reported to the Seamen's Convention, and was accepted by that body; the Longshoremen's Convention held July, 1907, refused to accept the decision rendered by President Gompers. The Norfolk Convention took an action instructing President Gompers and some other member of the Executive Council to visit the Longshoremen's Convention at Erie, 1908, to use their best endeavor to induce the Longshoremen to accept the decision as handed down by President Gompers. The Longshoremen after listening to the addresses of President Gompers and Treasurer John B. Lennon, then took action in their Convention of 1908, giving the delegates who were to represent them at the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L., full authority to accept the decision of President Gompers, and to bring about a settlement of the dispute existing between the two organizations at a meeting held at Denver, between the representatives of the Seamen and the Longshoremen, with John B. Lennon and D. Mulcahy acting for the A. F. of L. The decision of President Gompers was accepted by the Longshoremen with the understanding as is outlined in the proceedings of the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The Longshoremen have carried out the decision as handed down by President Gompers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Seamen's Union be instructed to live up to and carry out President Gompers' decision.

The committee reported as follows:

In the hearing of the case it was claimed by one of the parties involved that a question of maritime law was involved, also that it would be impossible to comply with the decision of President Gompers in 1908 without violating said maritime law. Your committee therefore recommends that the matter be referred to President Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the alleged claim made relative to the matter of maritime law, and to render a decision on the matter in dispute with a view of protecting the interests of both organizations involved.

A motion was made and seconded that

the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Cole stated that he took exceptions to the report of the committee, as the Longshoremen's representatives did not concur in the claim that there was a maritime law involved. He stated that in their opinion there was no such law involved. He stated that the decision handed down by President Gompers was perfectly agreeable to the Longshoremen and they fully intended to carry it out.

Delegate Furuseth discussed the question and stated that he was in favor of the report of the committee. He quoted from the Navigation Laws sections to support his contention that a maritime law was involved.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.), discussed the question at some length and opposed the report of the committee. He spoke of the contention that had existed for years between the Seamen and the Longshoremen and of the various efforts that had been made to adjust it. He stated that when a decision was finally reached the Longshoremen had lived up to it, but denied that the Seamen had done so.

In referring to the report of the committee Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, said: The committee simply recommends that the matter be referred to President Gompers to decide a question in dispute in his decision. If his decision is that his former decision in the case stands, that is all there is to it, both sides will have to carry it out. It is simply asking the President to explain his own decision.

Delegate O'Connor—If that is the report of the committee we are willing to accept it.

Delegate Flynn discussed the question briefly, and referred to the friction that has existed between the Longshoremen and Seamen on the Pacific Coast.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, Wm. A. Neer, A. J. Hermann and J. McLaughlin, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chaffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

WHEREAS, The Toronto Convention, on the recommendation of the Adjustment Committee, requested that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs and the United Brewery Workmen of America, in the interest of the labor movement in general cease hostilities for one year, both sides by their silence on the floor of the Convention when the recommendation was brought in by the committee, practically agreeing to said recommendation; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs have honorably and honestly carried out their part of the recommendation of the Toronto Convention; and

WHEREAS, The United Brewery Workmen of America have deliberately and wilfully violated the agreement of Toronto, and have not only acted worse than they did before the agreement was entered into, but are stopping at nothing to destroy many of the local unions of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters by forcing members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs into their organization, by threats to the employers of tying up their business, not only in the brewery industry, but in plants where there are soda and mineral waters manufactured and bottled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention take steps to prevent a continuation of this kind of business and instruct the United Brewery Workers of America to live up to the original jurisdiction decisions rendered in the Minneapolis and other conventions of the American Federation of Labor between the said International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs and the United Brewery Workmen of America.

The committee reported as follows:

Another new feature having developed in relation to this dispute, namely the evolution of the mineral water business, we recommend that the whole subject matter be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor who shall make a thorough investigation and report his findings to the Executive Council at the earliest possible date. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall then arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations involved, with a view of bringing about an adjustment of the controversy. Failing to agree then the Executive Council is instructed to render a decision setting forth clearly the jurisdiction of both organizations not later than July 1, 1912.

Delegate Kemper—If the report of the committee means or intends reopening

the controversy as far as the jurisdiction of the United Brewery Workers is concerned, over beer drivers, chauffeurs and stablemen helpers in the breweries, then we must protest; for in our opinion this matter has been definitely settled and we now enjoy jurisdiction over the beer drivers, chauffeurs and stablemen all over this country. If, however, the intent and purpose of the recommendation of the committee is to refer that new phase of the question to the Executive Council, then we are perfectly satisfied that it shall be so referred. But we would like to know at this time the intent and purport of the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President O'Connell—I will say for the committee that the decision implies this: First, there is an apparent evolution in connection with the mineral water drivers, the distribution of soft drinks, etc. The teamsters claim that the brewery workers have gone out in that line of industry without permission of any person and have organized the teamsters. On that particular question the committee's report implies that an investigation shall be made and a decision rendered. If the teamsters had the question of jurisdiction settled as to teamsters in breweries, then the Executive Council would be in a position to make a declaration so there might be no further dispute brought into the Convention hereafter questioning their right to have such teamsters.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), stated that he was somewhat disappointed at the report of the committee. He stated it was not a question of the new development that was considered by the delegates representing the Teamsters' organization, but a question of whether or not the Convention meant anything when it rendered a decision. Delegate Tobin referred at length to the Minneapolis decision in regard to the Teamsters and Brewery Workers, stating that a decision was rendered there giving the teamsters to the organization he represented, and that other succeeding Conventions had confirmed the decision. He stated that the teamsters were going to claim the rights guaranteed them by their charter, and would insist that the American Federation of Labor put into effect the decision

rendered in regard to the Teamsters' organization. He stated further that they wanted not only an investigation of the new developments but of the entire question involved in the resolution.

Delegate Kugler discussed the question at length, and gave a brief history of the organization and progress of the Brewery Workers' organization. He referred to the fact that a referendum vote had been taken to allow the drivers connected with breweries to decide to which organization they would belong, that 95 per cent of those men were organized, and he did not think the American Federation of Labor would say that they should not be members of the United Brewery Workers.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegates Woll and McCullough (T. W.), for the committee, and by Delegate Sullivan (J. L.).

Delegate Ward discussed the question and stated that the protest entered by Delegate Kemper was against the re-opening or submitting to investigation the lines of demarcation on the question of the brewery drivers or chauffeurs delivering beer. He stated that the Brewery Workers would most emphatically protest against submitting to any committee the lines of demarcation of the Brewery Workers at this late day, and that the language used in the resolution submitted by the Teamsters was misleading and incorrect, in that it stated that they wanted the control of all teamsters, that they had always had it and that it had been granted to them by their charter rights. He stated that such is not the case, that when they asked for jurisdiction over chauffeurs the Convention did not give them jurisdiction over those employed in other trades that were already decided upon.

Delegate Ward offered the following motion: I move that it is the sense of this Convention that the interest of the beer drivers is better conserved in the International Brewery Workmen's organization, and that the question of soft drinks be submitted to the Executive Council for disposal. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan—Before putting the motion stated by Delegate Ward the chair desires to say that the report of the committee would comprehend that which Delegate Ward has offered. The

subject matter dealt with by the committee is Resolution No. 111. It then goes on to say that new developments have arisen, and they recommend that the whole subject matter be referred to the President and Executive Council, with instructions to appoint a representative who shall make a thorough investigation and report on the finding of the Executive Council at the earliest possible date. This means that if the report of the committee is adopted and the man appointed he will report to the Executive Council conditions just as he finds them. Then the President is to get representatives of the two organizations to meet with the President of the American Federation of Labor or some one selected by him, and endeavor to adjust the matter to the satisfaction of both. In the event of failure the Council is instructed by this committee to make an effort to define the jurisdiction lines.

Delegate Ward—Do I understand from the chairman of this Convention that the investigation is on the new matter, or that the investigation is to be made as to the beer drivers now employed in the breweries?

Vice-President Duncan—The report of the committee as it is worded comprehends both, but with this qualification or provision in it that the man who investigates is to investigate conditions just as they are. For instance, if it is found that 95 per cent of the beer drivers are in the Brewery Workers' organization he would so report. You would not expect the Executive Council to say a situation like that should be changed. As to the mineral water drivers, the situation is different. The report of the committee says it is a new development. Do you still wish your amendment to be stated?

Delegate Ward—I would not have offered the amendment were it not for the persistence of the Teamsters in trying to bring this whole matter up again. We have confidence in the Executive Council, and so far as I am concerned, unless the other delegates of the Brewery Workers insist on the amendment I will be satisfied to withdraw it.

Delegate Kemper—Having seconded the amendment, I will say that the statement of the chair, that should the investigator find that our claim is correct

as to the number of beer drivers employed in breweries who are members of our organization, he will so report and that will be the basis of the decision to be rendered, and that this jurisdiction over 95 per cent of the beer drivers in our organization will not be jeopardized, I will concur in withdrawing the amendment.

Delegate Tobin asked if the statement of the chair was that if the investigator found that 95 per cent of the drivers were in the Brewery Workers that they would not be asked to give them up.

Vice-President Duncan—I will say this, so you will not misunderstand the position, that no member of the Executive Council and no delegate on the floor of this Convention would be willing as a council member or as a delegate to say that 95 per cent of any craft found in an organization should be transferred to another organization. This Convention might say so, but not the Executive Council.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Tobin, who wished to know why the Adjustment Committee did not attach a penalty for failure to abide by the decision of the Executive Council, as had been done in the case of other organizations reported on during the previous day.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee—We are not in a position to bring in a penalty until the lines of demarcation are drawn. I want to say to Delegate Tobin that if I am here next year and a part of that Adjustment Committee, and either one or both organizations violate the terms laid down by the Executive Council, I for one shall recommend the revocation of one or both charters.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. D'Andrea, and J. B. Etchison, of the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America was chartered by the American Federation of Labor, April 13th, 1903, and the following jurisdiction was granted: "Wrecking of buildings, excavation of buildings, digging of trenches, piers and foundation, holes, digging, lagging, sheeting of said foundation, holes, and caisson

work, concrete for buildings, whether foundation, floors or any other, whether done by hand or any other process, tending to masons, mixing and handling all materials used by masons (except stone setters), building of scaffolding for masons, plasterers, building of centers for fire-proofing purposes, tending to carpenters, tending and mixing of all material for plastering, whether done by hand or any other process, clearing of debris from buildings, choring, underpinning and razing of old buildings, drying of plastering, when done by salamander heat, handling of dimension stones; and

WHEREAS, Another organization, called the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, is infringing upon our jurisdiction, by admitting in that organization unskilled laborers doing the mixing and conveying of concrete; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-first Convention of the A. F. of L. restrain the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers from organizing such unskilled laborers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention order the A. B. of C. W. to transfer to the I. H. C. and B. L. U. of America all the unskilled laborers who are now part of that organization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department be instructed by this Convention to notify all the State and Local Building Trades Councils, that the mixing and conveying of concrete shall be done by members of the I. H. C. and B. L. U. of America.

The committee reported as follows:

Inasmuch as the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America took an appeal from the action of the Building Trades Department bearing on this dispute to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no decision having been rendered by that body, your committee recommends that the dispute be referred to the Executive Council, with a request that a decision be rendered at the earliest possible date.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate D'Alessandro discussed the question at length, and stated that the matter had been referred to the Executive Council in a previous convention but no recommendation had been made by the Executive Council in regard to it. He stated that a resolution had been introduced in the Toronto Convention to revoke the charter of the Cement Workers,

that it had been referred to the Executive Council but no report had been made by that body. He objected to its being again referred and asked that a decision be made by the convention. After an extended discussion Delegate D'Alessandro asked the chairman of the Committee if the question of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers and the Cement Workers would be considered at the first meeting of the Executive Council.

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Committee, stated that the committee recommended that it be taken up as soon as possible.

Vice-President Duncan stated that the question had come to the Executive Council on an appeal from the Building Trades; that the Executive Council had heard statements from Delegate D'Alessandro on two occasions, and the matter was unfinished business before the Executive Council.

Delegate D'Alessandro moved that the Executive Council consider the jurisdiction dispute between the Cement Workers and the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers at its first meeting. (Seconded.)

Vice-President O'Connell stated that the committee would accept the amendment to change the words "at the earliest possible time" to "at the first meeting."

Delegate Tveitmo discussed the question briefly, stating that the Brotherhood of Cement Workers would stand on the declaration of principles and policy adopted by the convention at a previous session—one organization for one trade. He stated that he favored the report of the Committee on Adjustment, and requested that the Executive Council give the representatives of his organization due notice when they intended to take the question up.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Williams, who stated that if the proposition meant that the Building Laborers desired to include the affiliated helpers of his trade he would enter a protest. Delegate D'Alessandro stated that they had nothing to do with the Tile Workers, and did not want to claim any of the mechanics' work.

Delegate Etchison in discussing the question said: "We do not ask for the

helpers of any mechanical craft; we do not ask for the Cement Workers' helpers, much less the Tile or Marble Workers' helpers. We only ask for the laborers who mix and wheel concrete on reinforced concrete buildings.

The report of the committee was adopted, when amended by adding the suggestion of Delegate D'Alessandro.

Vice-President O'Connell—That concludes our report with the exception that we are going to make a general declaration, carrying out the ideas expressed by me in opening our report yesterday morning. The declaration is as follows:

Before closing the report the Committee on Adjustment wishes to make the following declaration and recommendations: Whatever argument or excuse there might have been in the past for the existence of two organizations of the one craft, we now believe that such argument or excuse is absent. It is the unanimous opinion of the Committee on Adjustment, many of whose members have had to deal with disputes caused by the existence of two organizations of one craft for many years, that the time has arrived for the American Federation of Labor to openly and emphatically declare itself to the effect that, large as this country is, it is not large enough to hold two organizations of the one craft. Therefore your Committee recommends that this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes squarely on record in favor of the above declaration, and your Committee further recommends that this convention instruct the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry into effect the principles and purposes involved in this declaration—one craft, one organization. All of which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES O'CONNELL, Chairman.
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary.
MATTHEW WOLL.
JOHN A. MOFFITT.
T. W. McCULLOUGH.
WILLIAM E. KLAPETZKY.
JOS. A. FRANKLIN.
THOMAS S. FARRELL.
FRANK GEHRING.
EDWARD FLORE.
MICHAEL J. HALLINAN.
PERCY THOMAS.

WILLIAM TABER.
VICTOR ALTMAN.
H. C. SHALVOY.

Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden—I move the adoption of the declaration.

Delegate Abell—Does that mean complete trade autonomy?

Vice-President O'Connell—I don't know what you mean by the question. It means that in the machinists' craft, for instance, or the printing craft, or the electricians' craft, or any other trade recognized as a trade, there is not room in this country for two organizations. That is what it means.

President Gompers—I think it would be but proper to call attention to this fact, that there is a general misapprehension as to the real meaning of the word "autonomy," autonomy as applied to and used in the trade union movement and the American Federation of Labor. Autonomy is the right of the organization itself to govern itself.

Treasurer Lennon asked if the report of the committee might not be construed as being in more or less opposition to the resolution adopted in the Scranton Convention on the subject of organization that in some instances are recognized as having the right to contain within their organization all the people who are engaged in the industry.

Vice-President O'Connell—We had in mind just what Delegate Lennon speaks of, which is not the intention of the committee at all. The motion of the committee recognizes that the trades have that right, but the committee wants this declaration to go out, that if a faction of a trade breaks away or the organization splits, the portion that goes on the outside may know at the very start that there can be no recognition of two divisions of that organization in this Federation, nor can some faction of a craft not yet affiliated with the organization that is affiliated here, some independent portion of a trade on the outside, hold out with the hope that in the future it is possible for that portion of that craft to be chartered by the American Federation of Labor. It does not interfere in any way with the decision and declaration of the Scranton Convention. It recognizes fully the rights of the miners as they are now organized.

Delegate Kugler—Would it be possible to insert the declaration of the Scranton Convention?

Vice-President O'Connell—The minute you do that you are getting away from this clear cut declaration. There is no way to misunderstand this declaration unless the Conventions hereafter put a construction on it by their own vote.

President Gompers—The chair is of the opinion that it is your desire to adopt this declaration of the committee as the Convention's own declaration, and yet not to modify the declaration of the Scranton Convention. You have heard the questions and answers, and if they are made part of the record of the proceedings of this Convention they will show the intent of the declaration as in no way curbing or modifying the Scranton Convention declaration, it seems to me the purpose of all will be served.

Delegate Connors—The question I want settled is a definition of what a trade is. We have discussed the Brewery Workers' and the Teamsters' proposition, and I presume from what is arrived at that the teamster is a brewery worker. That is what I want to find out. I think some time in the future this thing will be discussed in here again. We have certain organizations that are going about attempting to gobble up other organizations. What we would like to know is what constitutes a trade. At least I would like to know.

Vice-President O'Connell—That can only be decided, where there is a contention, by the proper authority. That is the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or the Convention itself will decide. When there is a dispute between some portion of an organization affiliated a declaration can be made as to what that trade consists of; but the general declaration contained in the resolution applies to those things we recognize as trades affiliated with this organization. There can be no misunderstanding as to that.

Delegate Healy—It may be that this will be construed differently from the way it is put to us now. I think your committee should draw up a declaration making matters clear so that we can understand them. It may be that after we have voted on this you will de-

cide that the Engineers and Firemen are one organization. I have been asked on more than one occasion by officers of this Federation in the past year or two if there is not a possibility of bringing those two organizations together. We should be very careful before we adopt general declarations at this time. I am opposed to voting on any declaration until I know what it means.

Vice-President O'Connell—The declaration anticipates what you say. If the Engineers and Firemen agree among themselves to be in one organization this declaration anticipates such a thing, but if you do not decide to do it this declaration will not force you to do it.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate Richardson asked the privilege of the floor.

President Gompers—The report of the Committee on Building Trades was made a special order of business immediately following the—

Delegate Richardson—I rise to a question of personal privilege. I want to surrender the charter of the International Association of Car Workers to the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers—Will the deleg step up to the platform?

Delegate Richardson—Here is the charter, Mr. Chairman.

President Gompers—The chair would like to inquire by what authority Delegate Richardson surrenders this charter?

Delegate Richardson—As President of the International Association of Car Workers I surrender the charter.

President Gompers—The President of the American Federation of Labor places this charter in the hands of the Secretary, with the request that he inform the Secretary of the International Association of Car Workers that the charter is held by him for transmission to the organization, and that President Richardson, without authority of that organization, surrendered the charter, usurping a position which no presiding officer has a right to assume in the name of a membership who have not spoken on the question.

Report of Building Trades Committee.

Delegate Tveitmo, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Building Trades Department—U. B. of Carpenters—Steam Fitters.

The Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. at its convention in St. Louis just after the close of the A. F. of L. Convention, suspended from representation therein the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.

At our meeting in January, the officers of the Buildings Trades Department made application for the revocation of the charter of affiliation with the A. F. of L. of these two organizations. Action upon the application was deferred until our June meeting, President Gompers in the meantime, being authorized by us to co-operate with the officers of the Building Trades Department for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment of the trouble with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the amalgamation of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers with the United Association of Plumbers. Efforts along this line, however, were without success.

At our meeting in June, the following letter was received:

"Washington, D. C., June 13, 1911.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"Pursuant to the instructions of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, I herewith transmit to you for submission to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the following statement and request:

The Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, in convention in St. Louis, November 28th to December 5th inclusive, approved a recommendation made by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of which the following is a copy:

"That the grievance against the International Steam Fitters and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be referred to the coming convention with a recommendation that, if the organizations still refuse to obey the mandates of the Tampa Convention, they be suspended from the Department. It is further recommended that like action be taken by the A. F. of L."

The substance of the foregoing action is that if the unions named therein failed to comply with the decisions reached by the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department, and for such failure or refusal as the case may be, the unions in question were suspended by the Department and like action requested by the American Federation of Labor.

As you are aware, this subject-matter was transmitted to you and by you to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the occasion of your last meeting, but as we understand the matter, sanction of the recommendation has not been given; instead a proposition in the case of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers to amalgamate with the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers has issued, and in the case of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated 'Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, a conference was proposed.

The result is that more than four months have elapsed without any definite action having been taken, which in large measure has rendered the work of the Department ineffective, causing in addition distress among the several locals and a wilful and deliberate manifestation to ignore the subsequent decisions rendered by the Executive Council of the Department, especially in the case of minor jurisdictional disputes. This action is regrettably working great havoc on the welfare and progress of the Department, which to say the least augurs no good for the future; indeed unless some definite, positive stand is taken to uphold the decisions of the department in the respect outlined in the foregoing quotation, then the affiliated organizations might just as well consent to abandon the effort of protection that the Department in reality carries with it through the present form of organization; so much so is this the case that it becomes absolutely essential, indeed imperative, that we have a decision from your council forthwith, upholding the action of the St. Louis Convention of the Building Trades Department with respect to the two organizations herewith named.

There are before the Executive Coun-

cil of the Building Trades Department at this time several questions of an intricate nature that of necessity should be settled once and for all, and that will redound to the credit, strength and prestige of the Department, but as before stated it is useless to proceed in these matters unless we are to have a confirmation by your council of the action taken by the St. Louis Convention in the case previously referred to.

We therefore earnestly appeal to you to give the cases complained of the attention they deserve without delay and render a positive and final opinion in the premises, so that the future course of the Department may be determined.

Anxiously awaiting the same on behalf of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, I have the honor to remain,

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) Wm. J. SPENCER,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Building Trades Dept."

President Short and Secretary Spencer presented the letter in person, requesting that definite action be taken thereon. We gave much time, consideration and discussion to the subject and thereafter we sent the following reply, embodying therein the decision of the Executive Council relative to not only this but kindred matters involved:

Washington, D. C., June 17, 1911.
Mr. William J. Spencer, Secretary,
Building Trades Dept., A. F. of L.,
Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir and Brother:

The letter which you at the direction of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., handed me, was submitted to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for its consideration. As you know, at a joint meeting of the Executive Council of the Department with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the subject matter of the requests contained in the letter, as well as those questions which led up to the present situation, was gone over in detail, at length, and comprehensively, and therefore much of that which was orally conveyed as the expression of our views upon the matter is not necessary to be recounted here.

We have, however, given further attention to the laws of the A. F. of L., and of the Department, and have taken into consideration the present situation of the Department, and its local councils, as well as the unsatisfactory conditions which obtain in the building trades in many centers of the country; and with all we have had in mind the desire to be helpful to the Building Trades Depart-

ment for its success and perpetuity.

At the St. Louis Convention of the Building Trades Department, November-December, 1910, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America were suspended from the Department, and these international unions are not now a part thereof. The action of the Department in suspending these two international unions carried with it also the request that they be suspended by the American Federation of Labor, and your Executive Council through you has made that request.

In connection therewith, we desire to express our belief that to carry into effect the advice, conclusions, or decisions in the Building Trades Department and in the local building trades councils, it is not only desirable but most helpful that the organizations affiliated to the Department, and to its councils, shall yield a ready compliance thereto, of course having in mind that such advice, conclusions and decisions are in conformity with fundamental principles of labor and of the organic laws and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Executive Council asks the American Federation of Labor to suspend therefrom the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America. In connection therewith your attention is called to Article 9, Section 12, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., which reads as follows:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds' majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote."

You will readily observe that under this law the Executive Council has no power to suspend an international union (which carries with it the revocation of its charter). The fullest limit to which our authority extends is to make such report and recommendation to the forthcoming convention of the A. F. of L. at Atlanta, November, 1911, and this course we shall pursue, as in our judgment the circumstances warrant, with the hope that our respective executive councils and conventions may work out an adjustment of this and similar contentions which will tend to retain and cement still more the bonds of unity and fraternity of all our affiliated organizations and members as fully in harmony as the movement in which we are engaged will permit.

We present to your consideration the fact, which the history of the labor movement demonstrates beyond cavil or doubt, that to revoke charters, suspend organizations, enforce compulsory obedience to edicts and decisions, have invariably led to a rebellious spirit resulting in bitter conflict, relentless antagonisms, and disintegration and dissolution. While re-

alizing the necessity that discipline in the labor movement must be observed at least to some degree, yet this fact is self-evident; that the best, most enduring and advantageous discipline in the organized labor movement is that discipline which comes with time and experience and is suggested and later self-imposed. It is something not yet generally understood how perfectly safe freedom is, and this truism applies to the administration of the organized labor movement as much as it does to any government on the face of the earth.

Imbued with this experience and conception, we have great apprehensions of the advisability of the suspension or revocation of charters of international unions based upon the contentions over trade jurisdictional disputes. We submit that such contentions can better be adjusted by the contending parties being in affiliation with the general organizations of labor than by being in enforced suspension with their charters revoked.

It is a truism that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and it is also true that so long as the chain is retained intact, even its weakest link may be strengthened. In the effort to maintain the chain of unity among the rank and file of the organized labor movement if it is unwise to cast aside a weak link, how much more injurious is it to cast out the stronger?

The cause which has brought about this contention, is first, the jurisdictional dispute between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. The Tampa convention of the Building Trades Department decided that the work in dispute should come under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. That decision was confirmed by the department convention at St. Louis, 1910. Upon the U. B. of Carpenters declining to yield obedience to the decision, it was suspended from the department. It is not our purpose to here discuss the merits of the award. We find the situation as it is; that the U. B. of Carpenters is now unattached to the Building Trades department, where it properly belongs, and we are constrained to repeat the thought we have already expressed, that enforced compulsory obedience to edicts and decisions has never proven either advantageous or successful, and that suspension of international unions and revocation of charters are not calculated to harmonize existing differences, nor bring the members of an international union so suspended into a better frame of mind in order that an award may be accepted by them. We urge upon the consideration of your department that in any event the opportunity to secure compliance with the expressed judgment of duly constituted authorities in the labor movement, is increased when the international unions most vitally interested are in affiliation and fellowship with the department of which they are a ma-

terial part.

We, therefore, recommend that the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., at its first opportunity, reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in full affiliation to the Department; that in the meantime and thereafter, every effort be exerted by that organization, the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the Building Trades Department, and the American Federation of Labor, by correspondence, conferences, and by every moral suasion within our power, to bring about an adjustment of the matters in dispute to the satisfaction and advantage of the organizations primarily in interest. We assure the Department that the good offices of the executive council and of the American Federation of Labor will be continued to be exerted and renewed to assist the Department and the organizations involved to effect a solution of the trade jurisdictional dispute between the two organizations.

In the second case, that is, in the controversy between the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada, and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, we recognize a matter of dispute entirely different in character as compared with the dispute between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; a dispute which has existed for years, to the detriment not only to the immediate organizations involved, but to the entire building industry. This dispute has passed through all the channels of mediation, arbitration, investigation and decisions by the American Federation of Labor, and by the Building Trades Department, without satisfactory results. These investigations, arbitration awards and decisions, have been uniformly to the effect that there ought not to exist two distinctive, separate organizations in the pipe fitting trades; that the best results to the workers in the industry would be best conserved by all being united in the one general organization of these trades, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada, for general purposes, yet each branch of the pipe fitting trade to have as much autonomous administration as is consistent with the general interest of all.

The views which we have expressed to you orally, the opinions expressed herein, and the recommendations which we submit to your Department and to the two organizations named, we earnestly hope will be taken into favorable consideration and prompt action by all, and will form the basis of our report and recommendations to the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor.

While it should not be necessary, yet we do take advantage of this opportunity to again assure you, and through you,

the Building Trades Department, and the great rank and file of labor, that we will go to the limit of our opportunity, authority and power in supporting your department in doing the best possible for the general betterment of the organizations and members in the Building Trades.

With earnest wishes for the greatest success, we have the honor to remain,

Yours fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.

JOHN MITCHELL, Second Vice-President.

JAMES O'CONNELL, Third Vice-President.

D. A. HAYES, Fourth Vice-President.

WILLIAM D. HUBER, Fifth Vice-President.

JOS. F. VALENTINE, Sixth Vice-President.

JOHN R. ALPINE, Seventh Vice-President.

H. B. PERHAM, Eighth Vice-President.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

JOHN B. LENNON, Treasurer.

American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Spencer informed us that the matter would be submitted to the executive board of the Building Trades Department. He then, on July 7th, wrote President Gompers as follows:

July 7, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

By direction of the executive council of the Building Trades Department, I write to inform you that the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the case of the request of the Building Trades Department for the suspension of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was laid before the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department at its session in the city of Indianapolis, June 29, 1911, and after mature consideration, the opinion was reached that since the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department is not vested with authority to override or subordinate a decision of the Building Trades Department rendered in convention assembled, and again since the constitution of the department does not confer powers upon the Executive Council to reinstate an organization that has surrendered its membership because of refusal to comply with the laws of the

organization, unless the law shall have been conformed to, the Executive Council finds itself without power to reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, and Joiners in accordance with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

You are, therefore, advised that the decision as rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will be referred to the next convention of the Building Trades Department, which will convene at Atlanta, Ga., November, 1911.

Trusting that this will be satisfactory, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) **WM. J. SPENCER,**
Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Department.

The two subjects brought to the attention of the Executive Council from the Building Trades Department are not similar in any particular excepting that both organizations were suspended by the Building Trades Department.

CARPENTERS.

In the contention involving the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, it was an instance of jurisdictional dispute between two affiliated organizations which, excepting in this instance, had no other direct trade relationship, the one to the other, than one building trade has to other building trades.

The relationship of affiliated building trades to the American Federation of Labor and Departments is dual, and therefore in fundamental law, suspension of charters primarily rests with the American Federation of Labor. This, and the fact that in the American Federation of Labor revocation of charters has not been considered a cure for jurisdictional contentions, prompts our recommendation to this convention that the application of the Building Trades Department to revoke the charter of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be not concurred in, and instead that the Building Trades Department be informed that for the above reasons and in the interests of harmony to reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to full affiliation therein; and that all efforts and influence of the American Federation of Labor and of the department should be applied to adjust the jurisdictional contention in interest, thereby making for the best interests of the disputants and for the progress and solidarity of the labor movement.

Your committee concurs and recom-

mends that the report of the Executive Council be approved.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate O'Sullivan (M.)—I desire to know, in the event the Convention adopts the recommendation of the Executive Council, the matter just reported on by the committee, does it in any way set aside the decisions rendered in jurisdiction disputes by the Building Trades Department?

President Gompers—It certainly does not. The report does not contain one word in regard to it.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

STEAM FITTERS.

The Secretary of the committee read the following recommendation of the Executive Council:

"In the instance of the contention affecting the pipe fitting industry the interests directly involved raise the following questions:

First: Concentration of effort and efficiency in one general pipe fitting organization; or

Second: Segregation of certain portions of the industry into separately managed and distinctly administered associations.

"In regard to the latter question, the segregated portion of the industry does not, and for many reasons cannot, cover or comprehend in all parts of North America, the portion of the industry it essays to govern in largely populated cities and their immediate environments.

"Therefore, in this instance, the Executive Council holds that both for harmony and for practicability, the pipe fitting trade should be represented in the A. F. of L., also in the Building Trades Department, by one general association of the pipe fitting industry—the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada; and, further recommends that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., be instructed, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department be requested to carry this into effect."

The committee recommended concurrence in the report of the Executive

Council, and recommended non-concurrence in the following resolution:

Resolution No. 144—By Delegates J. T. Kinsella and John Mangan, International Steam Fitters, etc.:

WHEREAS, Considerable turmoil and expense has been encountered by workmen in the Building Industry caused by strikes resulting from the unsettled conditions among the various trades; and

WHEREAS, A portion of this difficulty has been caused by reason of the existence of more than one organization that admitted men employed at the various branches of the Steam Fitting Trade as members; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that a practical, sensible, fair and impartial solution of any question can be best settled by those most directly interested; and

WHEREAS, Several plans heretofore offered have failed to accomplish the desired end, because of the compulsory feature of amalgamation contained therein; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has repeatedly, through its conventions and officers, in no uncertain manner declared against "Compulsory Arbitration" as contrary to the spirit and purpose of the American sense of justice and fair play, with a view therefore of offering a plan looking toward the solution of this difficulty along fair and just lines that permit the rank and file of the men engaged at the various branches of Steam Fitting to decide for themselves as to their future form of organization, the representatives of this Association present the following; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., now in session in Atlanta, Ga., that the President of the American Federation of Labor, be and is hereby, authorized to issue a call for a Convention to all men engaged at the various branches of the Steam Fitting Trade irrespective of their affiliation, to meet within _____ months at some centrally located city to be selected by the President of the A. F. of L., to determine for themselves their future form of organization.

Secretary Tveitmo—The following minority report is presented by one member of the committee, Delegate Kinsella:

The minority report offered by Delegate Kinsella is as follows:

"I herewith beg leave to submit a minority report of the Committee on Building Trades, on the subject matter pertaining to the U. A. Plumbers, etc., and the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers, as contained in the Executive Council's Report as submitted to the committee for their considera-

tion, for the following reasons:

"First. The report is clearly in conflict with the charter rights of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers as granted to them by the American Federation of Labor.

"Second. That the report is in support of the action taken by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor at its last Convention, which action is contrary to Article II, Section 8, Article IX, Section 12, Article XV, Section 3, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and therefore offer as a substitute Resolution No. 144.

J. THOMAS KINSELLA,

Member of Committee on Building Trades."

Delegate Kinsella moved that the minority report be substituted for the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Mangan.

Delegate Mangan spoke at length in favor of the minority report of the committee. He reviewed the history of the International Association and spoke of the benefit it had been to its members. He also reviewed the controversy that has existed between the International Association and the United Association and the efforts that have been made to adjust the differences. He spoke of the formation of the Building Trades Department in the Norfolk Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and quoted the questions that were asked at the time the motion was adopted authorizing the formation of the department. He contended that later the Building Trades Department assumed power that was not granted it as a subordinate body when it unseated the International Association at the St. Louis Convention of that department by a vote of 31 in the affirmative to 22 in the negative. He stated that, inasmuch as the laws of the American Federation of Labor required a two-thirds vote to revoke a charter it required a similar vote to revoke a charter in the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Alpine discussed the question, speaking in support of the report

of the committee and in opposition to the minority report. He opposed the contention made by Delegate Mangan that steam fitting was a separate trade, and referred to the large number of steam fitters already affiliated with the United Association of Plumbers, etc. He urged that there be but one organization in the pipe fitting trades. He stated that there were 487 cities thoroughly organized over which the United Association has control and where a man could not work at his trade unless he carried a union card, and that there were a total of 550 local unions in that organization, a large number of them composed wholly or in part of steam fitters. He stated that the Building Trades Department had unseated the Steam Fitters because every order issued by that Department had been disregarded by them.

On motion debate was closed.

Delegate Kinsella arose to a question of personal privilege and stated that the rules provided that the introducer of a motion was entitled to an opportunity to discuss it. Delegate Kinsella was granted the privilege of the floor and discussed the question at length. He urged the adoption of the minority report and opposed the report of the committee. He reviewed briefly the controversy that had existed between the two organizations for many years and of various efforts that have been made to amalgamate them. He contended that the steam fitter belonged to a separate and distinct trade and had a right to belong to his own organization. He urged that the Steam Fitters be allowed to maintain their own organization and protect the rights of the members of their own trade and calling.

Delegate Short, Chairman of the committee, in behalf of the committee, spoke in opposition to the minority report. He stated that he voiced the sentiment of twelve or thirteen members of the committee when he stated that in their judgment the recommendation of the Executive Council should be carried into effect and that hereafter there should be but one organization in the pipe fitting industries of the country. He stated the welfare of the men would be best conserved if they were in one organization.

Delegate Leonard asked the privilege of the floor, but the chair ruled that no

other discussion was in order, as a motion to close debate had been adopted.

Delegate O'Brien—I would like to ask if the minority report is not exactly in line with the splendid recommendation that has been given to this Convention and passed almost unanimously by the committee which finished its report before the Building Trades Committee?

President Gompers—The chair will answer that it is necessarily a matter of a point of view. If you regard the steam fitting and plumbing as separate trades, then it would appear that the minority

report would be justified. If, on the other hand, the point of view is that the steam fitting and plumbing is one general pipe fitting trade, then the majority report represents that view. However, that is for the Convention to decide.

The motion to adopt the minority report was lost by a vote of 135 in the negative to 38 in the affirmative.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by *viva voce* vote.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

Twelfth Day—Saturday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Saturday, November 25th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfell, Sheret, Gavlak, Gallagher (Andrew J.), Lawrence, Coffey, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Taylor, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Lebowitz, Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Short, Chairman of the Committee on Building Trades—The committee has but one more question to report on, the case of the Electricians. The representative of the affiliated organization informs me that he is willing to let the matter go to the Convention without debate.

Treasurer Lennon—I move that the special order, the election of officers, be postponed to allow that report to be made. (Seconded and carried.)

Report of Building Trades Committee.

Delegate Tveitmo, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee considered the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Electrical Workers," and Resolution No. 109, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 109.—By Delegates C. F. Russi, Jr., of the San Antonio Trades Council; Duncan McDonald, U. M. W. of A.; A. B. Lowe, T. H. Gerry, T. J. O'Donnell, M. of W.; Max S. Hayes, Typographical; Chas. H. Moyer, W. F. M.; M. M. Donoghue, Montana F. L.; P. J. Doherty, A. W. Wright, Vancouver T. & L. C.; Louis Kemper, U. B. W.; J. Mahlon Barnes, Cigar Makers, and Geo. H. Ullrich, Philadelphia C. L. U.

WHEREAS, At the present time a large organization of Electrical Workers is unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This body of Electrical Workers in their desire to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor complied fully with the provisions of the plan of amalgamation decided upon by the Executive Council after the St. Louis Convention; and

WHEREAS, The precedent of seating two organizations representing the same craft has already been established by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the unaffiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as officered by J. J. Reid, General President, and J. W. Murphy, General Secretary, be granted a charter and their delegates seated in this Convention.

Your committee non-concurs in Resolution No. 109, and recommends that the following recommendation of the Executive Council be approved:

"We urge that this Convention recommend to Mr. Reid that the joint agreement reached at Rochester be submitted to a referendum vote of his membership, and that the unaffiliated organization authorize and direct a committee to meet with a committee of the affiliated organization, with the view of carrying the provisions of the Rochester agreement into effect, and thus amalgamate the two organizations into one comprehensive brotherhood of electrical workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor."

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Abell—I move that a representative of the unaffiliated body be allowed the floor.

Delegate Short—Inasmuch as the representatives of the affiliated organization have stated that they desire to go to the Convention without discussion, owing to the lateness of the hour, I think it would not be proper to give the floor to the unaffiliated organization.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), urged that a representative of the unaffiliated organization be given the floor.

President Gompers stated if there was no objection Mr. J. J. Reid would be allowed the privilege of the floor.

No objection being offered, Mr. Reid was given the privilege of the floor, and discussed the question at length.

Delegate McNulty discussed the question, replied to a number of statements made by Mr. Reid, and spoke in detail of the action that had been taken by the organization represented to endeavor to amalgamate the two branches of Electrical Workers.

Delegate Sontheimer moved as an amendment to the pending motion that the chair be authorized to appoint a committee of seven delegates to settle the question, providing the heads of both the contending factions would agree in writing that they would accept the finding of the committee of seven. (Seconded.)

Delegate Keegan (J. J.), spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee.

The amendment offered by Delegate Sontheimer was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 163 in the affirmative and 15 in the negative.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates Martin E. Goellnitz, F. C. Gengenback and O. A. Tveitmo, of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers:

WHEREAS, Complaint has been made repeatedly that members of Federal Unions are persistently trespassing upon the jurisdiction of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be directed to inform all Federal Unions that such violations of the law must cease, and further, that members of Federal Unions must carry out the laws of the American Federation of Labor and the laws of its affiliated International and National Unions.

The committee recommended that the resolution be approved. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate T. Briggs, of Calumet Joint Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Cement Block Setters, of Kensington, Ill., are duly chartered and recognized by the American Federation of Labor as Local Union No. 12904; and

WHEREAS, Said organization has succeeded in establishing a wage scale of 62 1-2 cents per hour and an eight-hour work day; and

WHEREAS, The men of Local 12904 endeavored to join both the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers and the Bricklayers' Union, but met with refusal from both organizations, they were then granted a charter by the A. F. of L. through the efforts of the Calumet Joint Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, The members of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers are now doing the work allotted to Local Union No. 12904 by the A. F. of L. and are allowing their members to work for 37 1-2 cents per hour to the detriment of the members of Local No. 12904; and

WHEREAS, Such action is contrary to the best interests of the labor movement and injurious to the members of Local Union No. 12904; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that such actions are unwarranted and that the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers be requested to instruct their members to discontinue such actions in the future.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Building Trades Department, and that no charter be granted to cement block setters' organizations in the future.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison and Joseph D'Andre, of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' International Union.

WHEREAS, In the city of New York, our local unions for the last three years have not been able to receive recognition from the Building Trades Council, affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and,

WHEREAS, The independent union has been recognized by such body; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention direct the incoming Executive Board to notify the Secretary of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor to make an effort to have our local unions in New York city seated in the Council; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department takes no action along this line, that the incoming Executive Board of this International Union stop paying per capita tax, if necessary, until our local unions in New York city are seated in the Building Trades Council of that city; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every member of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and also a copy be sent to Secretary Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor.

It appears that this resolution has been introduced in this Convention through misapprehension, and your committee recommends that it be referred to Building Trades Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Your committee in concluding this report desires to express appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the Executive Council in behalf of harmony, peace, solidarity and unity among the organized workers of America, and it should be our most earnest wish that this good work be continued until all petty disputes and internal strife are removed from the Trade and Labor Union Movement.

JAMES A. SHORT, Chairman.

C. W. FRY,

GEO. F. HEDRICK,

F. M. RYAN,

F. J. McNULTY,

M. O'SULLIVAN,

D. D'ALESSANDRO,

WM. J. MCSORLEY,

JOHN DONLIN,

PAUL BIANCHI,

J. THOS. KINSELLA,

WM. J. TRACEY,

FRANK FEENEY,

O. A. TVEITMOE, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Miller obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution, No. 177.—By Delegates Owen Miller, of the American Federation of Musicians; John T. Smith, of the Cigar Makers' International Union; Charles W. Wilkerson, of the Missouri State Federation of Labor; Louis P. Philippi, of the St. Louis Trades and Labor Union, and Daniel Wilby, of the Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly:

WHEREAS, One Edgar G. Bailey, a former member of the Hackmen's Union, of Kansas City, Mo., was in 1904, tried and convicted for murder in the first degree, for killing one Ferguson, a non-union hack driver, during the Hack Drivers' strike, in that city; and

WHEREAS, Said Bailey was sentenced to death, but this sentence was commuted

to imprisonment for life by the then Governor, Joseph W. Folk; and

WHEREAS, Since then the Missouri State Federation of Labor, has instituted an investigation, and found much evidence to prove that Bailey acted in self-defense, and that he was convicted through the evidence of utterly unreliable witnesses, which fact has been so well substantiated that the Prosecuting Attorney and Mr. Phil R. Troll, the then President of the Kansas City Employers' Association, agree that Bailey after serving seven years penal servitude, should be pardoned; and

WHEREAS, The Missouri State Federation of Labor having secured evidence substantiating these extenuating circumstances, have petitioned Gov. Herbert S. Hadley, to grant a pardon to Edgar G. Bailey; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session in Atlanta, Ga., that the attitude of the Missouri State Federation of Labor in the case of Edgar G. Bailey, be endorsed and the same be transmitted to Gov. Herbert S. Hadley immediately.

On motion of Delegate Miller the resolution was adopted.

Delegate Wilson (W. B.), in the chair.

Chairman Wilson announced that the hour for the special order had arrived and nominations for President would be in order.

Delegate Golden placed in nomination for President, Samuel Gompers. There being no further nominations, on motion the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Samuel Gompers.

The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Huber, on behalf of the District Council of Carpenters, presented to President Gompers a handsome gavel made of all the different woods known in Georgia. President Gompers made suitable acknowledgment of the gift.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Frey placed in nomination for the office of First Vice-President, James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association. There being no further nominations the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for James Duncan for First Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and James Duncan was de-

clared duly elected First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.), placed in nomination for Second Vice-President, John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers of America. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for John Mitchell for Second Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and John Mitchell was declared duly elected Second Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Berry placed in nomination for Third Vice-President, James O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists. There being no further nominations the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous consent of the Convention for James O'Connell for Third Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention and James O'Connell was declared duly elected Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Keegan (J. J.), placed in nomination for Fourth Vice-President, D. A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for D. A. Hayes for Fourth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention and D. A. Hayes was declared duly elected Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Larger placed in nomination for Fifth Vice-President, William D. Huber of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Tveitmoe. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for William D. Huber for Fifth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention and William D. Huber was declared duly elected Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Wilson (J.), placed in nomination for Sixth Vice-President, Joseph F. Valentine, of the International Molders' Union of North America. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Frey. There being no further nominations the Secre-

tary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Joseph F. Valentine for Sixth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and Joseph F. Valentine was declared duly elected Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Leonard placed in nomination for Seventh Vice-President, John R. Alpine of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for John R. Alpine for Seventh Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and John R. Alpine was declared duly elected Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Miller placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President, Henry B. Perham of the Order of Railway Telegraphers. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Henry B. Preham. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and Henry B. Perham was declared duly elected Eighth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Brais placed in nomination for Treasurer, John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for John B. Lennon. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and John B. Lennon was declared duly elected Treasurer for the ensuing year.

Delegate Ryan (M. F.), placed in nomination for Secretary, Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union. There being no further nominations, the President was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary for the ensuing year.

Each officer, upon the announcement of his election, made a brief address to the Convention, thanking the delegates for the unanimous election, and pledging their best efforts to the work of the organization for the coming year.

The chairman announced that election of two fraternal delegates to the British

Trades Union Congress would be in order, and that nominations were in order for the first fraternal delegate.

Delegate Woll placed in nomination George L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen's Union.

Delegate Leonard placed in nomination J. J. Keegan, of International Association of Machinists. Delegate Keegan declined the nomination.

There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for George L. Berry for fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and George L. Berry was declared duly elected fraternal delegate.

Delegate Ryan (M. F.), placed in nomination for second fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress William D. Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. (Seconded by Delegate Connors.)

Delegate Wilson (W. B.), placed in nomination John H. Walker, United Mine Workers of America.

Delegate Klapetzky placed in nomination Owen Miller, of the American Federation of Musicians.

Roll Call on Election of Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

For Mahon—Franklin, Casey, Wefand, Flynn (Jos.), Tobin (J. F.), Balne, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' delegation (66 2-3 votes), Brotherhood of Carpenters' delegation (834 votes), Tveitmoee, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Cigarmakers' delegation (218 votes), Electrical Workers' delegation (94 votes), Brennan, Friel, Iron and Steel Workers' delegation (23 votes), Bryan, Longshoremen's delegation (187 votes), Maintenance of Way Employees' delegation (50 votes), Metal Polishers' delegation (50 votes), Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (86 votes), Painters' delegation (113 votes), Nelson, Menge, Cartlidge, Printing Pressmen's delegation (126 votes), Ryan (M. F.), Nolte, Mahon, Taber, Commons, Lilly, Stone, Cutters' delegation (29 votes), Connors, Textile Workers' delegation (50 votes), McAndrew, Evans (E. Lewis), O'Brien (Joe), Durnin, Dowd, Graney, Blakey, Jones, Tharp, O'Brien (W. H.), Ferry, Carroll, Hassenpflue, Sontheimer, Schaffer, Scoggan, Quick, Doherty, Fahey, Wendt, Pace, James Russi, Johannsen, Morton, McAndrews Forehand, Dwyer, Cornette, representing 3382 2-3 votes.

For Walker—Kennedy (A. J.), Koch, Kerker, Brewery Workmen's delegation (270 votes), Brotherhood of Carpenters' delegation (1112 votes), Gilmore, Wilkinsson, Conway, Pfell, Christman, Thomas, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Rosenberg, Bioch, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dubinsky, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Bianchi, Russell, Lawlor, Moffitt, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Iron and Steel Workers' delegation (22 votes), McSorley, Taggart, Brock, Longshoremen's delegation (63 votes), O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Buckley, Handley, Price, Metal Polishers' delegation (50 votes), Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (86 votes), Mine Workers' delegation (2146 votes) Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Painters' delegation (113 votes), Wilson (James), Geronon, Woll, Donlin, McGivern, Ward, Clark, Alpine, Tracey (William), Murphy, Malley, Sultor, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Mounts, Gallagher (J. J.), Stone Cutters' delegation 57 votes, Tailors' delegation (40 votes), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, Textile Workers' delegation (50 votes), William (T. J.), Carolan, Lynch, Hayes (Max), Stevenson, McCullough (T. W.), Hatch, Mulcahy, Pfleger, Myers, Smith (Jos.), Wilkerson, Donoghue, Leary, Henretty, Weber (F. J.), Heck, Torrey, Cox, Mead, Coleman, Agethen, Holland, Welsh, Leonard, Morris, Becerril, Dunne, East, Manning, Engdahl, representing 9,218 votes.

For Miller—Noschang, Klapetzky, Fischer (Jacob), Anderson (Ed.), Kline, Golden, Flanagan, Brewery Workmen's delegation (180 votes), Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' delegation (33 1-3 votes), Cigarmakers' delegation (218 votes), Hughes, Scooby, Electrical Workers' delegation (95 votes), Kinsella, Mangan, Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Landers, Altman, Marshall, Kenahan, Flora, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, Maintenance of Way Employees' delegation (50 votes), Lewis, Weber (J. N.), Miller (O.), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Painters' delegation (450 votes), Printing Pressmen's delegation (64 votes), Perham, Soyster, Flynn (Patrick), Furuseth, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Bird, Tailors' delegation (80 votes), Morrison, Mikel, Iglesias, Smith (T. J.), Skemp (Meta), Schneider, Atell, Albrecht, Philippi, Alonso, Wilby, Smith (C. T.), Bohm, representing 4057 1-3 votes.

Not voting—Sovey, Butterworth, Crozier, Richardson, Humphrey, Zuckerman, Smith (Fred), Roach, Gehring, Cockley, Call, Carey (J. T.), Hannah, Sheret, Mallin, Gaviak, Kaefar, Curtis, Birnes, Cooke, DeVeaux, Gallagher, (A. J.), Holder, McKenna, Lawrence, Coffey, Ryan, (E. H.), Lavin, Shay, Buckley, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hirsch, Lowell, DeYoung, Hurley, Conner, Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Smith (L. W.), Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Carter, Haines, Briggs, Gray, Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.),

Davis, Wangberg, Ullrich, Fuller, Taylor, Ingram, Smith (A. W.), Winchenback, Noonan, White, (C. E.), Wright, Voll, Wilson (O. C.), Ford, Belt, Welsh (T. E.), Creamer, Donnelly (J. L.), Lebowitz, Saum, Ham, Schaub, Crinion, Roberts, Glocking, representing 582 votes.

Delegate Walker was declared duly elected fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Ryan (M. F.), placed in nomination for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress John T. Smith, of the Cigarmakers' Union. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for John T. Smith. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and John T. Smith was declared duly elected fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The President stated that nominations were in order for the next Convention city.

Delegate Henretty placed in nomination Seattle, Washington.

Delegate Casey placed in nomination Richmond, Virginia. (Seconded by Delegate Pace.)

Delegate Curran placed in nomination Rochester, New York.

Roll Call on Selection of a Convention City.

For Seattle—Wilkinson, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, McSorley, Taggart, Mitchell (John), Hayes (F. J.), Lewis, Walker, McCullough (E. S.), McDonald, Wilson (W. B.), Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Weber (J. N.), Miller (O.), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Donlin, McGivern, Ward (Jas.), Nelson, Berry, Marks, Johnston, Soyster, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Mahon, Taber, Commons, Flynn (Patrick), Furuseth, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, McCalhy, Mikel, Smith (Jos.), Donoghue, Henretty, Torrey, Ferry, Schaffer, Scoggan, Philippi, Russel, Johannsen, Becerril, Bohm, Forehand, representing 5556 votes.

For Richmond—Kline, Golden, Flanagan, Franklin, Casey, Weyand, Flynn (Jos.), Brotherhood Carpenters delegation (556 votes), Gilmore, Williams (John), Selway, Brock, O'Connor, Kelleher, Cole, Vaccarella, Lowe, O'Donnell, Gerrey, Painters delegation (113 votes), Ryan (M. F.), Mounts, Nolte, Gallagher (J. J.), Lilly, Pfleger, Myers, Blakey, Jones (Jerome), Carroll, Abell, Doherty, Wendt, Pace, Morton, Cornette, Manning, representing 1769 votes.)

For Rochester—Kennedy (A. J.), Koch, Kerker, Noschang, Klapetzky, Fishes

(Jacob), Anderson (Ed), Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Proebstle, Kemper, Ward, (E. F.), Kugler, Sullivan (John), Ryan (F. M.), Butler, Clark (Wm.), Brotherhood Carpenters, (1390 votes), Tveitmo, Gengenbach, Goellnitz, Gompers, Tracy, (T. F.), Barnes, Smith (John T.), Thomas, McNulty, Collins, Fay, Yount, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Kinsella, Mangan, Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Landers, Altman, Rosenberg, Bloch, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dubinsky, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Bianchi, Russell, Lawlor, Muffit, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Bryan, O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Buckley, Handley, Price, Daly, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Bobb, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Painters' delegation (563 votes), Wilson (James), Gernon, Woll, Alpine, Tracey (Wm.), Murphy, Malley, Perham, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Bird, Mitchell (M. W.), Short, Bridwell, Connors, Brals, Lennon, Biggs, Golden, Morgan, Williams (T. J.), Carolan, McAndrew, Evans (E. Lewis), Lynch, Morrison, Hayes (Max S.), Stevenson, McCullough (T. W.), Hatch, Wilkerson, Leary, Dowd, Graney, Lavlin, Tharp, Heck, Hassenpflug, Sontheimer, Mead, Schneider, Coleman, Agethen, Fahy, Albrecht, Holland, Welsh (E. F.), Leonard, Wilby, McAndrews, Donnelly, Dunne, Engdahl, representing 9028 votes.

Not Voting—Sovey, Butterworth, Crozier, Richardson, Humphrey, Conway, Pfeil, Christman, Zuckerman, Hughes, Scoby, Smith (Fred), Marshall, Kenahan, Roach, Gehring, Coakley, Call, Carey (J. T.), Hannah, Sheret, Clark (Wm. D.), Menge, Cartledge, Mallin, Sultor, Gaviak, Kaefer, Curtis, Birnes, Cooke, DeVaux, Gallagher, (A. J.), Holder, McKenna, Lawrence, De Young, O'Brien (Joe), Durbin, Coffey, Ryan (E. H.), Iglesias, Emith (T. J.), Shay, Weaver, Buckley, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hirsch, O'Brien (W. H.), Lowell, Humphrey, Conner, Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Smith (L. W.), Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Carter, Haines, Cox, Briggs, Skemp (Meta), Quick, Gray, Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.), Davis, Wangberg, Ullrich, Fuller, Taylor, James, Alonso, Ingram, Smith (A. W.), Winchenback, Noonan, White (C. E.), Wright, Smith (C. T.), Voll, Morris, Wilson (O. C.), Ford, Belt, Welsh, Creamer, Dwyer, Lebowitz, Saum, Ham, East, Schaub, Crinion, Roberts, Glocking, representing 947 votes.

Delegates Pace and Henretty stated that they desired the selection of Rochester made unanimous.

Report of Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:

WHEREAS, The strike of the Brick Tile and Terra Cotta Workers Alliance, Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men and Stationary Firemen, against the Purlington Paving Brick Company of Galesburg, Illinois, is still on, and is being vigorously prosecuted by the three unions involved after a year and a half of strife; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid Purlington Paving Brick Company still maintain their hostile and uncompromising attitude toward organized labor saying that they can whip the Brickmakers and the entire Federation of Labor and refusing to permit any members of a labor union, with the exception of the Bricklayers' Union to work in its plant; and

WHEREAS, The boycott against the Purlington Paving Brick Company is at the present time more effective than at any previous time during the strike; and

WHEREAS, A determined effort by the organized workers of Illinois would greatly aid us in the unionizing of the Purlington plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue to use every means at their command to further this boycott; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention render all possible financial assistance to the three organizations involved in said strike.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 8 be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate John Carroll, of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union No. 10638, American Federation of Labor, did on September 14th, 1909, solicit through Secretary Morrison the aid of the American Federation of Labor in the general organization of the Printer Roller Makers' craft throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor representatives at the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor did, under instructions, introduce a resolution requesting Convention endorsement of the action of the Chicago Central Bodies and Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union No. 10638 in placing Chicago's scab printer roller concern, the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company, on the unfair list, and requesting the moral aid of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make the aforesaid boycott effective; and

WHEREAS, Neither the promised organization of the country's Printer Roller Makers by the American Federation of Labor, nor the pledged assistance of those organizations enroll-

ed under the banner of the American Federation of Labor in the active boycotting of the scab printer roller making firm of Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company has ever been given practical form or expression; and

WHEREAS, Both requests were, and are, not only modest in character, but likewise in strict conformity with trade union principles, that provide and recognize that an injury to one becomes the concern of all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor delegates, in regular convention assembled, instruct the officials of the American Federation of Labor to seriously take up the work of organizing the unorganized Printer Roller Makers in the various metropolitan centers, and all affiliated unions, especially those identified with the printing trades—be instructed to discourage the use of scab printer rollers by their members, especially those printer rollers produced by the unfair Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company.

The committee recommended that the Executive Council make an effort to adjust the contention between the Chicago Printer Roller Makers Union 10638 and the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company, that attention be given to the organization of unions of printer roller makers where such opportunity exists, and that the unions identified with the printing trades be requested to use their influence against the use of unfair printer rollers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Abraham Rosenberg, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The work people employed in the ladies' garment industry in the city of Cleveland were working under the most miserable and oppressive conditions, viz.: Working in sweat shops, working long hours for starvation wages and under a system of blacklisting; and

WHEREAS, Manufacturers of ladies' garments in the city of Cleveland have persistently refused to meet a committee for the purpose of co-operative adjustment of said conditions or to submit same to arbitration; and

WHEREAS, Such refusal of the Manufacturers of the city of Cleveland resulted in the cessation of work on June 7, 1911, involving 6,000 men and women; and

WHEREAS, Said strike is still pending; and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has expended over \$300,000 to defray the expenses of such strike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the thirty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge its full moral support and assistance to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to try and bring about an adjustment of the existing controversy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct all organizers, central and state bodies and the Labor Press to make known to the merchants and consuming public the conditions under which ladies' garments are manufactured in the city of Cleveland.

The committee recommended the adoption of the proposition. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 86—By International Typographical Union delegation:

WHEREAS, The Cambridge University Press, with headquarters in England, the United States and Canada, is prosecuting with great vigor the campaign for the sale of the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, reaching many friends of labor with alluring advertisements setting forth the qualities of the work; and

WHEREAS, The American edition of the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica was produced under unfair conditions in one of the most notorious of rat printing shops, and this, in spite of protest made to the publishers, notifying them of the character of the firm to whom the contract was given, with due notice of its unfriendly attitude towards organized labor, which same attitude has been persisted in for many years; in order that the friends of organized labor may not be deceived into the purchase of the product of unfair and unfriendly publishers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor present these facts to all friends of organized labor that they may know that the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, now being advertised throughout the United States and Canada, was produced under unfair conditions, and is, therefore, not entitled to and should not receive the patronage of fair-minded people or friends of labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the proposition. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 104—By the International Typographical Union Delegation:

WHEREAS, The New York Christian Herald, on April 6, 1911, locked out its entire mailing force of Union men and displaced them with non-union help; and,

WHEREAS, This lockout occurred without a moment's notice to the New York Mailers' Union, after members of the Union had given the Christian Herald for a number of years good and faithful service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, declares the action of the Christian Herald as unfair and inconsistent with the mission of the paper; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to bring all the influence possible to bear to the end that the Christian Herald shall re-employ in its mailing department members of New York Mailers' Union No. 6.

The committee recommended the adoption of the proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates Chris Kerker and Henry Koch, of the International Union of Bakery and Confectionery Workers:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America has been forced in a severe contest with the newly organized "Bread Trust" by the pool bosses of the country, known as the Schults Bread Company, the American or General Baking Company, and the Ward Baking Company, and its subsidiary companies known as the Corby Yeast Company, and the Daly Machine Company, a branch of the steel trust; and

WHEREAS, The above named combination has declared for the open shop, which means closed to the union man, in the bakery and confectionery industry; and

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union vigorously, manfully, determinedly and in a straightforward trade union way, stand opposed to the open shop policy of this gigantic system; and

WHEREAS, As the situation presents itself, we picture it with serious alarm and apprehension for we recognize in it an insidious attack on organized labor, and placing the organization at stake; and

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, through its National officers and committees from the central bodies, did try to settle the controversy but were unsuccessful in bringing about a mutual understanding; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-first Convention, in session in Atlanta, Georgia, of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its President to arrange for a conference, not later, if possible, than sixty days after the convention between the aforesaid concerns, the president or representative of the A. F. of L. and the National Representative of the Bakers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if they are unsuccessful then that the products of Ward Bread Company, known as Tip-Top Bread, the Schults Bread Company, known as the Bronx Bread, and the General Baking Company, known as Butter Krust, Butter Nut and Pan Dandy, be placed on the unfair list of organized labor throughout the country.

The committee recommended that the proposition be referred to the Executive Council, with the suggestion that the conference mentioned therein be arranged for as soon as possible. The re-

port of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate T. R. Lilly, of the Saw Smiths' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Atkins Saw Company has been placed on the unfair list recently by Machinists' Union No. 161, of Indianapolis, Ind., without consulting the Saw Smiths and other unions working in said plant; and

WHEREAS, The product of said firm—that is, the manufacture of saws—is made exclusively by union members of the Saw Smiths' Union in good standing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That before such arbitrary action is taken in the future all grievances of any kind be submitted to the unions involved, for investigation and action, majority vote of all interested parties to decide the course to be pursued, and we further protest against the product of our members being placed on the unfair list, when there is no cause for such action.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council arrange for a conference in Indianapolis, made up of representatives from each of the International Unions interested in the contention; that the conference shall consider and attempt to make effective the unionizing of the Atkins Saw Company's plant in all its mechanical departments, and in the event that result is not accomplished to agree on a plan of campaign that will promise eventual success.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The members of the System Federation of Railway Employees of the Harriman Lines have now been on strike for over five weeks; and

WHEREAS, Our strike has badly crippled the Company's service and, while we feel assured of ultimate victory, yet that desired end could be achieved with much less trouble to us and the general public if we could obtain the entire assistance of those employed by the Company who are not affiliated with the System Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and all International Unions affiliated therewith are earnestly requested to bring all possible influence to bear toward securing the assistance of those engaged in the handling of trains to the end that a conference may be held and our just demands be presented in the most forceful manner to the officials of the Harriman System; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That your honorable bodies take steps immediately to put all the

railroad lines of the Harriman System on the unfair list, and that you call the attention of the Engineers, Fireman, Conductors, Trainmen, Switchmen and all other trades connected with the handling of trains, not to assist by repairing or handling anything pertaining to the keeping in running order of locomotives, boilers, rolling stock or other equipment, but that they confine their work strictly to their own calling. That you send all available men to the R. R. Lines, organizers, business agents, etc., to keep the strike situation in good shape and thereby assist us in securing a speedy and decisive victory.

The committee recommended that the proposition be referred to the Railway Department of the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegates Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Messrs. Harris and Blanck, proprietors of the Triangle Waist Co., of New York city, have been requested to provide safe and sanitary workshops for their employes; and

WHEREAS, said firm refused to grant said request, the employes decided to stop work until safer conditions were provided and declared a strike against said firm; and

WHEREAS, The Triangle Waist Co., with the assistance of certain politicians, defeated the objects of their organized employes and employed strike-breakers to assist them; and

WHEREAS, A fire occurred in workshop of said firm on Saturday, March 26, 1911, resulting in the loss of lives of 147 operatives of above named firm; and

WHEREAS, A number of these employes have testified that the employers had insisted on keeping the exits locked; and,

WHEREAS, Both Messrs. Harris and Blanck have after an investigation been arrested and held for trial charged with causing the loss of lives of 147 persons, and for some unknown reason their trial has been postponed for about nine months; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. use their good offices to bring to trial those guilty of causing this sad catastrophe; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the accused Messrs. Harris and Blanck are in the shirtwaist business under the name of the Reliance Waist Co., and working under the same conditions as prior to March 26, 1911; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. place the Reliance Waist Co. on the unfair list.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Convention express its condemnation of the conditions that were responsible for the Triangle Waist Company horror; that it urge the State and city authorities to exercise unceasing vigilance and precau-

tion to prevent a repetition of the calamity; that these authorities make immediate investigation of working and sanitary conditions and fire escape facilities in the plant of the Reliance Waist Company, and that organized labor and sympathizers have in view the identity of interests between the Triangle Waist Company and the Reliance Waist Company. We also recommend to the Executive Council that it exert its influence to the end that those responsible for the Triangle catastrophe shall be brought to speedy trial and penalty.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate J. T. Carey, of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and Allied Crafts engaged in the manufacture of paper, have for years encountered united opposition on the part of the paper manufacturers, to all efforts to organize with the hope of abolishing slavery conditions still existing in a large number of paper mills; and

WHEREAS, On account of the large number of paper mill employees still unorganized, which has retarded the growth of organized labor generally; and

WHEREAS, Paper manufacturers have boycotted the paper bearing the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, to the extent of compelling the discontinuance of the sale of union-made paper in a number of localities; and

WHEREAS, On account of the boycotts of the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers on the part of the United Manufacturers, other manufacturers, that are otherwise friendly to their employees, dare not grant a shorter hour work-day to their employees for fear of boycott on the part of the Paper Trust; and

WHEREAS, The Elkhart Paper Company, of Elkhart, Ind., a fair corporation, has placed before organized labor a plan for the co-operative ownership and control of the Elkhart Paper Mills, agreeing to sell the controlling interest in the mills with the distinct understanding that the control of the management of the mills remain in possession of members of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The co-operative plan as submitted by the Elkhart Paper Company or some other feasible plan of control if adopted, would provide that organized labor and those friendly to the cause, could secure union-made paper at reasonable cost; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., will, as soon as possible, make a full investigation of the co-operative proposition as submitted by the Elkhart Paper Company, and that

the Executive Council or some member or members thereof, or some other person or persons, deputized by them, make full investigation of the property of the Elkhart Paper Company together with the books and accounts of the Elkhart Paper Company, and that same be submitted to all allied national and international organizations, state branches and city central bodies with the recommendation of the Executive Council, as to the feasibility of the proposition submitted by the Elkhart Paper Company, this report to be submitted as soon as possible.

The committee reported as follows:

In lieu of the foregoing your committee recommends that all international and national unions, state and city central bodies and local unions with official publications, and managers of labor journals, be urged, when paper contracts expire, to arrange for the use of union label water marked paper.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 156 be amended by striking out the words "do and hereby promise" in line 5 of the last Resolve, and substituting the words "be requested," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 156—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and Frank Scoby, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A coopeage firm known as the Western Coopeage Company, located in the city of Los Angeles, Cal., has locked out the coopers that were formerly employed in that establishment because they joined the Coopers' International Union, and the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The aim, purpose, and intent of this firm, who, by the way, are members of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of that city, is to adhere to the policy of the open shop; and

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union has spent thousands of dollars during the past year in spreading the gospel of trade unionism in Southern California, combatting powerful opposition coming from the large coopeage concerns engaged in the manufacture of wine and brandy barrels; and

WHEREAS, We realize our strength as members of organized labor to such a degree of assurance that to have the help of the American Federation of Labor and its membership in California join with the Coopers' International Union in tabooing such an unwarranted, un-American and unbusinesslike policy pursued by the Western Coopeage Company; and

WHEREAS, The Western Barrel

Company, of Los Angeles, now operates a union cooper shop in the city of San Francisco because of the great strength of organized labor's patronage in that locality; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, do denounce the action of the Western Cooperage Company for attempting to deprive free men to join the union of their craft, whose sacred object is to obliterate avarice, ignorance, and slavery from these shores; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the members of the American Federation of Labor in general, and of friends in San Francisco and other points in the far west, be requested to bear well in mind the nefarious action on the part of the Western Cooperage Company.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that resolution No. 158 be amended by striking out the last Resolve, which reads: "That the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor place the product of the Bishop and Babcock Company of Cleveland, Ohio, on the 'we don't patronize' list," and substituting another Resolve, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 158—By Delegates T. M. Daly and Thomas Rumsey Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of N. A.

WHEREAS, Inasmuch as the greater per cent of the breweries are thoroughly organized, and as these breweries depend largely on organized labor for the sale of their product; and

WHEREAS, The firm of the Bishop & Babcock Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, manufacturers of beer pumps, bar supplies, etc., are antagonistic to organized labor, and have been placed on the unfair list by the Ohio Federation of Labor, and by the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, There are other firms strictly union that are able to furnish this class of goods bearing the union label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention direct the attention of organized wage earners and sympathizers to the antagonistic attitude of the Bishop and Babcock Company.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 168—By Delegates T. M. Daly and Thos. Rumsey:

WHEREAS, The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers have been on strike at the Ansonia Clock Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y., for the past twelve months in an effort to reduce their hours of labor from ten to nine per day, and

WHEREAS, The Ansonia Clock Co. entered into an agreement with our International Officers to settle the grievance, but the Ansonia Clock Co. violated every part of the agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor place the products of the Ansonia Clock Co., on the "We don't patronize" list.

The committee recommended the striking out of the Resolve and substituting the following:

RESOLVED, That the convention direct the attention of organized wage earners and sympathizers to the violation of contract by the Ansonia Clock Company, to its substitution of nonunion for union workers, and to the fact that its clocks are the product of a company antagonistic to union labor and union conditions of employment.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Lynch—That completes the report of the committee which is respectfully submitted and signed,

D. A. HAYES, Chairman.
JAMES M. LYNCH, Secretary
JAS. B. CONNORS,
JOSEPH SMITH,
J. H. KAEFER,
E. R. TORREY,
WM. J. COOKE,
THOS. J. SMITH,
W. A. NEER,
EDW. H. RYAN,
FRANK HECK,
FRANK J. HAYES,
THOS. CONNORS,
H. M. MUNN,
THOS. J. DURNIN.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) moved that the Convention adjourn to reconvene at 8 o'clock p. m. (Seconded but not carried.)

Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Fischer, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 113 be amended by inserting the word "deck" after the word "H-

censed" where it appears in the first line of each of the Whereases and in the third line of the Resolve, the amended resolution to read.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Patrick Flynn, of the Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Merchant Marine on the Pacific Coast having voted to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Atlantic Coast do not yet desire affiliation; and

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Pacific Coast have tried by all legitimate means to induce the licensed officers throughout the United States to affiliate themselves with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Pacific Coast realize that it would be to the best interest of all wage earners to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Merchant Marine are amenable to certain laws and responsibilities that no other wage earners are subject to, which makes it necessary that they be granted autonomy, the same as now granted to all Internationals; and

WHEREAS, It is the intention of the licensed officers of the Pacific Coast to place themselves in a position to apply for a national charter under the name of the Marine Officers' Protective Association of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board be instructed to give such aid and assistance to the licensed officers of the Pacific coast as shall be possible under the circumstances, and further that the Executive Board be requested to issue a charter as requested as soon as the necessary preparations therefor have been completed.

The committee recommended that the amended resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to, if possible, consolidate in one organization the licensed deck officers of the Atlantic and Pacific under a charter of the A. F. of L. Should the licensed deck officers of the Atlantic Coast refuse to become a part of such consolidated organization affiliated with the A. F. of L., then the Executive Council shall have the authority to issue a charter to the licensed deck officers of the Pacific Coast, giving them jurisdiction over this branch of the Marine industry.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 173—Presented by Delegates Duncan McDonald, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, United Mine Workers.

WHEREAS, There is an organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association in existence in certain portions of Canada, said organization claiming jurisdiction over the coal miners employed in the coal mines of Nova Scotia and purporting to represent them in negotiating wage contracts for them in that territory; and

WHEREAS, The men employed in and around the mines in Nova Scotia by a large majority some years ago decided to become a part of the United Mine Workers of America, and repudiated the organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association, its officers and agents; and

WHEREAS, This so-called organization through its officers have since joined hands with the employers in their efforts to destroy and disrupt the United Mine Workers of America in that section, and have assisted in furnishing scabs and strike breakers working under the protection of the detectives and thugs employed by the coal companies, thereby proving themselves traitors to the best interests of the workers; and

WHEREAS, This so-called organization through its officers is again attempting to represent the Mine Workers in formulating a scale of wages on a basis satisfactory to the coal companies and upon which no worker can hope to exist and live, as a worker should live; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention condemn the actions of the men in charge of this outlaw organization as a menace to a civilized community, and a band of traitors who are being paid for their dirty, nefarious work, and who by their action are helping to retard the work of the bona fide trades-unionists and who by co-operating with the thugs and detectives of the employers, are placing themselves on a plane lower than that of the meanest scab or strike breaker.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate W. E. Scoggan, of the Black Hills Trades Assembly:

WHEREAS, The Black Hills Trades Assembly did, under date of August 14th, 1911, send an appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, No response has been had to said appeal, and the needs of this district are very urgent and unless action is taken at a very early date the entire trade union movement will be wiped out in this District by the notoriously unfair mining corporation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to make an immediate investigation of the situation and render such aid as in their judg-

ment the case will warrant; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That an organizer of the A. F. of L. be sent into this District to assist in reorganizing the entire field to the end that union men will be restored to their lawful rights.

The committee reported that the case had already been acted upon in Resolution No. 84, and therefore no further action was necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 15 and 107 covering the same subject, were reported on as follows:

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, The employing class by joining together their companies and uniting together the various firms are gradually combining the wealth of the nation in trusts and syndicates, tending to the concentration of all industry; and

WHEREAS, This combination of wealth in this manner, being an economic necessity, places the employing interests in an advantageous position when it comes to an industrial conflict; and

WHEREAS, By our adherence to craft and trade autonomy, as we are at present organized, we are compelled to witness the defeat and disruption of the various small organizations, and are placed at an unfair disadvantage in every conflict with our employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor a policy of industrial unionism, as against craft and trades autonomy, and wherever possible we consolidate the smaller organizations into a more compact and perfect organization, that we may be the better able to protect our interests in the industrial conflicts yet to come.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate A. W. Wright, of the Trades and Labor Council of Vancouver, B. C.:

WHEREAS, Considerable confusion, jurisdictional disputes, etc., arise from different local unions being organized by employees of one corporation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, now in Convention assembled, go on record as favoring industrial unionism and proceed to organize all employees working for one company into one central body, consisting of at least five members from each department.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in both resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Fischer—That completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed by the committee.

JOHN MITCHELL, Chairman
WM. B. MACFARLANE.
MATT COMERFORD.
ANDREW J. GALLAGHER.
P. W. COLLINS.
JAMES B. CASEY.
T. L. LEWIS.
JOHN T. TAGGART.
THOS. J. WILLIAMS.
HENRY KOCH.
PATRICK FLYNN.
JOHN C. SCHAFFER.
FRANK A. SCOBY.
SANTIAGO IGLESIAS.
JACOB FISCHER, Secretary.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate James P. Holland, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, as set forth in the preamble of its constitution, has recognized that a struggle is going on in all nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit, and it, therefore, behooves the representatives of the trade and labor unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled; and

WHEREAS, The decisions of the United States Supreme Court and of the State courts in injunction and labor cases have conclusively shown that there are constitutional provisions which have erected a wall for the protection of the capitalist interests as against the interests of the toiling millions, and that no really effective and beneficial labor legislation can be secured unless the constitution be so amended as to wipe out the two classes of master and servant; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated State Federations have devoted their energies to the enactment of national, state and territorial labor laws as well as to the embodying of provisions for the protection of labor in several state constitutions; and

WHEREAS, Logically and inevitably the next great step in the struggle of the oppressed to secure the recognition of rights to which the toiling millions of our country are justly entitled is the demand and propaganda for a labor amendment to the United States Constitution, ordaining that neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction, and embodying all legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, which shall bring about the indus-

trial emancipation of all toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in the Thirty-first annual convention assembled, That the time has arrived to crown the thirty-one years' work for labor legislation in our generation, as achieved by the American Federation of Labor, with the demand and propagandism for a labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to secure the industrial emancipation of all toilers; and

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby is instructed to frame a labor amendment to the United States Constitution, and to inaugurate and encourage a movement leading to its adoption by the people of our country.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate T. Briggs, of the Calumet Joint Labor Council:

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on, and has been going on for years, in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries; a struggle between the capitalists and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit; therefore, it behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles; first, reduction in hours of the work day; second, to secure equal pay for equal service for both men and women; third, municipal ownership of all public utilities; fourth, government ownership of national monopolies; fifth, the adoption of a constitutional amendment requiring the election of President and Vice-President and United States Senators by the direct vote of the people; sixth, and we further declare in favor of abolition of government by injunction in controversies between capital and labor.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate B. A. Carter, of the Hammond, Ind., Trades and Labor Council:

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlanta, Ga., go on record as being in favor of equal suffrage between men and women, we therefore recommend that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their best endeavors to have such laws enacted as will place women on an equality with men at the ballot box.

The committee submitted as a substitute for Resolutions No. 124 and 149, the following:

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-first Convention of the American Federation of

Labor reaffirm the economic program previously adopted by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 125—By Vallejo, Cal. Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy recommends that a dry dock large enough to accommodate the greatest battleship, and approves of San Francisco bay as the proper site; and

WHEREAS, Mare Island is at present the Naval Base of the Pacific Coast, situated on San Francisco bay, and fully equipped to build and repair battleships; and

WHEREAS, This dock would complete the facilities to care for the government ships; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, endorse this resolution and urge our Congressmen to lend their support to this location.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee, not having sufficient information before it to warrant it in expressing any opinion as to the most available and suitable location for the construction of a dry dock in the vicinity of Vallejo or other Pacific points, therefore recommend that it is inadvisable for this Convention to favor one place in preference to other available localities.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 133 be amended by inserting after the last word in the first Whereas "with one exception and," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates Sol Polakoff, Alex. Bloch and Harry Kleinman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The passport of all American citizens is honored in all civilized countries; and

WHEREAS, Russia, the only country among the great countries, discriminates against a certain class of American citizens; and

WHEREAS, There is a movement on foot in our country demanding the interference of our government to bring about an equal recognition of all Americans holding American passports in Russia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled in Atlanta, Ga., express its hearty approval of such a movement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, To pledge its influence to force the Russian government to fulfill its treaty obligations in honoring the passports of all American citizens regardless of race, creed or nationality.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate J. A. Franklin, Louis Weyand, Joseph Flynn and James B. Casey, of the Boilermakers' Delegation:

WHEREAS, At the last session of Congress there was enacted a Locomotive Boiler Inspection law, having for its object the protection of the traveling public and the employees of railroads; and

WHEREAS, The law requires that inspectors shall be men experienced in the construction and repair of boilers; and,

WHEREAS, The former occupation and experience of the inspectors appointed under the provisions of this law shows conclusively that due regard toward this provision was not observed by heads of the Locomotive Inspection Bureau and the Interstate Commerce Commission in selecting inspectors, and as a consequence men have been appointed to these responsible positions that have little, if any, practical knowledge of the duties of the position; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled, do deplore this action which has prevented an effective enforcement of this inspection service which experience has demonstrated is essential to the protection of life and property, and therefore request the Executive Council and Legislative Committee of this Federation to do all in their power to have the provisions of this law providing for the selection of competent inspectors properly enforced.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate G. E. Mikel, of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Hot Springs, Ark., and the individual members of the different unions affiliated therewith have undertaken to interest organized labor throughout the country in the building of a National Federation Sanatorium; and

WHEREAS, We believe such an institution would be one of the greatest helps toward the "uplift" of our people, and the greatest blessing that could be bestowed upon the sick or afflicted, an onward step in the progress of our movement; and

WHEREAS, We believe the "one spot" best fitted for such an institution would be the spot where the "God Blessed" waters flow, Hot Springs, Ark.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation in Convention assembled, unanimously endorse the establishment of such a sanatorium and earnestly recommend that our national

officers and individual members look with favor upon this proposal and pledge our support, each and severally, to any practical plan that may be submitted for the raising of funds for such a purpose.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee while in full accord with the humanitarian object suggested in the resolution, believes that inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor is now overburdened by expenses incurred through injunction and contempt proceedings and other questions of vital importance to our movement, including the erection of an office building for the American Federation of Labor, it would be inadvisable at this time to adopt the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Mikel discussed the question briefly, and stated that he hoped that at some time the American Federation of Labor would carry out such a plan as suggested. The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegates Thos. V. O'Connor, Martin Cole, M. W. Keller and P. F. A. Vaccarelli, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The laws passed by the Senate and House of Congress, June 6, 1910, and covered and contained in department circular No. 207, changes the laws under which steamers of 65-foot may be operated; and

WHEREAS, This causes a hardship on the licensed tug-men and crews of fishing and pleasure steamers by placing lives in danger by having said steamers operated by incompetent pilots or engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the above law is detrimental to the best interests of life and property, and we ask that this law be changed so that it will not include boats propelled by steam; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. use all force at their command for the enactment of a statute repealing this vicious law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate A. W. Wright, of the Trades and Labor Council, of Vancouver, B. C.:

WHEREAS, The handling of high potential wires and electrical appliances by incompetent workmen endangers the lives of the public; and

WHEREAS, Many companies are using unskilled and incompetent workmen

because they can secure such workmen at small wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, now in Convention assembled, introduce a Bill in the Legislature, through some member, establishing compulsory examination for all electrical workers handling high voltage currents.

The committee recommended that the resolution be amended to read:

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate A. W. Wright, of the Trades and Labor Council, of Vancouver, B. C.:

WHEREAS, The handling of high potential wires and electrical appliances by incompetent workmen endangers the lives of the public; and

WHEREAS, Many companies are using unskilled and incompetent workmen because they can secure such workmen at small wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, now in Convention assembled, recommend that the State and Provincial Federations of Labor prepare and have introduced in the several legislatures through some member, measures, establishing compulsory examination for all electrical workers handling high voltage currents.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 162—By Delegates Samuel Gompers, J. T. Smith and Thomas F. Tracy, of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has declared the American Tobacco Company to be a Trust, a monopoly operating in restraint of trade, and as now constituted is an illegal institution existing in violation of law, and therefore ordered its dissolution; and

WHEREAS, The Court gave this illegal monopoly eight months in which to dissolve and to reshape its component parts on a basis that will not be in violation of law or operated in illegal restraint of trade; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has recently said that the laws affecting monopolies, trusts and illegal organizations, such as the American Tobacco Company, will be enforced; and

WHEREAS, We are of the opinion that there are no legal means that can be adopted whereby the constituent parts of the illegal Tobacco Trust can be successfully reorganized and maintained on a working basis, that will not be in opposition to and antagonistic with existing laws; and

WHEREAS, The policy of all trusts has been opposed to organized labor, not hesitating to adopt any means, fair or foul, with which to crush the

organization of the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor denounces the attitude of the American Tobacco Trust toward organized labor and pledges itself to do all that it consistently can, in keeping with its own laws and the laws of our common country, to create a healthy public sentiment in opposition to any plan being sanctioned by the Southern Division of the Circuit Court of New York, the Supreme Court of the United States, the Judicial Branch of the Federal Government, or any other constituted authority, that will permit the re-organization of this declared illegal monopoly in a way that may permit it to operate in opposition to existing laws and the decision of the United States Supreme Court; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled declares its unalterable opposition to any plan which will permit the declared illegal American Tobacco Company to reorganize by subterfuge, and thus under the guise of legal sanction, pursue its illegal and sinister method under a plan that will be in violation of existing laws.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 164—By Delegate Chas. T. Smith, of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, Honorable Samuel B. Donnelly, Public Printer of the United States, has indicated his disregard for the rules of the Civil Service by the employment of a man whom he must have known to be improperly and illegally registered; and

WHEREAS, He has accentuated his hostility to the principles of the merit system as exemplified by the Civil Service and tried to defeat its purpose by refusing to employ men who were instrumental in bringing the abuses to the attention of the Commission; and

WHEREAS, By the violation of established laws and rules of the Civil Service in this instance, his action tends to destroy the efficiency and demoralize the discipline of so large and important a plant as the Government Printing Office; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention deplore the conditions now existing at the Government Printing Office and vigorously condemn the Public Printer for his attempt to defeat the rules of the Civil Service, and using his office to visit resentment upon men who had attempted to defend the rules of the Government under which they were employed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to go over the data now available with reference to certain practices in the Government Printing Office, and if in their judgment the evidence is sufficient, to present the matter to the proper authorities with a view to the removal of Mr. Donnelly; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, President Lynch of the Typographical Union and Local Union No. 6 of New York.

This resolution contains in its Whereases a request that the Convention first condemn Public Printer, Honorable Samuel B. Donnelly, and then that an investigation be made of his alleged acts. Inasmuch as the trade union movement is opposed to any decision being reached without thorough investigation, your committee offers as a substitute for the Whereases and Resolves the following:

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., be advised by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to prepare and submit to the proper authorities provided by the Civil Service Laws such evidence as it may have at its disposal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 166—By Delegate Agnes Nestor, of the International Glove Workers Union of America:

WHEREAS, The report of the Department of Commerce and Labor on the national investigation of conditions of work of women and children is being published in 19 volumes of the limited edition of 5,000 copies each; and

WHEREAS, The information contained in these volumes sets forth the individual and social menace of the industrial conditions under which thousands of young girls and women earn their living; and

WHEREAS, The value of this investigation, national in scope and authoritative in character, lies in reaching the general public, which is impossible with the present small limited edition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-first convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby request their Executive Council to call upon the Department of Commerce and Labor to publish a special edition of 100,000 copies of each volume.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 175—By Delegates Timothy Healy, William Brennan, M. J. Friel, of International Brotherhood of Firemen:

WHEREAS, A policy of retrenchment is now going into effect in the steam plants of the Federal Buildings, which are under the control of the Secretary of the Treasury, this policy is cutting the wages of firemen and others in the various steam plants in the government buildings, which wages are not and never have been, up to the standard paid by private employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, request the Executive Council to immediately take this grievance up with the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 172—By Hatters Delegation:

WHEREAS, Owing to the death or disability of the husband and father, many women are left with dependent children to provide for; and

WHEREAS, This condition compels such women to enter the industrial world handicapped by their necessities which very often force them to work for less than others in order to support their children, thereby injuring their sisters and brothers in the economic struggle as they are often compelled to do work that should be done by men; and

WHEREAS, This deprives the children of such women of a mother's care, and denies the mother herself, to a large extent the pleasure of her children's society; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, are of the opinion that in all such cases, the National Government should assume the support of the mother and children until it will be possible for them to become self-supporting; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we hold this policy to be in line with the best principles of trade unionism. For years we have been trying, and to a large extent, succeeded in having laws passed by legislatures prohibiting the employment in factories of children of tender years and putting them in school where they properly belong; we should develop this policy a little further and take the mothers out of the economic struggle and put them where they properly belong, in the home. A law of this kind would lift a nightmare from the minds of millions of men. Every man with children would know that in case of his death, his family would be provided for by this great fraternal principle; and in our opinion if union labor is true to itself it will take this matter up with the same spirit and determination we have shown in the child labor prohibi-

tion. Nothing we could think of would bring home more forcibly to the minds of our non-union brothers how thoroughly in accord with the best interests of labor in general are the principles of trade unionism. It would bring this fact home to others than the working class. Lawyers, doctors, clergymen and others who might die poor would have their families provided for under this law. The adoption of this principle would place union labor on a higher moral plane than ever before, and would draw increased attention to us, and to our high purposes, with the result that we would be supported as we were never supported before in our noble mission to elevate mankind.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., that the object of the resolution be incorporated in the pension legislation pending before Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Boy Scout Movement," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in accord with the position assumed by the Executive Council, to thoroughly investigate the boy scout movement, and we urge that they continue their investigations and report to the American Labor movement upon the influences, economic and otherwise, of the boy scout movement.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers dealing with the International Secretariat, and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "International Secretariat—Budapest Congress," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in full accord with the instructions given by the Executive Council to Vice-President James Duncan before his departure for Europe as the delegate from this body to the Convention of the International Secretariat called at Budapest, Hungary, in 1911.

Without consultation with the chairman of the committee, Vice-President Duncan, and without ascertaining his sentiment in connection with the subject, your committee, in view of the action of this convention in giving him a unanimous vote of appreciation for his exceedingly valuable report, recommends that a

sufficient number of copies of his report to this convention be printed in pamphlet form to reach the demand which has already been manifested by the delegates to this convention since listening to the masterful presentation of the labor movement and industrial conditions in Europe which are contained in his report.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "New Mexico's Constitution" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends a hearty endorsement of the action taken by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in connection with the question of assisting the securing of a constitution for the State of New Mexico which would contain adequate provisions for a full and complete government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Pure Food—Pure Drugs" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in connection with the efforts being made to secure the passage of laws and other enactments which would prevent the manufacture or sale of any articles of food or drugs which were adulterated or placed on sale under misleading labels or advertisements.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Industrial Accidents" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee endorses the recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that a national society for the prevention of railroad accidents should be organized along the lines suggested in this report. Your committee therefore recommends that the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be and are hereby instructed to use their influence towards the organization of such an association.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 174—By Delegate Chas. T. Smith, of C. L. U., Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The Honorable Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, has awarded a contract involving an expenditure of possibly \$1,422,226, for the construction of a new building for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, at Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, The said contract has been awarded to the firm of J. Henry Miller, Inc., of Baltimore, Md., and

WHEREAS, The said firm of J. Henry Miller, is alleged to be unfair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It is alleged that the said firm of J. Henry Miller, has now contracts for the construction of government work that is fourteen months behind the time stipulated for the completion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L., deplore this act of the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, in ignoring the interest of the government, and the almost four thousand employes of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, by endangering a prompt completion of a new Bureau Building by awarding the contract for its construction to the said J. Henry Miller, Inc., and be it further

RESOLVED, That a communication be sent to the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, from this convention remonstrating against awarding of the contract for the construction of the new Bureau of Engraving and Printing building to a firm that is notoriously unfriendly to organized labor and unreliable in the performance of its contractual obligations.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The Committee on Resolutions offered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 178—

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, adopts this method and opportunity of expressing its sincere appreciation for the generous spirit and cordiality of the welcome which was extended to us by the Honorable Hoke Smith, Governor of Georgia, by the Honorable Courtland S. Winn, mayor of Atlanta, and other distinguished public officials and citizens, and representatives of organized labor. That the local committee on arrangements and entertainments is justly entitled to an expression of unstinted approval on our part, for the arrangements which were made to provide ade-

quate conveniences for the comfort of the delegates while in session, and to fill the social hours with a bounteous variety of entertainment.

That the local committees and the wives and daughters of the Atlanta trades-unionists have earned our admiration for their ever thoughtful and kindly interest in the comfort and social enjoyments of our lady delegates and other ladies in attendance at this convention;

THAT the many social clubs and fraternal organizations of Atlanta, whose hospitality was so generously extended to our delegates have added to their already favorable reputation as hospitable and successful entertainers;

THAT we here record our appreciation for the spirit of fairness which has been indicated by the newspapers of Atlanta, and for their evident desire to convey an accurate account of our proceedings through their columns; and

THAT the delegates to this convention in their discussion of the subjects coming before them and in their action thereon, have indicated that our annual deliberations tend to develop the minds and broaden the vision of those who attend our conventions, fitting them to labor more effectively for the growth and success of our great movement in its efforts to secure equality of rights and opportunity for all and to elevate the American workman's standard of living.

The resolutions offered by the committee were adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Frey—That completes the report of the committee, which is signed,

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman.
B. A. LARGER,
D. D. MULCAHY,
JOHN T. SMITH,
THOS. FLYNN,
EDWARD J. MCGIVERN,
JOS. N. WEBER,
M. F. RYAN,
W. D. MAHON,
A. P. SOVEY,
EDWARD F. WARD,
SOL. SONTHEIMER,
CHAS. P. FAHEY,
JOHN A. VOLL,
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.

Delegate Mahon—There is one resolution I want to mention. The Secretary made mention of the licensing of men who handle high voltage in electrical

work. I disagree with the theory and the proposition, and want to be so recorded. I signed the report of the committee, but I did not agree with the resolution.

Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Murtaugh, Secretary of the committee, stated that the section of the report of the committee approving the establishment of night schools had been referred back to the committee, and submitted the following amended report:

Atlanta, Georgia, November 15th, 1911.

Your Committee on Education believe it best to make recommendations on such live issues concerning education that confront not only the laboring people but all the people of the United States at the present time. Accordingly, we have considered the following topics and make the following recommendations on same:

First. The time has now arrived when compulsory education must be had. The different states should provide by proper legislation that all children between the ages of six and sixteen years should be provided with at least a common school education and given at least the ordinary opportunities for preparation in childhood to meet the duties of life.

We know from experience that existing economic conditions make it impossible for a large number of the best families among the workers to give their children the education they should have, and which they would like to give them, and also that a small number of our population are not sufficiently alive to parental duty to educate their children and, on the contrary, rather lean against same and prefer to use the physical efforts of their children for their own support rather than educate these children for the children's good in after life. This position or negation arises from three causes: 1st, lack of equitable economic conditions; 2d, lack of appreciation of parental obligations, and 3rd, remuneration received by said parents for child labor.

Therefore, as these people do not respond to the ordinary suggestions of parental love, the state must step in and provide a system by which these children shall be given at least a chance for their lives in the struggle for existence going on at the present time. The time is long since past when the ignorant and unedu-

cated stand any chance against the educated, active and well developed man. One begins the race of life at such a great advantage that the other one is never in the running with him. Without worrying the Convention with the benefits of education, suffice it to say that this great organization should present to the legislatures of the country their recommendation that strong, vigorous and effective legislation be had whereby statutes providing for compulsory education may be passed and enforced and we recommend accordingly.

Second. In line with the discussion just had, it must suggest itself to all minds that, inasmuch as the state is providing public schools, that is schools where tuition is free, it should also provide the children in such schools with books free of charge. There is no reason why the teacher should be supplied with books free of charge and the pupils should have to pay for their books. We know that the cost of books to men of large families constitutes one of the many reasons why children are taken from school at an early age and why others are not sent at all. We know that a great majority of the pupils come from homes whose parents are able to purchase books. These parents are also able to pay tuition for their children, but the state does not charge them tuition and their children sit side by side with those whose parents are incapable of paying their tuition. Hence the same situation would arise with reference to free books and if free tuition is good, free books are likewise good.

We recommend that free books in public schools be endorsed and the legislatures of the country be and they are hereby requested to provide that in all public schools books shall be furnished the children at the expense of the states.

We further recommend that the A. F. of L. go on record as approving the establishment of night schools (for persons over 16 years of age) in connection with the public school system.

We suggest that the Executive Council take this matter up with local, central, federal and state bodies, requesting them to use their influence in their respective communities to have such schools established.

Respectfully submitted,
 WILLIS R. GOLDEN, Chairman.
 JOS. F. VALENTINE,
 ERNEST BOHM,
 JAS. J. FREEL,
 W. J. KELLY,
 S. POLAKOFF,
 M. B. CAIN,
 T. M. DALY,
 C. E. MAHONEY,
 JOHN MURTAUGH,
 DANIEL J. EVANS,
 GROCE LAWRENCE,
 G. E. SOYSTER,
 WM. A. MCKENNA, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Report of Special Committee.

Delegate Tharp, for the committee, reported as follows:

Your Special Committee, appointed on the recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, have considered that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption "White Rats Actors' Union Benefit Performances" and the following resolution:

Resolution No. 42.—By Delegates Will J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Joseph Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The general membership is in full sympathy with the plans and procedure now being used to establish the innocence of the McNamara brothers and feel that the moral force of the White Rats Actors' Union should be used to strengthen and assist in the carrying out of their defense, and the fact that in all parts of this country, at all of the vaudeville theaters the largest percentage of vaudeville actors are members of the White Rats Actors' Union, ready and willing to do their share as a component part of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is the expressed desire of the members of the White Rats Actors' Union to have set aside each year one day all over the country when a series of theatrical performances may be given, the proceeds of which shall be donated to the duly accredited Trades Council of the city in which the entertainment shall be given; and

WHEREAS, The actors and actresses, members of our organization will give their services gratis at such entertainments, the Trades Councils to provide the theaters or halls with all necessary surroundings, music, etc., including the disposition of tickets; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlanta, Ga., instructs the Executive Council to make proper investigation at as early a date as possible, during the sitting of this Convention if possible, and

if it is found practicable to enter into the plan of entertainments at once for the McNamara defense fund to so report to the Convention for the purpose of having the seated delegates instructed to perfect the necessary details upon their arrival at home; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council shall, during the coming year, devise ways and means to have a day set aside throughout the United States and Canada to be known as "Labor Benefit Day" upon which theatrical performances may be given, the proceeds to be given to the affiliated Trades Councils, who shall conduct these benefit performances.

Your committee begs to report:

After carefully considering Resolution No. 42 introduced by the delegates of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, and the recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. pertaining to same proposition, we, your committee, deem it unwise to set aside a day in each year to be known as "Labor Benefit Day," upon which day, theatrical performances will be given, the actors and actresses, members of the White Rats Actors' Union, to give their services free of all cost at such entertainment, and on the other hand, the Trades Councils of each city, to bear all expenses necessary to provide the theater or halls, with all the necessary surroundings, music, etc., as well as including the disposition of tickets, the proceeds of which are to be donated to the duly accredited Central Trades Councils of the cities in which the entertainments shall be given.

But upon so much of the resolution as refers to setting aside a day to raise funds for the defense of the McNamaras, we recommend that the McNamara Ways and Means Committee be requested by President Gompers to set aside a day during the latter part of January, 1912, to be known as "McNamara Defense Day," on which day theatrical performances shall be given free of all cost for their services by the members of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, with the assistance of the Central Labor Bodies throughout the country, the proceeds of same to be forwarded to the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

We further recommend that President Gompers of the A. F. of L. notify all central bodies in regard to the foregoing, and that the delegates to this convention work to the end that the entertainments held on this day will result in a much desired success.

We further recommend that President Gompers communicate to the officers of the White Rats Actors' Union of America the appreciation of the delegates to this Convention for their generosity displayed in tendering their services gratis for the purpose of raising funds for the defense of the McNamara brothers.

E. E. THARP, Chairman,
WM. W. RUSSELL, Secretary.
A. J. KUGLER.

The report of the Special Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Gompers—In the early part of the Convention a series of resolutions were introduced calling upon the President to cause an investigation to be made as to the accuracy of allegations made in the preambles of the resolutions. I immediately sent a night lettergram containing the preambles and resolutions to the organizer stationed in New York, Mr. Cal Wyatt, who replied:

Secretary Morrison read the following:

New York, Nov. 25, 1911.
"Samuel Gompers,
Main Auditorium, Atlanta, Ga.
"Investigation into strike of ash drivers which has been in effect in this city some days past fully justifies me in believing that statements contained in resolution forwarded me are correct in every particular.

"CAL WYATT."

Secretary Morrison read the following:

New York, Nov. 24, 1911.
Sam'l Gompers, Auditorium Armory,
Atlanta, Ga.:

I am informed that the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia has determined that you and your associates must answer for an alleged contempt of that court. In the newspapers, before this determination, I read that the same court had appointed a committee to determine whether such contempt proceedings should be instituted against you and that one of the committee was Daniel Davenport, an attorney who had served in that case. Today in the Supreme Court of this state, application was made by the joint district council of Carpenters for an injunction enjoining and restraining the American Anti-Boycott Association from practicing law and instituting baseless and vexatious litigation against the Carpenters in violation of Section 280 of the Penal Law of the State of New York. Daniel Davenport is one of the counsel for the American Anti-Boycott Association. In substance it was alleged on this application which was adjourned at the request of the defendants that it is an organized voluntary association composed of corporations, manufacturers and

attorneys engaged in the practice of law designed to destroy, if possible, workmen's unions, and for that purpose has regularly employed counsel with officers, sending out circulars soliciting subscriptions and assessments from the corporations and firms who become members of the Association advertised in the newspapers, whenever successful, the result of its attacks upon organized labor and so on; all of which it is alleged constitutes a crime under the laws of this state. When this motion was made for an injunction against this association there gathered in court from all the hidden recesses and subterranean passages all the head devils opposed to organized labor throughout the country, to-wit: Ex-Congressmen Littlefield, of Employers Liability Fame, Daniel Davenport of Danbury Hatters Fame and a number of lesser moles who had heretofore hidden themselves in the secret recesses of the American Anti-Boycott Association anxiously wondering whether the vast fees and associations which have heretofore been pouring into their pockets were suddenly about to be cut off and whether they must again go back to the ordinary tolls of practicing attorneys. You thus see that we are with you in the fight against this American Anti-Boycott Association and to the finish.

ELBRIDGE H. NEAL.

Sec'y Joint Dist. Council of Carpenters.

Delegate Weber—I almost feel like asking the pardon of the convention for bringing up this matter at this late hour, but circumstances over which we have had no control make it absolutely imperative that I should take the floor at this time and move that the Executive Council investigate at once the Hebrew trades of New York who are seating dual organizations. (Seconded by Delegate Holland and adopted by unanimous vote.)

Delegate Williams made a brief statement in which he protested against members of dual and seceding organizations being seated with the delegates during the sessions of the Convention and being included in the group photographs of the Convention, stating that they used these pictures to lead contractors and architects to believe they were part of the regular labor movement.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Williams, Delegate Landers and President Gompers.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), moved that at future Conventions of the American Federation of Labor permission of the Executive Council shall be secured before literature will be distributed in the Convention hall, and that representatives of dual and seceding organizations be not

allowed to sit with the delegates.

Delegate Furuseth discussed the question briefly, and opposed censoring of any literature distributed in the Convention.

President Gompers declared the motion out of order as no new matter could be introduced in the Convention without unanimous consent.

Delegate Moorhouse stated that he had been requested by the lady delegates and visitors to extend or have the A. F. of L. extend through the Convention thanks to the ladies of Atlanta for their kindness towards the visiting ladies and the splendid entertainment they had given them. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers stated that Fraternal Delegate Crinion and Mrs. Crinion had been obliged to leave the Convention before the afternoon session, and stated that Fraternal Delegate Roberts would address the Convention before the parting.

Fraternal Delegate Roberts made a brief address in which he thanked the delegates and officers for the kindness and courtesy they had shown him while in the country, and expressed the hope that some day he might meet the delegates and renew his acquaintance with them.

Delegate Jones (Jerome) made a brief address in which he expressed his appreciation of the fact that the Convention had been held in Atlanta.

President Gompers—Just a minute before we adjourn. I desire to say on my own behalf that I appreciate very much the great courtesy extended to me as your presiding officer and the help you have given me in administering the affairs of this Convention. We have performed great work. Decisive lines of policy, constructive legislation, not only in the interest of union men and union women, but of man and woman and child, has been enacted. Brother Roberts, we wish you God speed and a safe return home to your family and your fellow workers. I need not say that we hope you will convey to the workers of Great Britain, the great democracy of Great Britain, the fraternal greetings of our workers.

Vice-President O'Connell—I move that this Convention adjourn sine die.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 7:10 p. m., Saturday, November 25th, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

FRANK MORRISON,

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

W. G. GREDIG,

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

APPENDIX TO PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT, PAGE 52.1

ESSENCE OF LABOR'S CONTENTION ON THE INJUNCTION ABUSE.

The crass ignorance of corporation lawyers and a hostile press is so rampant on the position and attitude of labor upon the abuse of the injunction process that we deem it a public service as plainly and concisely as possible to submit labor's attitude and contention. It will be seen that labor neither questions the integrity of nor desires to "shackle" the courts; that it stands for and insists upon absolute equality before the law—nothing more, nothing less. We believe we have the right to demand that the press, however hostile, shall not wilfully misrepresent or misinterpret Labor's position. We ask a careful consideration of Labor's contention upon this all-important question of our time, and we challenge a discussion of the points here submitted. Labor insists that:

The writ of injunction was intended to be exercised for the protection of property rights only.

He who would seek its aid must come into court with clean hands.

There must be no other adequate remedy at law.

It must never be used to curtail personal rights.

It must not be used ever in an effort to punish crime.

It must not be used as a means to set aside trial by jury.

Injunctions as issued against workmen are never used or issued against any other citizen of our country.

It is an attempt to deprive citizens of our country, when these citizens are workmen, of the right of trial by jury.

It is an effort to fasten an offense on them when they are innocent of any unlawful or illegal act.

It is an indirect assertion of a property right in men when these men are workmen engaged in a lawful effort to protect or advance their natural rights and interests.

Injunctions as issued in trade disputes are to make outlaws of men when they are not even charged with doing things in violation of any law of State or nation.

We protest against the discrimination of the courts against the laboring men of our country which deprives them of their constitutional guarantee of equality before the law.

The injunctions which the courts issue against labor are supposed by them to be good enough law today, when there exists a dispute between workmen and their employers; but it is not good law—in fact, is not law at all—tomorrow or next day when no such labor dispute exists.

The issuance of injunctions in labor disputes is not based upon law, but is a species of judicial legislation, judicial usurpation, in the interests of the money power against workmen innocent of any unlawful or criminal act.

The doing of the lawful acts enjoined by the courts renders the workmen guilty of contempt of court, and punishable by fine or imprisonment or both.

Labor protests against the issuance of injunctions in disputes between workmen and employers, when no such injunctions would be issued when no such dispute exists. Such injunctions have no warrant in law and are the result of judicial usurpation and judicial legislation rather than of Congressional legislation.

In all things in which workmen are enjoined by the process of an injunction during labor disputes, if those acts are criminal or unlawful, there is now ample law and remedy covering them. From the logic of this there is no escape.

No act is legally a crime, unless there is a law designating it and specifying it to be a crime.

No act is unlawful unless there be a law on the statute books designating and specifying it to be unlawful; hence it follows that—

No act is criminal or unlawful unless there is a law prohibiting its commission.

It is agreed by all, friends and opponents alike, that the injunction process, beneficent in its inception and general practice, never should apply and legally can not be applied where there is another ample remedy at law.

We assert that Labor asks no immunity for any of its men who may be guilty of any criminal or unlawful act.

It insists upon the workers being regarded and treated as equals before the law with every other citizen; that if any act be committed by any one of our number, rendering him amenable to the law, he shall be prosecuted by the ordinary forms of law

and by the due process of law, and that an injunction does not lawfully and properly apply and ought not to be issued in such cases.

The injunction process as applied to men engaged in a dispute with employers includes the allegation of criminal or unlawful acts, as a mere pretext, so that the lawful and innocent acts in themselves may also be incorporated and covered by the blanket injunction. And the performance of the lawful and innocent acts in themselves despite the injunction renders them at once guilty of contempt of the court's order which is summarily punished by fine or imprisonment, or both.

In itself the writ of injunction is of a highly important and beneficent character. Its aims and purposes are for the protection of property rights. It never was intended, and never should be invoked, for the purpose of depriving free men of their personal rights, the right of man's ownership of himself; the right of free locomotion, free assemblage, free association, free speech, free press; the freedom to do those things promotive of life, liberty and happiness, and which are not in contravention of the law of our land.

We re-assert that we ask no immunity for ourselves or for any other man who may be guilty of any unlawful or criminal act; but we have a right to insist, and we do insist, that when a workman is charged with a crime or any unlawful conduct, he shall be accorded every right, be apprehended, charged, and tried by the same process of law as any other citizen of our country.

With our position so often emphasized and so generally known, it is nothing less than wilful untruth and misrepresentation for any one to declare that it is our purpose to obtain any special privilege, particularly the undesirable and unenviable liberty of creating a privileged class of wrongdoers.

When the real purposes and high aspirations of our movement and the legislation it seeks at the hands of the law-making power of our country shall be better understood by all our people, and the great uplifting work which we have already achieved shall find a better appreciation among those who now so unjustly attack and antagonize us, our opponents will be remembered for their ignoble work and course.

The injunctions against which we protest are flagrantly and without warrant of law issued almost daily in some section of our country and are violative of the fundamental rights of man. When better understood, they will shock the conscience of our people, the spirit and genius of our republic.

We shall exercise our every right, and in the meantime concentrate our efforts to secure the relief and the redress to which we are so justly entitled.

Not only in our own interest, but in the interest of all the people of our country, for the preservation of real liberty, for the elimination of bitterness and class hatred, for the perpetuation of all that is best and truest, we can never rest until the last vestige of this injustice has been removed from our public life.

APPENDIX TO PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT, PAGE 53.

62d Congress, }
1st Session. } H. R. 11032.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

June 2, 1911.

Mr. WILSON of Pennsylvania introduced the following bill.

A BILL

To regulate the issuance of restraining orders and procedure thereon, and to limit the meaning of "conspiracy" in certain cases.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employe, or between employers and employes, or between employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, or involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property and property right must be particularly described in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant, or by his, her, or its agent or attorney. And for the purposes of this act no right to continue the relation of employer and employe, or to assume or create such relation with any particular person or persons, or at all, or patronage or good-will in business, or buying or selling commodities of any particular kind or at any particular place, or at all, shall be construed, held, considered or treated as property, or as constituting a property right.

Sec. 2. That in cases arising in the courts of the United States or coming before said courts, or before any judge or the judges thereof, no agreement between two or more persons concerning the terms or conditions of employment or the assumption or creation or termination of any relation between employer and employe, or concerning any act or thing to be done or not to be done with reference to or involving or growing out of a labor dispute, shall constitute a conspiracy or other civil or criminal offense, or be punished or prosecuted, or damages recovered upon as such, unless the act or thing agreed to be done or not to be done would be unlawful if done by a single individual; nor shall the entering into or the carrying out of any such agreement be restrained or enjoined unless such act or thing agreed to be done would be subject to be restrained or enjoined under the provisions, limitations, and definitions contained in the first section of this act.

Sec. 3. That all acts and parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

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